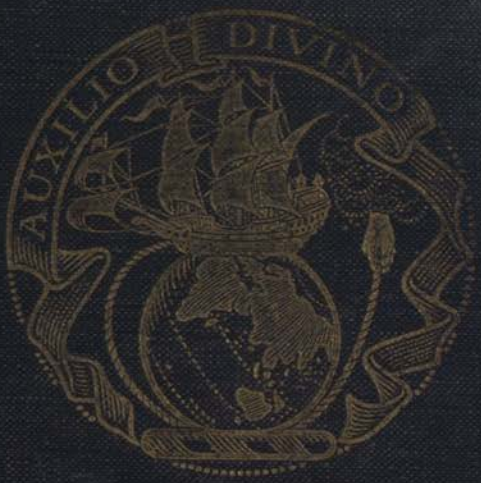

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Hakluytus Posthumus
or
Purchas His Pilgrimes

In Twenty Volumes

Volume IX

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Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World
in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells
by Englishmen and others

By

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.

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VOLUME IX

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THE NINTH VOLUME

OF

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning Peregrinations and Travels by Land into the Easterne Countries; Collections of Asia; Further Collections of Africa and the River of Gambra; the Grand Turk's Seraglio; and observations of the Maldives; by Englishmen and others Moderne and Ancient

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Chap. VI.

A Relation of a Voyage to the Easterne India. Observed by Edward Terry, Master of Arts and Student of Christ-Church in Oxford.

Those that goe downe to the Sea in Ships: that doe businesse in great waters: These see the workes of the Lord, and his wonders in the deepe. Ps. 107. Qui nescit orare, discat navigare.

To the Reader.

Aster Terry had found a fitter roome, if he had not comne late, and as in India, so here also had attended that Honorable Embassadour, Sir T. Roe. But his tardy comming hath made us entertayne him, not with lesse welcome in substance, but with lesse convenience in Seat-ceremonie; being forced to place him as he comes, in a lower messe, but with equall cheere. Yea himselfe makes good cheere by his presence, and presents his whole messe, and all the Table and Attendants with rich Cates of Sea and Land varieties farre fetched and deere bought by him, and here imparted gratis; whether wee understand it of the Author, or (as I undertake) of the Readers. How many Eare-rings and Breast-brooches give (that which they take, the) place to Saint Georges Garter worne neere the utmost and lowest confines of our Microcosme. Take this as a good fare-well draught of English-Indian liquor. And as contraries set neere their contraries make the best lustre, so this our Scholer-Christian-Preacher-Traveller, having (as Travellers wont) lighted into companie of a Jew before; a halfe-turkised Christian, with divers Turkes following immediatly after; shineth as a Gemme in the darke, and as a Precious-stone amongst a heape of stones.

Thus here although some of his rayes are by the Attirer taken away to prevent reiterations of things delivered in the former relations of Sir Tho. Roe, or others; Neither doth our Author come here altogether unfitly to guide us from Persia, (where wee have made long stay) by the way of India and Arabia, and lastly, with a Portugall Vice-roy wee meane to ship our selves homewards, taking some Religious in companie for some better knowledge of Africa, and the Christianitie there.

§. I.

Things remarkable observed in his Voyage to the Indies. Sea-fight with the Portugals.

APologies very often call Truth into question. Having therefore nothing for to countenance these my rude Relations but the certaintie of them; I omit all unnecessarie introductions: using no further Preface then this, that the Reader would undoubtedly beleeve, what the Relator doth most faithfully deliver.

So to make an entrie upon the first beginning of our Voyage, the third of Februarie, 1615. our Fleete (consisting of sixe goodly ships, the Charles, Unicorne, James, Globe, Swan, and Rose, all under the command of Captaine Benjamin Joseph) fell downe from Gravesend into Tilburie Hope.

The ninth of March (after a long and tyring expectation) it pleased God to send us what we desired, a North-east wind: which day wee left that weary Road, and set sayle for East India. The wind was favourable to us till the sixteenth day at night, at which time a most fearefull storme overtooke us, we being then in the Bay of Portugall. In this storme wee lost sight both of the Globe, and Rose. The Globe came againe into our Companie, the two and twentieth following; but the Rose was no more heard of, till her arrive at Bantam, about sixe Moneths after. This storme continued violent till the one and twentieth.

The eight and twentieth, we had sight of the Grand Canaries, and that Mountaine which threatens the Skie, in the Iland of Teneriffa, commonly called, The Peake, which by reason of its immense height, in a cleere day may be seene more then fortie leagues at Sea, (as the Mariners report.) These Ilands lie in eight and twentie degrees of North latitude. *Pico de Teneriffa.*

The one and thirtieth, being Easter day, we passed under the Tropick of Cancer; and the seventh of Aprill, the Sunne was our Zenith. From that day untill the fourteene, wee were becalmed induring extreme heate. The sixteenth, we met with winds which the Mariners call, The Turnadoes, so variable and uncertaine, that sometime within the space of one houre, all the two and thirtie severall winds will blow. These winds were accompanied with much thunder and lightning, and with extreme rayne, so noysome that it makes mens clothes presently to stinke upon their backes. The water likewise of these slimy unwholsome showres, wheresoever it stands, will in short time bring forth many offensive creatures. These Turnadoes met with us when we were about twelve degrees of North latitude, and kept us companie ere they quitted us, till wee were two degrees South-ward of the Equinoctiall, under which wee passed the eight and twentieth of Aprill. The nineteenth of May being Whitsunday, wee passed the Tropicke of Capricorne. So that we were seven weekes compleat under the Torrid Zone. *Turnadoes.* [II.ix.1464.]

Betweene the Tropickes we saw almost every day different kindes of fishes in greater abundance then elsewhere. As the great Leviethan, whom God hath made to take his pastime in the Seas. Dolphins, Boneetooes, Albicores, Flying fishes, and many others. Some Whales we saw of an exceeding greatnesse, who in calme weather often arise and shew themselves above the water, where they appeare like to great Rockes, in their rising spowting up into the Ayre with noyse a great quantitie of water, which fals downe againe about them like a showre. The Dolphin is a fish called for his swiftnesse the arrow of the *Whales.* *Dolphines.*

Sea, differing from many other in that hee hath teeth upon the top of his tongue, he is pleasing to the Eye, smell, and tast, of a changeable colour, fin'd like a Roach, covered with very small scales, having a fresh delightsome sent above other fishes, and in taste as good as any. These Dolphines are wont often to follow our ships, not so much (I thinke) for the love they beare unto man as some write) as to feed themselves with what they find cast over-board. Whence it comes to passe, that many times they feed us, for when they swimme close to our ships, we strike them with a broad Instrument, full of Barbes, called an Harping Iron fastened to a Rope by which we hale them in. This beautifull Dolphin may bee a fit Embleme of a Race of men, who under sweet countenances carrie sharpe tongues.

Boneetooes and Albicores. Boneetooes and Albicores are in colour, shape, and taste much like to Mackerils, but grow to be very large. The

Flying fishes. Flying fishes of all other live the most miserable lives, for beeing in the water, the Dolphines, Boneetooes, and Albicores persecute them, and when they would escape by their flight, are oftentimes taken by ravenous fowles, somewhat like our Kites which hover over the water. These flying fishes are like men, professing two trades, and thrive of neither.

But to proceed in our passage, the twelfth of June early in the morning, wee espyed our long wished for Harbour, the Bay of Soldania, about twelve leagues short of the Cape of Good Hope, wherein we came happily to an Anchor that fore-noone. Heere wee found one of the Companies ships, called the Lion, come from Surat, and bound for England, who having a faire gale put to Sea the fourteenth day at night.

Soldania. We made our abode in this Harbour till the eight and twentieth following, on which day we being well watered and refreshed, departed, when the Swan our fift ship tooke her way for Bantam. The nine and twentieth, we doubled the Cape of Good Hope, whose latitude is in thirtie five degrees South. Off this Cape there setteth continually a most violent Current Westward, whence it

comes to passe, that when a strong contrarie wind meets it, their impetuous opposition makes the Sea so to rage, that some shippes have beene swallowed, but many endangered in those Mountaynes of water. Few ships passe that way without a storme. The two and twentieth of July, we discovered the great Iland of Madagascar, commonly called Saint Laurence, we being then betwixt it and the Mayne: we touched not at it, but proceeding in our course, the fift of August following, came neere to the little Ilands of Mohilia, Gazidia, Saint John de Castro, called in generall the Ilands of Comora, lying about twelve degrees Southward of the Equator. *Iles of Comora.*

The sixt early in the morning, our men looking out for Land, espyed a Sayle about three or foure leagues off, which stood in our course directly before us. About noone, the Globe our least ship (by reason of her nimblenesse, sayling better then her fellowes) came up with her on the broad side to wind-ward, and according to the custome of the Sea hailed her, asking whence she was; She* answered indirectly, of the Sea, calling our men Rogues, Theeves, Heretickes, Devils, and the conclusion of her rude complement was in loud Canon Language, discharging seven great Peeces of Artillerie at our Globe, whereof sixe pierced her through the Hull, mayming some of her men, but killing none. Our Globe replyed in the same voyce, and after that fell off.

About three of the clocke in the after-noone, the

* Fight with a Portugall Carracke, mentioned before in Sir T. Roe, and M. Child: but here more fully delivered, and therefore againe expressed, that it might appeare who were true causers of the quarrell, as also that it was a private quarrel and not of State, or Princes, but of Meneles and Joseph the Captaines, with the persons under their commands: one offering, the other vindicating wrong. So may the Reader observe of former fights with Beast, Downton, &c. not the Spanish King warring with his Majestie of England, but the Portugall Merchants and Commanders in the Indies, envying to others that Trade, which might lessen their gaines there: as in Magellans Voyage they did to the Spaniards, which also you have seene in the Dutch, and may observe of men of the same Trade in every street of London. The old Verse of Hesiod, Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ, &c. shewes this

Charles our Admirall came up with her so neere, that we were within Pistoll shot. Our Commander Captaine Joseph proceeded religiously, offering Treatie before hee thought of revenge. So we saluted her with our Trumpets, shee us with her wind Instruments, then we shewed our men on both sides aloft; this done, Captaine Joseph called to them that their principall Commander might come aboard, to give an account for the injurie they had lately before offered us; their answere was, they [II.ix.1465.] had never a Boat, our Commander replyed, he would send them one, and immediately caused his Barge to be manned, and sent off to them, which brought backe one of their Officers, and two other meane fellowes with this bold message from their Captaine; that he had promised not to leave his ship, and therefore forced he might, but never would be commanded out of her.

Captaine Joseph received the Message, and used them which brought it civilly, commanding that they should be shewed, how we were prepared for to vindicate our selves, which made the poore Portugals to shake more then an Ague, and upon it desired our Commander to write a few words to theirs, which with their perswasion happily might make him come. Captaine Joseph willing to preserve his honour, and to prevent bloud, consented, and forth-with caused a few words to this effect to be wrote unto him. That, Whereas he the Commander of the Carrack, had offered violence to our ship, they sailed peaceably by him,

quarrell as old as men, at least as the old man of Covetousnesse, and Ambition, and Envie; the cause also why the first-borne of Nature slue the first Brother which Nature had seene. If Portugals hereby led, have offered wrong to the English, and suffered right from them, it is but as in cases twixt English Gentlemen or Merchants at home, saving that this bodie is more Giantly, and of greater consequence, as the concurrence of more private purses and persons, and yet no State-warre: with which except in our Prayer, we have nothing to doe. In like case of Trade, I suppose the Portugals would now quarrell with the Spaniards in their East, and these with them in their West. I am sure that in the Indies, Dutch have taken Dutch, and English other English (not of that East-Indian Company) notwithstanding subjection to one and the same Crowne or State.

he willed him to come speedily, and give reason for that wrong; or else at his perill, &c. So he discharged those Portugals, sending one of our Masters Mates backe with them, with those few words and this Message; that if hee refused to come he would sinke by his side, but that hee would force him before hee left him. (Morientium verba sunt Prophetica, his words came to passe, for he himselfe before he stird, fell by a great shot that came not long after from the Carracke side.) The Captaine of the Carracke (notwithstanding all this) was still peremptorie in his first answere. So our men returning, Captaine Joseph himselfe made the three first shot, which surely, did them great mischiefe, as we imagined by the loud outcry we heard from them, after they were discharged. This done, the Bullets began to flye on both sides. Our Captaine cheering his company, ascended the halfe Decke, where hee had not beene the eight part of an houre, and a great shot from the Carrackes Quarter, deprived him of life in the twinkling of an Eye, it hit him on the brest, beating out of his bodie his heart, and other of his vitals, which lay round about him scattered in his diffused bloud. After Captaine Joseph was slaine, the Master of our ship continued the fight about halfe an houre, then knowing that there was another to be admitted into that prime place of command, the night approching, for that time gave over; putting out a Flagge of Councell to call the Captaine of the Vice-Admirall (Captaine Henry Pepwell) who was to succeed, and the other Masters aboard, for to consult about the prosecution of this Encounter. The night beeing come, wee now proceeded no farther. The Carracke stood still on her course, putting forth a light at her Poope for us to follow her, and about midnight came to an Anchor under the Iland of Mohilia, which when wee perceived let fall our Anchors too.

Resolute Spirits of both Commanders. Captaine Joseph slaine.

The seventh, early before it began to dawne, we prepared for a new assault, first commending our selves to God by Prayer.

The morning come, we found the Carracke so close to the shoare, and the neerest of our ships at the least a league off, that we held our hands for that day, expecting when shee would weigh her Anchors and stand off to Sea (a fitter place to deale with her.) In the after-noone we chested our late slaine Commander, and without any ceremonie of shot, usuall upon such occasions (because our Enemies should take no notice) cast him over-boord against the Iland of Mohilia.

A little before night the Carracke departed to Sea, wee all loosed our Anchors, opened our Sayles, and followed. The day now left us, and our proud Enemie (unwilling as it should seeme to escape) put forth a light as before, for us to follow him (as afterward we did to purpose) the night well nigh spent, we commended againe our selves and cause to God. This done, the day appeared in a red Mantle, which proved bloudie unto many that beheld it. And now you may conceive that our foure ships are resolved to take their turnes one after the other, that they may force this proud Portugall, either to bend or breake. Our Charles playes her part first, and ere shee had beene at defiance with her Adversary halfe an houre, there came another shot from the Enemie, which hitting against one of our Iron Peeces, that lay on the halfe Decke, brake into shivers, dangerously wounding our new Commander, the Master of our ship, and three other of the Mariners which stood by. Captaine Pepwels left eye was beaten all to pieces; two other wounds he received in his head; a third in his legge, a ragged piece of this broken shot sticking fast in the bone thereof, which seemed by his complayning to afflict him more then all the rest. The Master had a great piece of the brawne of his arme strooke off, which made him likewise unserviceable for a time. Thus was our new Commander welcommed to his authoritie, wee all thought his wounds mortall, but hee lived till about fourteene moneths after, when hee dyed peaceably on his bed, in his returne for England.

Captaine Pepwell wounded, with the Master and others.

Captaine Pepwell dyeth 14. moneths after.

The Captaine and Master both thus disabled, deputed

their authoritie to the chiefe Masters Mate, who behaved himselfe resolutely, and wisely. So we continued, alternis vicibus, shooting at our Adversary as at a Butte; and by three of the cloke in the after-noone had beat downe her mayn-mast, her Mizen-mast, her foretop-mast; and moreover, had made such wounds in her thick sides, that her case was so desperate, shee must either yeeld or perish. Her Captaine (called Don Emanuel Meneses, a brave resolute man) thus distressed, stood in for the shoare, being not farre from the Iland of Gazidia. We pursued as farre as we durst without hazard of shipwracke, then we sent of our Barge with a Flagge of Truce to speake with him, hee waved us with another, so Master Connocke (our chiefe Merchant) employed in that businesse, boldly entred his ship, and delivered these words to him, and his company; that he had brought them life and peace if they would accept it, with all telling Don Emanuel, hee had deserved so well by his undaunted valour, that if he would put himselfe into our hands, he should be entertayned with as much honour and respect as ever any Captive was. But (Duris ut Ilex tonsa bipennibus—ducit opes animumque ferro) Hee as an Oke gathered strength from his wounds, contemning the miserie hee could not prevent, answering Master Connocke thus, that no infelicitie should make him alter his first resolution; how that hee would stand off to Sea, if possibly he could, and encounter with us againe, and then if fire and Sword forced him, he might unhappily be taken, but he would never yeeld, and if we tooke him alive, he hoped that he should find the respect of a Gentleman, and till then we had our Answere.

[II.ix.1466.] *Virtus in hoste laudanda.*

Don Emanuel Meneses, his valorous resolution.

So our Messenger was discharged, and shortly after this distressed ship wanting her wings, was forced by the wind and waves upon the adjacent Iland Gazidia, where she stuck fast between two Rocks: those that were left alive in her by their Boats gat upon the shoare, which when they had all recovered, willing (it should seeme) to consume what they could not keepe, they set her on fire to make her a coale, rather then we should make her a Prize.

Carrack wracked and burnt. She was reported of incredible wealth, both in money and commodities.

The poore Portugals after they had left their ship, were most inhumanely used by the barbarous Ilanders, who spoyled them of all they brought ashoare for their succour; some of them beeing slaine in the opposition, and doubtlesse, had made havocke of them all, had they not beene relieved by two small Arabian ships there in Trade, which in hope (I suppose) of some great reward, tooke them in, and conveyed them safely to their owne Citie Goa.

In this combate we lost out of our foure ships but five men (too many by that number) three out of our Admirall, and two out of the James; besides we had some twentie in our whole fleet hurt, which afterward recovered. But of seven hundred which sayled in the Carracke, there came not above two hundred and fiftie to Goa, as afterward we were credibly informed. In this fearefull opposition, our Charles made at her Adversarie three hundred seventie and five great shot (as our Gunners reported) to these wee had one hundred Musquetiers, that played their parts all the while. Neither was our enemie idle, for our ship received at the least one hundred great shot from him, and many of them dangerous ones through the Hull. Our Fore-mast was pierced through the middest; our mayne-mast hurt, our mayne-stay, and many of our mayne Shrouds cut in sunder. But I have dwelt too long upon a sad Discourse, I make haste to refresh my selfe upon the pleasant Iland.

The Ilands fertilitie.

After we saw the Carracke fired which was about midnight, wee stood off and on till morning, to see if we might find any thing in her ashes; of which when wee despayred, wee sought about for succour to comfort our wounded and sicke men on the shoare. The Land was very high, against which the Sea is alwayes deepe, so that it was the tenth day following ere wee could be possessed of a good Harbour; which enjoyed, we found the Iland very pleasant, full of goodly Trees, covered all over with a greene Vesture and exceeding fruitfull, abounding in Beeves, Kids, Poultry, Sugar-canes, Rice, Plantens, Oranges, Coquer-nuts, and many other wholesome things;

of all which wee had sufficient to releeve our whole company, for a small quantitie of white Paper, and few glasse Beades, and Penie Knives. For instance wee bought as many good Oranges as would fill an Hat, for halfe a quarter of a sheet of white Paper, and so in proportion all other provision. Much of their Fruites the Ilanders brought unto us in their little Canoes (which are long narrow Boates cut like Troughes out of firme Trees) but their cattell we bought on shoare; where I observed the people to bee streight, well limmed, able men, their colour very tawnie, most of the men but all the women (I saw) unclothed having nothing about them but to hide their shame. Such as were covered had long Garments like to the Arabians, whose Language they speake, and of whose Religion they are, Mahometans, very strict as it should seeme, for they would not endure us to come nigh their Churches. They have good convenient houses for their living, and faire Sepulchres for their dead. They seeme to live strictly under the obedience of a King, whose place of residence was some few miles up in the Countrey. His leave by Messengers they first craved, before wee had libertie to buy any provision. Their King advertized of our arrivall, bade our Commander welcome with a Present of Beeves, and Goats, and choice Fruits of his Countrey, and was recompensed, and well contented againe with Paper, and some other English Toyes. Wee saw some Spanish money amongst them, of which they made so little reckoning, that some of our men had Rials of Eight in exchange for a little Paper or a few Beades. What they did with our Paper, we could not ghesse.

White Paper well sold.

The Coquer-nuts (of which this Iland hath abundance) of all the Trees in the Forrest (in my opinion) may have preeminence, for meerely with it, without the least helpe from any other, a man may build, and furnish a ship to Sea; for the heart of this Tree will make Plankes, Timbers, and Masts, a Gumme that growes thereon, will serve to calke our ship. The Rind of the same Tree will

make Cordage and Sailes, and the large Nut thereof beeing full of kernell, and pleasant liquor, will for a need serve for those that sayle in this shippe for meate and drinke, and the store of these Nuts for Merchandize.

Now, well stored with these Nuts, and other good provision, after sixe dayes abode there, the breaches our ship received in fight being repayred, and our men well [II.ix.1467.] refreshed, wee put againe to Sea toward East India the sixteenth, and a prosperous winde following us, passed happily under the Line without the least heate to offend us, the foure and twentieth day ensuing. Our course was *Socotora.* for the Iland of Succotora, neere to the mouth of the Red Sea, from whence comes our Aloes Succotrina, but an adverse gale from the Arabian shoare kept us off, that wee could by no meanes recover it. We passed by it the first of September. The immediate yeere before our English fleet touching at this Iland, learned this Apothegme from the petie King thereof, who comming to the water side, and hearing some of our winde Instruments, asked if they *Precise Mahumetan Apophthegme.* played Davids Psalmes (of which, being a Mahometan, he had heard.) Hee was answered by one that stood by, they did; He replyed thus, That it was an ill invention of him that first mingled Musicke with Religion; for before (said he) God was worshipped in heart, but by this in sound. I insert not this relation to condemne musick in Churches, Let him that bids us prayse the Lord with stringed Instruments and Organs, plead the Cause.

But to returne to my discourse. Missing our Port at Succotora, wee proceeded on our voyage, and the fourth *Funerall for Capt. Joseph.* of September kept a solemne funerall, in memorie of our slaine Commander, when after a Sermon, the small shot and great Ordnance, made a loud peale to his remembrance. *Water of the Sea in this place alway white, as in former voyages is seene.* The sixt of September at night, to our admiration and feare, the water of the Sea seemed as white as milke, others of our Nation, since passing on that course, have observed the like, but I am yet to learne what should be the true cause thereof, it being farre from any shoare, and so deepe, that wee could fetch no ground. The

twentie one, wee discovered the mayne Land of East India: and the twentie two, had sight of Diu and Damon, Cities lying in the skirts thereof, well fortified and inhabited by Portugals. The twentie five, we came happily to an Anchor in Swally Road, within the Bay of Cambaya, the harbour for our fleet while they make their stay in the Easterne India. And thus in a tedious Passage have I brought my Reader as far as East India, let him now bee pleased for a while to repose himselfe upon the Shoare, there to take a view of the populous Court, and the no lesse fruitful, then spacious Territories of the great Mogol.

§. II.

Description of the Mogols Empire, and the most remarkable things of Nature and Art therein.

Although yee have this description before, pag. 578. with the Map also; yet for the differing method, and cleering of some things there more doubtfull, I have here added this also, abbreviating it in some such things as are the same with the former, to which it may be in divers things a kind of Glosse, as Sir T. Roes Map to both. The former seemed imperfectly written in the number of the corses or miles which here seeme more exactly. The differing names may also helpe to further knowledge; of which I had sought better instruction before the presse, if I might, as I there signifie.

THe large Empire of the great Mogol is bounded on the East with the Kingdome of Maug: West with Persia, and the mayne Ocean Southerly: North with the Mountaynes of Caucasus, and Tartaria, South with Decan and the Gulfe of Bengala. Decan lying in the skirts of Asia, is divided between three Mahometan Kings, and some other Indian Rhajaes. This spacious Monarchie, called by the Inhabitants Indostan, dividing it selfe into thirtie and seven severall and large Provinces, which anciently were particular Kingdomes; whose names with their principall Cities, and Rivers, their Situation, and Borders, their extent in length and breadth I first set downe beginning at the North-west.

First, Candahor, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyes from the heart of all his Territorie North-west; it confines with the King of Persia, and was a Province belonging to him. 2. Cabul, the chiefe Citie so called, the extreamest North-west part of this Emperours

Dominions: it confineth with Tartaria; the River Nilab hath its beginning in it, whose Current is Southerly, till it discharge it selfe in Indus. 3. Multan, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyes South from Cabul, and Candahor, and to the West joynes with Persia. 4. Hajacan, the Kingdome of the Baloches (a stout warlike people) it hath no renowned Citie. The famous River Indus (called by the Inhabitants Skind) borders it on the East; and Lar (a Province belonging to Sha-Abas, the present King of Persia) meetes it on the West. 5. Buckor, the chiefe Citie called Buckorsuccor. The River Indus makes a way through it, greatly enriching it. 6. Tatta, the chiefe Citie so called. The River Indus makes many Ilands in it, exceeding fruitfull and pleasant. The chiefe Arme meetes with the Sea at Synde, a place very famous for curious handi-crafts. 7. Soret, the chiefe Citie is called Janagar. It is a little Province but rich, lyes West from Guzarat, and hath the Ocean to the South. 8. Jeselmeere, the chiefe Citie so called, it joyneth with Soret, Buckor, and Tatta, lying to the West of it. 9. Attack, the chiefe Citie so called: it lyeth on the East side of Indus, which parts it from Hajacan. 10. Penjab, which signifieth five Waters, for that it is seated among five Rivers, all tributaries to Indus, which somewhat South of Lahor make but one Current: it is a great Kingdome, and most fruitfull, &c. Lahor the chiefe Citie is well built, very large, populous, and rich; the chiefe Citie of Trade in all India. 11. Chishmeere, the chiefe Citie is called Siranakar, the River Phat passeth through it, and so creeping about many Ilands slides to Indus. 12. Banchish, the chiefe Citie is called Bishur: it lyeth East, Southerly from Chishmeere, from which it is divided by the River Indus. 13. Jengapor, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth upon the River Kaul, one of the five Rivers that water Penjab. 14. Jenba, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth East of
[II.ix.1468.] Penjab. 15. Delli, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth twixt Jenba and Agra, the River Jemni (which runneth through Agra, and falleth into Ganges) begins in it.

Delli is an ancient great Citie, the seate of the Mogols Ancestors, where most of them lye interred. 16. Bando, the chiefe Citie so called, it confineth Agra on the West. 17. Malway, a very fruitfull Province, Rantipore is the chiefe Citie. 18. Chitor, an ancient and great Kingdome, the chiefe Citie so called. 19. Guzarat, a goodly Kingdome, and exceeding rich, inclosing the Bay of Cambaya. The River Tapte watereth Surat, it trades to the Red Sea, *Surat.* to Achin, and to divers other places. 20. Chandis, the chiefe Citie called Brampoch, which is large and populous. Adjoyning to this Province, is a petie Prince, called Partapsha, tributarie to the Mogol, and this is the Southermost part of all his Territories. 21. Berar, the chiefe Citie is called Shapore, the Southermost part whereof doth likewise bound this Empire. 22. Narvar, the chiefe Citie called Gehud, it is watered by a faire River, which emptieth it selfe in Ganges. 23. Gwaliar, the chiefe Citie so called, where the King hath a great treasury of Bullion. In this Citie likewise there is an exceeding strong Castle wherein the Kings prisoners are kept. 24. Agra, a principall and great Province, the chiefe Citie so called. From Agra to Lahor (the two choise Cities of this Empire) is about foure hundred English miles, the Countrey in all that distance even without a Hill, and the high way planted on both sides with Trees, like to a delicate walke. 25. Sanbal, the chiefe Citie so called, the River Jemni parts it from Narvar, and after at the Citie Helabass falls into Ganges, called by the Inhabitants Ganga. 26. Bakar, the chiefe Citie called Bikaneer, it lyeth on the West side of Ganges. 27. Nagracutt, the chiefe Citie so called, in which there is a Chappel most richly set forth, both seeled and paved with plate of pure gold. In this place they keepe an Idoll, which they call *Idoll Matta.* Matta, visited yeerly by many thousands of the Indians, who out of devotion cut off part of their tongues, to make *Tongue sacrifice.* a sacrifice for it. In this Province there is likewise another famous Pilgrimage, to a place called Jallamakæ, where *Pilgrimage.* out of cold Springs and hard Rocks, there are dayly to be

seene incessant eruptions of fire, before which the Idolatrous people fall downe and worship. 28. Syba, the chiefe Citie is called Hardwair, where the famous River Ganges seemed to begin, issuing out of a Rocke, which the superstitious Gentiles imagine to bee like a Cowes head, which of all sensible Creatures they love best. Thither they likewise goe in troopes daily for to wash their bodies. 29. Kakares, the principall Cities are called Dankalee and Purhola, it is very large and exceeding mountaynous, divided from Tartaria by the Mountaynes of Caucases: it is the farthest part North, under the Mogols subjection. 30. Gor, the chiefe Citie so called, it is full of Mountaynes. The River Persilis which dischargeth it selfe in Ganges, beginnes in it. 31. Pitan, the chiefe Citie so called; the River Kanda waters it, and falls into Ganges in the Confines thereof. 32. Kanduana, the chiefe Citie is called Karhakatenka, the River Sersilii parts it from Pitan; that and Gor are the North-east bounds of this great Monarchie. 33. Patna, the chiefe Citie so called; the River Ganges bounds it on the West, Sersilii on the East; it is a very fertile Province. 34. Jesual, the chiefe Citie called Rajapore, it lyeth East of Patna. 35. Mevat, the chiefe Citie called Narnol; it is very mountaynous. 36. Udessa, the chiefe Citie called Jokanat; it is the most remote part East of all this Kingdome. 37. Bengala, a most spacious and fruitfull Kingdome, limited by the Gulfe of the same name, wherein the River Ganges divided in foure great Currents, loseth it selfe.

Ganges.

Goez his journey from hence to China, followeth in the next booke.

Mogols greatnesse.

And here a great errour in our Geographers must not escape mee, who in their Globes and Maps, make India and China Neighbours, when many large Countries are interposed betwixt them, which great distance will appeare by the long travell of the Indian Merchants, who are usually in their journey and returne, more then two yeeres from Agra to the walls of China. The length of those forenamed Provinces is North-west to South-east, at the least one thousand Courses, every Indian Course being two English miles. North and South, the Extent thereof,

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is about fourteene hundred miles, the Southermost part lying in twentie degrees; the Northermost in fortie three of North latitude. The breadth of this Empire is North-east to South-west, about fifteene hundred miles.

Now, to give an exact account of all those forenamed Provinces, were more then I am able to under-take, yet out of that I have observed in some few, I will adventure to ghesse at all, and thinke for my particular, that the great Mogol, considering his Territories, his Wealth, and his rich Commodities, is the greatest knowne King of the East, if not of the World. To make my owne conjecture more apparent to others. This wide Monarchie is very rich and fertile, so much abounding in all necessaries for the use of man, as that it is able to subsist and flourish of it selfe, without the least helpe from any Neighbour.

Plentie of victuals.

To speake first of that which Nature requires most, Foode; this Land abounds in singular good Wheate, Rice, Barley, and divers other kindes of Graine to make bread (the staffe of life) their Wheate growes like ours, but the Graine of it is somewhat bigger and more white, of which the Inhabitants make such pure well-relished bread, that I may speake that of it, which one said of the bread in the Bishoprick of Leige, it is, Panis, pane melior. The common people make their bread up in Cakes, and bake it on small Iron hearths, which they carry with them when as they journey, making use of them in their Tents, it should seeme an ancient custome, as may appeare by that president of Sarah, when shee entertayned the Angels, Genes. 18. To their Bread they have great abundance of other good provision, as Butter, and Cheese, by reason of their great number of Kine, Sheepe, and Goats. Besides, they have a beast very large, having a smooth thicke skinne without haire, called a Buffelo, which gives good Milke: the flesh of them is like Beefe, but not so wholsome. They have no want of Venison of divers kinds, as red Deare, fallow Deare, Elkes, and Antelops; but no where imparked: the whole Kingdome is as it were a Forrest, for a man can travell no way but he shall see

Fine bread.

Cakes & portable hearths.

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Butter and Cheese.

Buffelo.

Venison and free Game.

them, and (except it bee within a small distance off the King) they are every mans Game. To these they have great stores of Hares, and further to furnish out their feasts, varietie of Fish and Fowle; it were as infinite as needlesse to relate particulars. To write of their Geese, Duckes, Pigeons, Partridges, Quailes, Peacockes, and many other singular good Fowle, all which are bought at such easie rates, as that I have seene a good Mutton sold for the value of one shilling, foure couple of Hennes at the same price, one Hare for the value of a penie, three Partridges for as little, and so in proportion all the rest. There are no Capons amongst them but men.

Beeves. The Beeves of that Countrey differ from ours, in that they have each of them a great Bunch of grisselly flesh which growes upon the meeting of their shoulders. Their *Sheepe.* Sheepe exceed ours in great bob-tayles, which cut off are very ponderous, their wooll is generally very course, but the flesh of them both is altogether as good as ours.

Salt and Sugar. Now, to season this good provision, there is great store of Salt: and to sweeten all, abundance of Sugar growing in the Countrey, which after it is well refined, may be bought for two pence the pound, or under.

Fruits. Their Fruits are very answerable to the rest, the Countrey full of Musk-melons, Water-melons, Pomegranats, Pome-citrons, Limons, Oranges, Dates, Figs, Grapes, Plantans (a long round yellow fruit, in taste like to a Norwich Peare) Mangoes, in shape and colour like to our Apricocks, but more luscious, and (to conclude with the best of all) the Ananas or Pine which seemes to the taster to be a pleasing compound, made of Strawberries, Claret-wine, Rose-water, and Sugar, well tempered together. In the Northermost parts of this Empire they have varietie of Apples and Peares. Every where good roots, as Carrets, Potatoes, and others like them as pleasant. They have Onions and Garlicke, and choyce herbs for Salads.

Ginger. And in the Southermost parts, Ginger growing almost in every place. And here I cannot choose but take notice *Taddy.* of a pleasant cleere liquor called Taddy, issuing from a

spongie tree that growes straight and tall, without boughs to the top, and there spreads out in branches (somewhat like to an English Colewort) where they make incisions: under which they hang small earthen Pots to preserve the influence. That which distills forth in the night, is as pleasing to the taste as any white Wine, if drunke betimes in the morning. But in the heat of the day the Sunne alters it so, as that it becomes heady, ill relished, and unwholsome. It is a piercing medicinable drinke, if taken early, and moderately, as some have found by happie experience, thereby eased from their torture inflicted by that shame of Physicians, and Tyrant of all maladies, the Stone.

Raines and Thunders.

At Surat, and to Agra and beyond, it never raines but one season of the yeere, which begins neere the time that the Sunne comes to the Northerne Tropicke, and so continues till his returne backe to the Line. These violent Raines are ushered in, and take their leave with most fearefull tempests of Thunder and Lightning, more terrible then I can expresse, yet seldome doe harme. The reason in Nature may be the subtiltie of the Aire, wherein there are fewer Thunder-stones made, then in such Climates where the Aire is grosse, and cloudy. In those three moneths it raines every day more or lesse, sometimes one whole quarter of the Moone scarce with any intermission, which aboundance of Raine with the heat of the Sunne doth so enrich the ground; (which they never force) as that like Egypt by the inundation of Nilus, it makes it fruitfull all the yeere after. But when this time of Raine is passed over, the Skie is so cleere, as that scarcely one Cloud is seene in their Hemisphere, the nine moneths after.

Soyle and tillage.

And here the goodnesse of the soyle must not escape my Pen, most apparent in this, for when the ground hath beene destitute of Raine nine moneths, and lookes like to barren Sands, within seven dayes after the Raine begins to fall, it puts on a greene Coate. And further to confirme this, amongst many hundred acres of Corne I have beheld

in those Parts, I never saw any but came up as thicke as the Land could well beare it. They till their ground with Oxen, and foot-Ploughs. Their Seed-time is in May, and the beginning of June: their Harvest in November, and December, the most temperate moneths in all their yeere. Their ground is not enclosed unlesse it be neere Townes and Villages, which (though not expressed in the Map for want of their true names) stand very thicke. They mowe not their Grasse (as we) to make Hay, but cut it either greene or withered on the ground as they have occasion to use it. They sowe Tobacco in abundance, but know not how to cure and make it strong, as those in the Westerne India.

Townes and Villages thick.

Tobacco.

Woods and Treet.

The Countrey is beautified with many Woods and great varietie of faire goodly trees, but I never saw any there of those kinds which England affoords. Their Trees in generall are sappie, which I ascribe to the fatnesse of the soyle: some of them have Leaves as broad as Bucklers, others are parted small as Ferne, as the Tamarine trees which beare a sowre fruit that growes somewhat like our Beanes, most wholesome for to coole and cleanse the bloud. There is one Tree amongst them of speciall observation, out of whose branches grow little sprigs downeward till they take root, and so at length prove strong supporters unto the Armes that yeeld them, whence it comes to passe that these Trees in time grow unto a great height, and extend themselves to an incredible bredth. All the Trees in those Southerne parts of India still keepe on their greene Mantles. For their Flowres they rather delight the Eye then affect the Sense, in colour admirable, but few of them, unlesse Roses, and one or two kinds more, that are any whit fragrant.

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Indian fig-tree, See of it my Pilg. l. 1. c. 3.

Flowers.

Rivers.

This Region is watered with many goodly Rivers, the two principall are Indus and Ganges, where this thing remarkable must not passe, that one pinte of the Water of Ganges weigheth lesse by an ounce, then any in the whole Kingdome, and therefore the Mogol wheresoever hee is, hath it brought to him that he may drinke it.

Ganges water lighter then others.

Besides their Rivers, they have store of Wells fed with Springs, upon which in many places they bestow great cost in stone-worke: to these they have many Ponds, which they call Tankes, some of them more then a mile or two in compasse, made round or square, girt about with faire stone-walls, within which are steps of well-squared stone which encompasse the water, for men every way to goe downe and take it. These Tankes are filled when that abundance of Raine falls, and keepe water to relieve the Inhabitants that dwell farre from Springs or Rivers, till that wet season come againe. *Wels and Tanks.*

This ancient drinke of the World is the common drinke of India, it is more sweet and pleasant then ours, and in those hot Countries, agreeth better with mens bodies, then any other Liquor. Some small quantitie of Wine, but not common is made among them, they call it Rack, distilled from Sugar and a Spicie rinde of a Tree called Jagra. It is very wholsome if taken moderately. Many of the people who are strict in their Religion drinke no Wine at all. They use a Liquor more healthfull then pleasant, they call Cohha; a blacke seed boyled in water, which doth little alter the taste of the water. Notwithstanding, it is very good to helpe digestion, to quicken the spirits, and to clense the bloud. There is yet another helpe to comfort the stomacke for such as forbeare Wine, an herbe called Beetle or Paune; it is in shape somewhat like an Ivie leafe but more tender; they chew it with an hard Nut some-what like a Nut-megge, and a little pure white Lime among the leaves, and when they have sucked out the Juyce, put forth the rest. It hath many rare qualities, for it preserves the teeth, comforts the braine, strengthens the stomacke, and cures or prevents a tainted breath. *Racke and Cohha.* *Beetle or Betele.*

Their buildings are generally base, except it be in their Cities, wherein I have observed many faire Piles. Many of their houses are built high and flat on the toppe, from whence in the coole seasons of the day they take in fresh ayre. They have no Chimnies to their houses, for they *Houses and streets.*

never use fire but to dresse their meate. In their upper roomes they have many lights and doores to let in the *No Glasse.* Ayre, but use no Glasse. The materials of their best buildings are bricke or stone, well squared and composed, which I have observed in Amadavar (that one instance may stand for all) which is a most spacious and rich Citie, entred by twelve faire Gates, and compassed about with a firme stone wall. Both in their Villages and Cities, are usually many faire Trees among their houses, which are a great defence against the violence of the Sunne. They commonly stand so thicke that if a man behold a Citie or Towne from some conspicuous place, it will seeme a Wood rather then a Citie.

Indico and cotton. Of Indico, see in Finches Journal. The Staple Commodities of this Kingdome are Indico and Cotton-wooll. For Cotton-wooll they plant seedes which grow up into shrubs like unto our Rose-bushes. It blowes first into a yellow blossome, which falling off, there remaynes a cod about the bignesse of a mans thumbe, in which the substance is moyst and yellow, but as it ripens, it swels bigger till it breake the covering, and so in short time becomes white as Snow, and then they gather it. These shrubs beare three or foure yeares ere they supplant them. Of this Wooll they make divers sorts of pure white cloth, some of which I have seene as fine, if not purer then our best Lawne. Some of the courser sort of it they dye into Colours, or else stayne in it varietie of curious Figures.

The ship that usually goeth from Surat to Moha, is of an exceeding great burthen. Some of them I beleeve at the least fourteene or sixteene hundred tunnes, but ill built, and though they have good Ordnance cannot well defend themselves. In these ships are yeerely abundance of Passengers: for instance in one ship returning thence, that yeere we left India, came seventeene hundred, the most of which number goe not for profit, but out of Devotion to visite the Sepulchre of Mahomet at Medina, neere Meche, about one hundred and fiftie leagues from Moha. Those which have beene there, are ever after

called Hoggeis, or holy Men. The ship bound from Surat to the Red Sea, beginnes her Voyage about the twentieth of March, and finisheth it towards the end of September following, the Voyage is but short, and might easily bee made in two moneths, but in the long season of raine, and a little before, and after it, the winds are commonly so violent, that there is no comming, but with great hazard into the Indian Sea. The ship returning, is usually worth two hundred thousand pounds sterling, most of it in Gold and Silver. Besides, for what quantitie of Monies comes out of Europe, by other meanes into India I cannot answere, this I am sure of, that many Silver streames runne thither as all Rivers to the Sea, and there stay, it being lawfull for any Nation to bring in Silver and fetch commodities, but a Crime not lesse then Capitall, to carry any great summe thence. The Coyne or Bullion brought thither is presently melted, and refined, and then the Mogols stampe (which is his Name and Title in Persian Letters) put upon it. This Coyne is more pure then any I know made of perfect Silver without any allay, so that in the Spanish Riall (the purest money of Europe) there is some losse.

India the centre of the Worlds coyne.

[II.ix.1471.]

They call their Pieces of Money Roopees, of which there are some of divers values, the meanest worth two shillings, and the best about two shillings and nine pence sterling. By these they account their Estates and Payments. There is a Coyne of inferiour value in Guzarat, called Mamoodies, about twelve pence sterling, both the former and these are made likewise in halfes and quarters, so that three pence is the least piece of silver currant in the Countrey. That which passeth up and downe, for exchange under this rate is brasse money, which they call Pices, whereof three or thereabouts countervaile a Peny. They are made so massie, as that the Brasse in them put to other uses, is well worth the Silver they are rated at. Their Silver Coyne is made either round or square, but so thicke, that it never breakes nor weares out.

Their coynes, Roopees or Rupias.

Mamoodies.

Pices.

Now farther for commodities, the Countrey yeelds good

Silke. store of Silke, which they weave curiously, sometimes mingled with Silver or Gold. They make Velvets, Sattins, and Taffataes, but not so rich as those of Italy. Many Drugs and Gummes are found amongst them, especially *Gum-lac.* Gum-lac, with which they make their hard Wax. The earth yeelds good Minerals of Lead, Iron, Copper, and Brasse, and they say of Silver, which, if true, they neede not open, being so enriched by other Nations. The Spices they have come from other places, from the Ilands of Sumatra, Java, and the Moluccoes. For places of pleasure *Gardens.* they have curious Gardens, planted with fruitfull Trees and delightfull Flowers, to which Nature daily lends such a supply as that they seeme never to fade. In these places they have pleasant Fountaynes to bathe in, and other delights by sundrie conveyances of water, whose silent murmure helps to lay their senses with the bonds of sleepe in the hot seasons of the day.

Discommodities of that Countrey. But lest this remote Countrey should seeme like an earthly Paradise without any discommodities: I must needes take notice there of many Lions, Tygres, Wolves, Jackals (which seeme to be wild Dogs) and many other harmefull beasts. In their Rivers are many Crocodiles, and on the Land over-growne Snakes, with other venimous and pernicious Creatures. In our houses there we often *Scorpions dangerous.* meete with Scorpions, whose stinging is most sensible and deadly, if the patient have not presently some Oyle that is made of them, to anoint the part affected, which is a *Flyes troublesome.* present cure. The aboundance of Flyes in those parts doe likewise much annoy us, for in the heate of the day their numberlesse number is such as that we can be quiet in no place for them, they are ready to cover our meate assoone as it is placed on the Table, and therefore wee have men that stand on purpose with Napkins to fright them away when as wee are eating: in the night likewise we are much disquieted with Musquatoes, like our Gnats, but somewhat lesse: and in their great Cities, there are such aboundance of bigge hungrie Rats, that they often bite a man as he lyeth on his bed.

The Windes in those parts, which they call the Monson, blow constantly; altering but few Points, sixe moneths Southerly, the other sixe Northerly. The moneths of Aprill and May, and the beginning of June till the Rayne fall, are so extreme hot, as that the Winde blowing but gently receives such heate from the parched ground, that it much offends those that receive the breath of it. But God doth so provide for those parts that most commonly he sends such a strong gale as well tempers the hot ayre. Sometimes the winde blowes very high in those hot and drie seasons, raysing up thick clouds of dust and sand, which appeare like darke clouds full of Rayne, they greatly annoy the people when they fall amongst them. But there is no Countrey without some discommodities, for therefore the wise Disposer of all things hath tempered bitter things with sweet, to teach man that there is no true and perfect content to be found in any Kingdom, but that of God. *Monsons or Windes.*

But I will returne againe (whence I digressed) and looke farther into the qualitie of the Countrey, that affords very good Horses, which the Inhabitants know well to manage. Besides their owne, they have many of the Persian, Tartarian, and Arabian breede, which have the name to be the choise ones of the world: they are about the bignesse of ours, and valued among them as deare, if not at a higher rate then we usually esteeme ours. They are kept daintily, every good Horse being allowed a man to dresse and feede him. Their Provender a kind of graine, called Donna, somewhat like our Pease, which they boyle, and when it is cold give them mingled with course Sugar; and twise or thrise in the weeke Butter to scoure their bodies. Here are likewise a great number of Camels, Dromedaries, Mules, Asses, and some Rhynocerots, which are large beasts as bigge as the fayrest Oxen England affords, their skins lye platted, or as it were in wrinkles upon their backs. They have many Elephants, the King for his owne particular being Master of fourteene thousand, and his Nobles and all men of Qualitie in the Countrey, have more or lesse of them, some to the number of one hundred. *Horses and Provender.*

[The Elephants, though they bee the largest of all Creatures the Earth brings forth, yet are so tractable (unlesse at times
[II.ix.1472.] when they are mad) that a little Boy is able to rule the biggest of them.] Some of them I have seene thirteene foot high, but there are amongst them (as I have beene often told) fifteene at the least. The colour of them all is black, their skins thick and smooth without haire, they take much delight to bathe themselves in water, and swim better then any beast I know; they lye downe and arise againe at pleasure, as other beasts doe. Their pace is not swift, about three mile an houre, but of all Beasts in the world are most sure of foot, for they never fall nor stumble to endanger their Rider. They are most docile Creatures, and of all those we account meerely sensible, come neerest unto Reason. Lipsius in his Epistles, 1. Cent. Epist. 50. out of his observations from others writes more of them then I can confirme, or any (I perswade my selfe) beleeve; yet many things remarkable, which seeme indeed acts of reason, rather then sence, I have observed in them. For instance, an Elephant will doe any thing almost, that his Keeper commands him: as if he would have him affright a man, he will make towards him as if hee would tread him in pieces, and when he is come at him, doe him no hurt: if he would have him to abuse or disgrace a man, he will take dirt, or kennell water in his trunke, and dash it in his face. Their Trunks are long grisselly snouts hanging downe twixt their teeth, by some called their Hand, which they make use of upon all occasions.

An English Merchant of good credit, upon his owne knowledge reported this of a great Elephant in Adsmeere (the place then of the Mogols residence) who being brought often through the Bazar or Market place; a woman who sate there to sell herbs, was wont usually to give him a handfull, as he passed by. This Elephant afterward being mad, brake his fetters, and tooke his way through the Market place; the people all affrighted made haste to secure themselves, amongst whom was this herbe-

woman, who for feare and haste, forgat her little child. The Elephant come to the place where shee usually sate, stopt, and seeing a child lie about her herbs, tooke it up gently with his trunke, not doing it the least harme, and layed it upon a stall under a house not farre off, and then proceeded in his furious course. Acosta (a travelling Jesuite) relates the like of an Elephant in Goa, from his owne experience. Some Elephants the King keeps for execution of Malefactors, who being brought to suffer death by that mightie beast, if his Keeper bid him dispatch the Offender speedily, will presently with his foot pash him into pieces, if otherwise he would have him tortured, this vast creature will breake his joynts by degrees one after the other, as men are broken upon the wheele.

Linschoten hath the like. See of Elephants more in this Worke, and in my Pilg. lib. 5. cap. 12.

The Mogol takes much delight in those stately creatures, and therefore oft when hee sits forth in his Majestie calls for them, especially the fairest, who are taught to bend to him as it were in reverence, when they first come into his presence. They often fight before him, beginning their combat like Rams, by running fiercely one at the other; after, as Boares with their tusks, they fight with their teeth and trunks: in this violent opposition they are each so carefull to preserve his Rider, as that very few of them at those times receive hurt. They are governed with an hook of Steele, made like the Iron end of a Boat-hook with which their keepers sitting on their neckes put them backe, or pricke them forward at their pleasure.

The King traines up many of his Elephants for the warre, who carrie each of them one Iron Gunne about sixe foot long, lying upon a square strong frame of wood, fastned with girts or ropes upon him, which like an Harquebuse is let into the timber with a loop of Iron; at the foure corners of this frame are Banners of Silke put upon short Poles, within sits a Gunner to make his shot according to his occasion. The Peece carrieth a Bullet about the bignesse of a little Tennis-ball. When the King travels he hath many Elephants thus appointed for guard. Hee keeps many of them for State to goe before him, who

are adorned with bosses of Brasse, and some of them are made of massie Silver or Gold, having likewise divers Bells about them in which they delight. They have faire coverings either of Cloth, or Velvet, or Cloth of silver or gold, and for greater state, Banners of Silke carried before them in which is the Ensigne of their great King (a Lion in the Sunne) imprinted. These are allowed each three or foure men at the least, to waite upon them. Hee makes use of others to carrie himselfe or his women, who sit in pretie convenient receptacles fastned on their backes, which our Painters describe like to Castles, made of slight turn'd Pillars richly covered, that will hold foure sitters. Others he employes for carriage of his necessaries. Onely he hath one faire Elephant which is content to be fettered, but would never indure man or other burthen on his backe.

These vast beasts though the Countrey be very fruitfull and all provision cheape, yet by reason of their huge bulke are very chargeable in keeping, for such as are well fed, stand their Masters in foure or five shillings, each of them the day. They are kept without doores, where by a sollid Chaine upon one of their hind legges, they fasten them to a Tree or some strong post. As they stand in the Sunne the Flyes often vex them, wherefore with their feete they make dust, the ground being very dry, and with their Truncks cast it about their bodies to drive away the Flyes. Whenas they are mad (as usually the Males are once a yeare for their Females, when they are lustie, but in few dayes after, come againe in temper) they are so mischievous, that they will strike any thing but their Keeper that comes in their way, and their strength is such, as that they will beate an Horse or Camell dead with their Truncke at
[II.ix.1473.] one blow. At these times to prevent mischiefe, they are kept apart from company, fettered with Chaines. But if by chance in their phrensie they get loose, they will make after every thing they see stirre, in which case there is no meanes to stop them in their violent course, but by lighting of wild-fire, prepared for that purpose, whose sparkling

and cracking makes them stand still and tremble. The King allowes every one of his great Elephants foure Females, which in their Language they call Wives, the Males Testicles lye about his fore-head, the Females Teates are betwixt her fore-legges. Shee carrieth her young one whole yeare ere she bring it forth. Thirtie yeares expire ere they come to their full growth, and they fulfill the accustomed age of man ere they dye. Notwithstanding, the great plentie of them, they are valued there at exceeding great rates, some of them prized at one thousand pounds sterling and more.

§. III.

Of the people of Indostan, their Stature, Colour, Habit, Dyet, Women, Language, Learning, Arts, Riding, Games, Markets, Armes, Valour, Mahumetane Mesquits, Burials, Opinions, and Rites of Religion.

NOw, for the Inhabitants of Indostan, they were anciently Gentiles, or notorious Idolaters, called in generall Hindoos, but ever since they were subdued by Tamberlaine, have beene mixed with Mahometans. There are besides many Persians and Tartars, many Abissines, and Armenians, and some few almost of every people in Asia, if not of Europe, that have residence here. Amongst them are some Jewes, but not beloved, for their very name is a Proverbe, or word of reproch. For the stature of these Easterne Indians, they are like us, but generally very streight, for I never beheld any in those parts crooked. They are of a tawnie or Olive colour, their haire blacke as a Raven, but not curl'd. They love not a man or woman, that is very white or faire, because that (as they say) is the colour of Lepers common amongst them. Most of the Mahometans, but the Moolaes (which are their Priests) or those that are very old and retyred, keepe their chinnes bare, but suffer the haire on their upper lip to grow as long as Nature will

Jewes hated.

White in bad estimation.

feed it. They usually shave off all the haire from their heads, reserving onely a Locke on the Crowne for Mahomet, to pull them into Heaven. Both among the Mahometans and Gentiles are excellent Barbers. The people often wash their bodies, and anoint themselves with sweet Oyles.

Attire. The Habits both of the men and women are little different, made for the most part of white Cotton-cloth. For the fashion they are close, streight to the middle, hanging loose downward below the knee, they weare long Breeches underneath, made close to their bodies that reach to their ankles, ruffling like boots on the smal of their legs. Their feet are bare in their shooes, which most commonly they weare like slippers, that they may the more readily put them off when they come into their houses, whose floores are covered with excellent Carpets (made in that Kingdom, good as any in Turkie or Persia) or somwhat else (according to the qualitie of the man) more base, upon which they sit, when as they conferre or eate like Taylors on their shop-boards. The mens heads are covered with a long thinne wreathe of Cloth, white or coloured, which goes many times about them, they call it a Shash.

Salutations. They uncover not their heads when as they doe reverence to their Superiours, but in stead of that bow their bodies, putting their right hands to the top of their heads, after that they have touched the Earth with them, as much as to say, the partie they salute, shall if he please tread upon them. Those that bee equals take one the other by the Chinne or Beard, as Joab did Amasa, 2. Sam. 20: but salute in Love, not Treacherie. They have good words to expresse their wel-wishes, as this, Greeb-a Nemoas, that is, I wish the Prayers of the Poore, and many other like these most significant.

Their women. The Mahometan women, except they bee dishonest or poore, come not abroad. They are very well favoured, though not faire, their heads covered with Veiles, their haire hangs downe behind them twisted with Silke. Those of qualitie are bedecked with many Jewels, about

their neckes and wrists, round about their Eares are holes made for Pendants, and every woman hath one of her Nostrils pierced, that there, when as shee please, shee may weare a Ring (it should seeme an ancient ornament, Es. 3. 21.)

Easie Childbirth.

The women in those parts have a great happinesse above all I know, in their easie bringing forth of Children, for it is a thing common there for women great with Childe, one day to ride carrying their Infants in their bodies; the next day to ride againe, carrying them in their armes.

[II.ix.1474.]

Language and writing.

For the Language of this Empire, I meane the vulgar, it is called Indostan, a smooth tongue, and easie to be pronounced, which they write as wee to the right hand. The Learned Tongues are Persian and Arabian, which they write backward, as the Hebrewes to the left. There is little Learning among them, a reason whereof may be their penury of Bookes, which are but few, and they, Manuscripts: but doubtlesse, they are men of strong capacities; and were there literature among them, would be the Authors of many excellent Workes.

Aristotle and Avicen.

They have heard of Aristotle, whom they call Aplis, and have some of his Bookes translated into Arabian, Avicenna, that noble Physician was borne in Samarcandia, the Countrey of Tamerlaine, in whose Science they have good skill.

Diseases.

The common Diseases of the Countrey are bloudie Fluxes, hot Fevers and Calentures, in all which they prescribe fasting as a principall remedie: that filthy Disease the consequence of Incontinencie is common amongst them.

Age.

The people in generall live about our Ages, but they have more old men.

Musicke.

They delight much in Musicke, and have many stringed and wind Instruments, which never seemed in my eare to bee any thing but discord.

Poems and Annals.

They write many wittie Poems, and compose Stories or Annals of their owne Countrey; and professe themselves to have good skill in Astrologie, and in men of that Profession, the King puts so much confidence, that hee will not undertake a Journey, nor yet

doe any thing of the least consequence, unlesse his Wizards tell him tis a good and prosperous houre.

Their yeare. The Gentiles beginne their yeare the first of March. The Mahometans theirs at the very instant (as the Astrologers ghesse) that the Sunne enters into Aries, from which time the King keepes a Feast called the Noocos, signifying nine dayes, which time it continues (like that Ahasuerus made in the third yeare of his Raigne, Ester the first) where all his Nobles assemble in their greatest pompe, presenting him with Gifts, hee repaying them againe with Princely Rewards, at which time being in his presence, I beheld most immense and incredible Riches to my amazement in Gold, Pearles, Precious Stones, Jewels, and many other glittering vanities.

Of this see before in Sir T. Roe.

This Feast I tooke notice of at Mandoa, where the Mogol hath a most spacious house larger then any I have seene, in which many excellent Arches and Vaults, speake for the exquisite skill of his Subjects in Architecture. At Agra hee hath a Palace, wherein two large Towers, the least ten foot square, are covered with plate of the purest Gold.

Hangings. There are no Hangings on the walls of his houses, by reason of the heate; the wals are either painted or else beautified with a purer white Lime, then that we call Spanish. The floores paved with stone, or else made with Lime and Sand like our Playster of Paris, are spred with rich Carpets. There lodge none in the Kings house but his women and Eunuches, and some little Boyes which hee keepes about him for a wicked use. Hee alwayes eates in private among his women, upon great varietie of excellent Dishes, which dressed and proved by the Taster, are served in Vessels of Gold (as they say) covered and sealed up, and so by Eunuchs brought to the King. He hath meate ready at all houres, and calls for it at pleasure.

Kings house.

[II.ix.1475.]

Their dyet. They feede not freely on full dishes of Beefe and Mutton (as we) but much on Rice boyled with pieces of flesh, or dressed many other wayes. They have not many roast or baked meats, but stew most of their flesh. Among

Pictures out of the Indian Copies made by the Mogols painter
Sultan Corvan &
his woman Slave
Selim Shah the Great Mogoll.

many Dishes of this kinde, Ile take notice but of one they call Deu Pario, made of Venison cut in slices, to which they put Onions and Herbs, some Rootes with a little Spice, and Butter, the most savorie meate I ever tasted, and doe almost thinke it that very Dish which Jacob made ready for his Father, when he got the blessing.

Innes. In this Kingdome there are no Innes to entertaine Strangers, onely in great Townes and Cities are faire houses built for their receit, which they call Sarray, not inhabited, where any Passengers may have roome freely, but must bring with him his Bedding, his Cooke, and other necessaries wherein to dresse his meate, which are usually carried on Camels, or else in Carts drawne with Oxen, wherein they have Tents to pitch when they meete with no Sarras.

Riding. The inferiour sort of people ride on Oxen, Horses, Mules, Camels, or Dromedaries; the women like the men, or else in slight Coaches with two Wheeles, covered on the top, and backe, but the fore-part and sides open, unlesse they carrie women. They will conveniently hold two persons, beside the Driver, they are drawne by Oxen, one yoake in a Coach, suted for colour, but many of them are white, not very large: they are guided with Cords, which goe through the parting of their Nostrils, and so twixt their Hornes into the Coach-mens hand. They dresse and keepe them clothed as their Horses. They are naturally nimble, to which use makes them so fitting to performe that labour, as that they will goe twentie miles a day, or more with good speed. The better sort ride on Elephants, or else are carried upon mens shoulders alone, in a slight thing they call a Palankee, which is like a Couch, or standing Pallat, but covered with a Cannopie: This should seeme an ancient effeminacie sometimes used in Rome, Juvenal thus describing a fat Lawyer that fil'd one of them: Causidici nova cum veniat lectica Mathonis Plena ipso—

Pastimes. For Pastimes they delight in Hawking, hunting of

Hares, Deere, or wilde Beasts: their Dogs for Chase are made somewhat like our Gray-hounds, but much lesse, they open not in the pursuite of the game. They hunt likewise with Leopards, which by leaping sease on that they pursue. They have a cunning device to take wildfowle, where a fellow goes into the water with a Fowle of that kinde he desires to catch, whose skinne is stuffed so artificially, as that it appeares alive: He keepes all his body but the face under water, on which he layes this Counterfeit: thus comming among them, plucks them by the legs under water. They shoote for pastime much in Bowes, which are made curiously in the Countrey of Buffeloes hornes, glewed together, to which they have Arrowes made of little Canes, excellently headed and feathered; in these they are so skilfull, that they will kill Birds flying. Others take delight in managing their Horses on which they ride, or else are otherwise carried though they have not one quarter of a mile to goe, the men of qualitie holding it dishonorable to goe on foote.

Slie Fowling.

Shooting.

In their houses they play much at that most ingenious game we call Chesse, or else at Tables. They have Cardes, but quite different from ours. Sometimes they make themselves merry with cunning Jugglers, or Mountebankes, who will suffer Snakes they keepe in Baskets, to bite them and presently cure the swelling with Powders; or else they see the trickes of Apes and Monkeyes.

Chesse, Tables, Cardes.

Mountebankes.

In the Southerne parts of Indostan, are great store of large white Apes, some I dare boldly say, as tall as our biggest Gray-hounds: They are fearefull as it should seeme to Birds that make their Nests in Trees, wherefore nature hath taught them this subtiltie to secure themselves, by building their little houses on the twigs of the utmost boughs, there hanging like Purse-nets, to which the Apes cannot possibly come.

Large Apes.

Cunning Birdes.

Every great Towne or Citie of India, hath Markets twice a day, in the coole season presently after the Sunne is risen, and a little before his setting. They sell almost every thing by weight. In the heate of the day they

Markets twice a day.

keepe their houses, where the men of better fashion lying on Couches, or sitting on their Carpets, have servants stand about them, who beating the Ayre with broade Fannes of stiffe Leather, or the like, make winde to coole them: And taking thus their ease, they often call their Barbers, who tenderly gripe and smite their Armes and other parts of their bodies, in stead of exercise, to stirre the bloud. It is a pleasing wantonnesse, and much used in those hot Climes.

Fidelitie.

I must needes commend the Mahumetans, and Gentiles, for their good and faithfull Service, amongst whom a stranger may travell alone with a great charge of money or goods, quite through the Countrey, and take them for his guard, yet never bee neglected or injured by them. They follow their Masters on foote, carrying swords and Bucklers, or Bowes and Arrowes for their defence: and by reason of great plentie of Provision in that Kingdome, a man may hire them upon easie conditions, for they will not desire above five shillings the Moone, paide the next day after the change, Quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc est, Et panis, fumusque domi.—to provide themselves all necessaries, and for it doe most diligent service. Such is their Pietie to their parents, that those which have no greater meanes, will impart halfe of it, at the least, to releeve their necessities, choosing rather for to famish themselves, then to see them want. [II.ix.1476.]

Courage some.

There are both among the Mahumetans and Gentiles, men of undaunted courage, those of note among the Mahumetans are called Baloches, inhabiting Hajacan, adjoyning to the Kingdome of Persia, or else Patans, taking their denomination from a Province in the Kingdome of Bengala. These will looke an enemie boldly in the face, and maintaine with their lives their reputation of valour. Among the many sects of Gentiles, there is but one race of Fighters called Rashbootes, a number of which live by spoyle, who in troopes surprize poore Passengers, cruelly butchering those they get under their power, those excepted; all the rest in the Countrey are

in generall Pusilanimous, and had rather quarrell then fight, having such poore spirits in respect of us Christians, that the Mogol is pleased often to use this Proverbe, that one Portugal will beate three of them, and one Englishman three Portugals.

Munition. *Vertoman tels of Portugal fugitives, which at the Portugals first comming, ran to the Indians, and taught them this Art.*

Touching their Munition for the warre, they have good Ordnance, made (for ought I could gather) very anciently in those parts. Iron Peeces carried upon Elephants, before described, and lesser Gunnes made for Foot-men, who are somewhat long in taking their ayme, but come as neere the marke as any I ever saw. They fire all their Peeces with Match, as for Gun-powder they make very good. They use Lances, and Swords, and Targets, Bowes and Arrowes. Their Swords are made crooked like a Faulchion, very sharpe, but for want of skill in those that temper them, will breake rather then bend, and therefore wee often sell our Sword-blades at high prices that will bow, and become streight againe. I have seene Horsemen there, who have carried whole Armories about them thus appointed; at their sides good Swords, under them Sheves of Arrowes, on their shoulders Bucklers, and upon their backs Guns fastned with Belts, at the left side Bowes hanging in Cases, and Lances about two yards and a halfe long, having excellent Steele heads, which they carrie in their hands: yet for all this Harnesse, the most of them dare not resist a man of courage, though he have for his defence but the worst of those weapons. The Armies in those Easterne warres, oftentimes consist of incredible multitudes, they talke of some which have exceeded that mightie Host which Zerah King of Ethiopia, brought against Asa, 2. Chron. 14. The musicke they have when they goe to battell, is from Kittle-drums, and long winde Instruments. The Armies on both sides usually beginne with most furious onsets, but in short time, for want of good Discipline, one side is routed, and the Controversie not without much slaughter decided.

Mesquits.

The Mahometans have faire Churches, which they call Mesquits, built of stone, the broade side towards the West

is made up close like a Wall; that towards the East is erected on Pillars, so that the length of them is North and South, which way they burie their dead: At the corners of their great Churches which stand in Cities are high Pinacles, to whose tops the Moolaas ascend certaine times of the day, and proclaime their Prophet Mahomet thus in Arabian: La Alla, illa Alla, Mahomet Resul-Alla: that is, No God but one God, and Mahomet the Ambassadour of God. This in stead of Bells (which they endure not in their Temples) put the most religious in minde of their devotion. Which words Master Coryat often hearing in Agra, upon a certaine time got up into a Turret, over against the Priest, and contradicted him thus in a loude voyce: La Alla, illa Alla, Hazaret-Eesa Ebn-Alla, No God but one God, and Christ the Sonne of God; and further added, that Mahomet was an Impostor, which bold attempt in many other places of Asia, where Mahomet is more zealously professed, had forfetted his life with as much torture as Tyrannie could invent. But here every man hath libertie to professe his owne Religion freely, and for any restriction I ever observed, to dispute against theirs with impunitie.

Coryats Cruditie.

Now concerning their burials: every Mahometan of Qualitie in his life time, provides a faire Sepulcher for himselfe and kindred, encompassing with a firme wall a good circuit of ground, neere some Tanke (about which they delight for to burie their dead) or else in a place nigh Springs of Water, that may make pleasant Fountaynes, neere which hee erects a Tombe round or square, vaulted upon Pillars, or else made close, to be entred with Doores, under which are the bodies of the dead interred. The rest of the ground they plant with Trees and Flowers, as if they would make Elysian fields, such as the Poets dreamed of, wherein their soules might take their repose. They burie not within their Churches. There are many goodly Monuments of this kinde richly adorned, built to the memorie of such as they have esteemed Saints, of which they have a large Kalender. In these are Lamps continu-

Burials neere Tankes.

Saints Kalender.

Of this see before in other Journals, Finch &c.

ally burning, whither men transported with blinde devotion daily resort, there to contemplate the happines these Pieres (for so they call them) enjoy. But among many faire Piles there dedicated to this use, the most excellent is at Secandra, a Village three miles from Agra. It was beganne by Achabar-sha, this Kings Father, who there lyes buried, and finished by this present King, who meanes to lye beside him.

Moolaas or Priests.

Their Moolaas imploy much of their time like Scriveners, to doe businesse for others, they have libertie to marrie as well as the people, from whom they are not distinguished in habite. Some live retyred, that spend

Religious.

their dayes in Meditation, or else in giving good morall Precepts unto others, there are of high esteeme, and so are another sort called Seayds, who derive themselves from Mahomet. The Priests doe neither reade nor preach in

[II.ix.1477.]

Prayer in unknown tongue.

their Churches, but there is a set forme of prayer in the Arabian tongue, not understood by most of the common people, yet repeated by them as well as by the Moolaas. They likewise rehearse the Names of God and Mahomet

Beades.

certayne times every day upon Beads, like the misse-led Papist, who seemes to regard the number, rather then the weight of Prayers. Before they goe into their Churches they wash their feete, and entring in put off their shooes.

Gesture of prayer.

As they beginne their devotions they stop their Eares and fixe their Eyes, that nothing may divert their Thoughts; then in a soft and still voyce they utter their prayers, wherein are many words, most significantly expressing the Omnipotencie, Greatnesse, Eternitie, and other attributes of God. Many words full of humiliation, confessing with divers submissive gestures their owne unworthinesse: when they pray casting themselves low upon their faces sundrie times, and then acknowledge that they are Burthens to the Earth, and Poison to the Aire, and the like, and therefore dare not so much as looke up to heaven, but at last comfort themselves in the Mercies of God through the mediation of Mahomet; and many amongst them, to the shame of us Christians, what impediment soever they

have either by pleasure or profit, pray five times every day, at six, nine, twelve, three and six of the clock. But by the way, they distinguish their time in a different manner from us, dividing the day into foure, and the night into as many parts, which they call Pores, these are againe subdivided each into eight parts, which they call Grees, measured according to the ancient custome by water dropping out of one little vessell into another, by which there alwayes stand servants appointed for that purpose, smiting with a hammer a Concave piece of pure metall, like the inner part of an ordinarie platter, hanging by the brim on a wyre, the number of Grees and Pores as they passe. For the temperance of many both among the Mahometans and Gentiles, it is such, as that they will rather die, like the Mother and her seven sonnes, 2. Mac. 7. then eate or drinke any thing their Law forbids. Such meate and drinke as their Law allowes they use onely to satisfie Nature, not Appetite; hating Gluttonie, and esteeming Drunkennesse (as indeed it is) a second Madnesse, and therefore have but one word in their language (Mest) for a Drunkard and a Mad-man.

Clepsydra clocks.

Temperance.

Mest.

They keepe a solemne Lent, which they call the Ram-Jan, about the moneth of August, which continues one whole Moone; during which time, those that bee strict in their Religion forbeare their women, and will take neither meate nor drinke so long as the Sunne is above their Horizon, but after He is set, eate at pleasure. Towards the end of this Lent they consecrate a day of Mourning, to the memorie of their dead friends, when I have beheld divers of the meaner sort make bitter lamentation. (Beside this common sadnesse, there are many foolish women who often in the yeere, so long as they survive, moysten the graves of their husbands or children, with affectionate teares.) But when the Night begins to cover the Day of generall mourning, they fire an innumerable companie of Lamps and Lights, which they set on the sides and tops of their houses, and all other most conspicuous places, and when these are extinguished, take foode. The Ram-Jan

Fast and feast.

fully ended, the most devout Mahometans assemble to some famous Misquit, where by a Moola, some part of the Alcoran (which they will not touch without reverence) is publikely read. They keepe a Feast in November, called Buccaree, signifying the Ram-feast, when they solemnely kill a Ram, and roast him in memorie of that Ram which redeemed Ishmael (as they say) when Abraham was readie to make him a sacrifice. Many other feasts they have in memorie of Mahomet and their Pieres.

Bookes.

They have the bookes of Moses, whom they call Moosa Carym-Alla, Moses the righteous of God. Ibrahim Calim-Alla, Abraham the faithfull of God. So Ishmael, the true sacrifice of God. Dahoode, David the Prophet of God. Selimon, Salomon the wisedome of God, all expressed as the former in short Arabian words; to whose particular remembrances they daily sing Ditties: and moreover, there is not a man amongst them, but those of the ruder sort, that at any time mentions the Name of our blessed Saviour, called there Hazaret-Eesa, the Lord Christ, without reverence and respect, saying, that he was a good man and a just, lived without sinne, did greater miracles then ever any before or since him; Nay farther, they call him Rhahow-Alla, the breath of God, but how he should be the Sonne of God cannot conceive, and therefore will not beleeve. Notwithstanding this, the Mahometans in generall thinke us Christians so uncleane, they will not eate with us, nor yet of any thing is dressed in our vessels.

The Maronite which translated the Arab Geographer, alleadge this reason, that he was a Christian, because he calls Christ Lord: which yet you see the Mahumetans doe.

Dervises and their severe strict Rites.

Among the Mahometans are many called Dervises, which relinquish the World, and spend their dayes in solitude, expecting a recompence in a better life; whose sharpe and strict penances they voluntarily under-take, farre exceede all those the Romanists boast of. For instance, there are some that live alone upon the tops of Hills remote from companie, there passing their time in contemplation, and will rather famish then move from these retyred Cells, wherefore the people that dwell neerest to them, out of devotion releeve them. Some

againe, impose long times of fasting upon themselves til nature be almost quite decayed. There are many other among them they call religious men, who weare nothing about them but to hide their shame, and these like the Mendicant Friars begge for all they eate. Usually they live in the Suburbs of great Cities or Townes, and are like the Man our blessed Saviour mentions, about the Citie of the Gadarens, which had Devils, and ware no clothes, neither abode in any house but in the Tombes. They make little fires in the day, sleeping at night in the warme ashes, with which they besmeare their bodies. These Ashmen suffer not the Rasor at any time to come upon their heads, and some of them let their nayles grow like Birds clawes, as it is written of Nabuchadnezzar, when hee was driven out from the societie of men. And there are a sort among them, called Mendee, who like the Priests of Baal, often cut their flesh with Knives and Launcers. Others I have seene who out of devotion put such massie Fetters of Iron upon their Legs, as that they can scarce stirre with them, and so as fast as they are able, goe many miles in pilgrimage barefoote upon the parching ground, to visit the Sepulchres of their deluding Saints, thus taking more paines to goe to Hell (Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum) then any Christian I know doth to goe to Heaven. These marry not, such as doe, Mahomet allowes foure wives, besides they take libertie to keepe as many women as they are able, only the Priests content themselves with one.

Luk. 8. 27.

[II.ix.1478.]

Dan. 4.

1. *King.* 18.

Notwithstanding this Polygamie, the hot jealousies of the lustfull Mahometans are such, that they will scarce endure the Brothers or Fathers of their beloved Wives or Women, to have speech with them, except in their presence: and Time, by this restraint, hath made it odious for such Women as have the reputation of honestie, to be seene at any time by strangers. But if they dishonour their Husbands beds, or being unmarried are found incontinent professing chastitie, rather then they shall want punishment, their owne Brothers will bee their Execu-

Adulterie punished.

tioners, who for such unnaturall acts shall be commended, rather then questioned. Yet there is toleration for impu-
Stewes. dent Harlots, who are as little ashamed to entertayne, as others, openly to frequent their houses. The Women of
Eunuchs. better fashion have Eunuchs in stead of men, to wait upon them, who in their minoritie are deprived of all that may provoke jealousie.

Marriages. Their Marriages are solemnized in great pompe, for after the Moola hath joyned their hands with some other Ceremonie and Words of Benediction, the first watch of the night they begin their jollitie, the Man on horse-backe be he poore or rich, with his friends about him, many Cresset lightly before him, with Drums and wind Instruments and other pastimes: the Woman followes with her friends in Coaches covered, and after they have thus passed the most eminent places of the Citie or Towne they live in, returne home and there part with a Banquet, the men and women separated. They marry for the most part at the ages of twelve or thirteene, their Mothers most commonly making the matches.

§. IIII.

Of the Gentiles, Sects, Opinions, Rites; Priests, and other observations of Religion and State in those parts.

Gentiles, eighty and foure sects.

NOw more particularly of the Gentiles, which are there distracted in fourscore and foure severall Sects, all differing mainly in opinion, which had oftentimes fild me with wonder, but that I know Satan (the father of division) to be the Seducer of them all. Their
Those I suppose which our stories call Brachmanes. illiterate Priests are called Bramins, who for ought I could ever gather, are so sottish and inconstant in their grounds, that they scarce know what they hold. They have little
Pagodes. Churches, which they call Pagodes, built round, in which
Opinions. are Images for worship made in monstrous shapes. Some of them dreame of Elysian fields, to which their soules must passe over a Styx or Acharon, and there take new

bodies. Others hold, that ere long the World shall have a period, after which they shall live here againe on a new Earth. Some Bramins have told me how that they acknowledge one God, whom they describe with a thousand hands, with a thousand feete, and as many eyes, thereby expressing his power. They talke of foure books, which about six thousand yeeres since were sent them from God by their Prophet Ram, whereof two were sealed up and might not be opened; the other to be read onely by themselves. They say that there are seven Orbes, above which is the Seate of God; that God knowes not petie things, or if he doe regards them not. They circumscribe God unto Place, saying, that he may be seene, but as in a Mist afarre off, not neere. They beleeve that there are Devils, but so bound in chaines that they cannot hurt them. They call a man Adam, from our first father Adam, whose wife tempted with the forbidden fruit, tooke it as they say and eate it downe, but as her husband swallowed it, the Hand of God stopped it in his throat, whence man hath a Bunch there, which women have not, called by them Adams Apple. As anciently among the Jewes, their Priesthood is hereditarie; for every Bramins sonne is a Priest, and marries a Bramins daughter; and so among all the Gentiles, the men take the daughters of those to bee their wives which are of their Fathers Tribe, Sect, and Occupation. For instance, a Merchants sonne marries a Merchants daughter. And every mans sonne that lives by his labour, marries the daughter of him that is of his owne profession, by which meanes they never advance themselves. These Gentiles take but one wife, of which they are not so fearefull as the Mahometans of their multitude, for they suffer them to goe abroad. They are married yong, at six or seven yeeres old (their Parents making the Contracts) and about twelve come together. Their Nuptials, as those of the Mahometans, are performed with much pompe and jollitie.

Tradition of Adam.

Marrying in the same Tribe and Trade.

For their Habit it differs little from the Mahometans, but many of the women weare Rings upon their Toes, [II.ix.1479.] *Their habit.*

and therefore goe barefoote. They have likewise broad Rings of brasse (or better Metall according to the qualitie of the woman) about the small of the legges to take off and on, haply such as the Prophet meant by the tinkling ornaments about the feete, or the ornaments of the legs, which the Jewish women were wont to put on, Esay 3. And such as these they have about their armes. The flaps or nether part of their eares are boared, when they are yong, which hole daily stretched and made wider by things kept in it for that purpose, at last becomes so large, that it will hold a Ring (I dare boldly say, as large as a little Sawcer) made hollow on the sides for the flesh to rest in.

Eares and Eare-rings.

Washing.

Both men and women wash their bodies every day before they eate, which done, they keepe off their clothes but the covering of modestie, till they have fed. This outward washing appertaines, as they thinke, to their clensing from sinne, not unlike the Pharisies, who would not eate with unwashen hands, Mar. 7. Hence they ascribe a certaine Divinitie to Rivers, but above all, to Ganges, daily flocking thither in Troopes, and there throw in pieces of gold, or silver, according to their devotion and abilitie, after which they wash their bodies. Both men and women paint on their fore-heads or other parts of their faces red or yellow spots.

Spots.

Now farther for their grosse opinions, they beleeve not the resurrection of flesh, and therefore burne the bodies of their dead neere some River, if they may with convenience, wherein they sowe the Ashes. Their Widowes marrie not, but after the losse of their Husbands, cut their haire, and spend all their life following, as neglected Creatures, whence to bee free from shame. Many yong women are ambitious to die with honor (as they esteeme it) when their fiery love brings them to the flames, as they thinke, of Martyrdome, most willingly: Following their dead Husbands unto the fire, and there imbracing are burnt with them; but this they doe voluntary, not compelled. The parents and friends of those women will most joyfully accompanie them, and when the wood is fitted

Burning.

Widowes.

Manner of wives burning with their husbands.

for this hellish Sacrifice, and begins to burne, all the people assembled shoute and make a noyse, that the screeches of this tortured creature may not bee heard. Not much unlike the custome of the Ammonites, who when they made their children passe through the fire to Moloch, caused certaine Tabret, or Drums to sound, that their cry might not be heard, whence the place was called Tophet, a Tabret, 2. Kings 23. 10. There is one sect among the Gentiles, which neither burne nor interre their dead (they are called Parcees) who incircle pieces of ground with high stone walls, remote from houses or Roade-wayes, and therein lay their Carkasses wrapped in Sheetes, thus having no other Tombes but the gorges of ravenous Fowles. *Parcees.*

The Gentiles for the most part are very industrious: They till the ground or else spend their time otherwaies diligently in their vocations. There are amongst them most curious Artificers, who are the best Apes for imitation in the world, for they will make any new thing by patterne. The Mahometans are generally idle, who are all for to morrow (a word common in their mouthes) they live upon the labours of the Gentiles. Some of which poore seduced Infidels, will eate of nothing that hath life, and these live upon Herbs, and Milke, and Butter, and Cheese, and Sweet-meates, of which they make divers kindes, whereof the most wholsome is greene Ginger, as well preserved there as in any part of the world. Others will eate Fish, and no living thing else. The Rashbootes eate Swines-flesh, most hatefull to the Mahometans. Some will eate of one kinde of flesh, some of another; but all the Gentiles abstaine from Beefe, out of the excellent esteeme they have of Kine, and therefore give the King yeerly (beside his other exactions) great summes of money as a ransome for those Creatures. Whence among other good provision, we meete there but with little Beefe. *Gentiles industrie, and idlenes of Moores.* *Beefe not eaten.*

Those most tender hearted Idolaters are called Banians, who hold Pithagoras his μετεμψύχωσις, as a prime Article of their Faith. They thinke that the soules of the best men and women, when their bodies let them out of Prison, *Banians.*

take their repose in Kine, which in their opinion are the best of all Creatures. So the soules of the wicked goe into viler beasts, as the soules of Gluttons and Drunkards into Swine; the soules of the voluptuous and incontinent into Monkies, and Apes; the soules of the furious, cruell, and revengefull, into Lyons, Tygers, and Wolves; the soules of the envious, into Serpents; and so into other Creatures according to their qualitie and disposition, successively from one to another of the same kinde, ad infinitum; by consequence, beleeving the immortalitie of the world. So that there is not a silly Flie, but if they may bee credited, carries about some soules (haply they thinke of light women) and will not be perswaded out of these grosse opinions, so incorrigible are their sottish errours. And therefore will not deprive the most offensive creatures of their life, not Snakes that will kill them, saying, it is their nature to doe harme, how that they have reason to shunne, not libertie to destroy them.

Foolish pittie. Charitable workes.

For their workes of Charitie, many rich men build Sarraas, or make Wells, or Tankes neere to High-wayes that are much travelled, where passengers may drinke, or else allow Pensions unto poore men, that they may sit by the High-way sides and offer water unto those that passe.

**Thursday Sabbath: Munday to Peguans, Thursday in Guinæa, Friday to Moores, Saturday to Jews, Sunday to Christians. In Java that day whereon they have begun some great worke.*

Their day of rest is *Thursday, as the Mahometans Friday. Many Festivals they have which they keepe solemne, and Pilgrimages whereof the most famous are specified in the briefe descriptions of Negracut and Cyba, where people out of devotion cut off part of their tongues, which (if Master Coryat who strictly observed it, may be beleeved) in a few daies became whole againe. It were easie to enlarge, but I will not cast away Inke and Paper in a farther description of their stupid Idolatries, the summe is, that both Mahometans and Gentiles ground their opinions upon Tradition, not Reason, and are content to perish with their Fore-fathers, out of a preposterous zeale, and loving perversenesse never ruminating on that they maintayne, like to uncleane beasts which chew not the Cud.

[II.ix.1480.]

Now both these Mahometans and Gentiles are under the subjection of the Great Mogoll, whose name signifieth a circumcised man, and therefore he is called the Great Mogoll, as much to say, the Chiefe of the Circumcision. He in lineally descended by the Father from that famous Conquerour of the East, called in our Stories Tamberlaine, in theirs Temar, who towards his end by an unhappie fall from his Horse, which made him halt to his Grave, was called Temar-lang,* or Temar the lame. The present King is the ninth in a direct Line from that his great Ancestors.

**Lang, in the Persian signifieth Lame.*

The Emperour stiles himselfe, The King of Justice, the light of the Law of Mahomet, the Conquerour of the World. Himselfe moderates in all matters of consequence which happen neere his Court, for the most part judging, secundum allegata & probata. Tryals are quicke and so are Executions, hangings, beheading, impaling, killing with Dogges, by Elephants, Serpents, and other like according to the nature of the Fact. The execution is commonly done in the Market place. The Governours in Cities and Provinces proceed in like forme of Justice. I could never heare of Law written amongst them: the King and his Substitutes will is Law. His Vice-gerents continue not long in a place, but to prevent popularitie receive usually a remoove yearely. They receive his Letters with great respect: They looke for Presents from all which have occasion to use them; and if they be not often visited will aske for them; yea, send them backe for better exchange. The Cadee will imprison Debtors and Sureties, bound with hand and Seale: and men of power for payment will sell their persons, wives, and children, which the custome of the Land will warrant.

Courts of Justice.

Bribes.

Debts.

The King shewes himselfe thrice a day; first at Sun-rising at a Bay-window toward the East, many being there assembled to give him the Salam, and crying, Padsha Salament, that is, Live, O King: At noone he sees his Elephants fight or other pastimes. A little before Sun-set, he shewes himselfe at a window to the West, and the

The Durbar.

Sunne being set, returneth in with Drums and wind Instruments, the peoples acclamations adding to the consort. At any of these three times, any Sutor holding up his Petition to be seene, shall be heard. Betwixt seven and nine he sits privately attended with his Nobles.

No Inheritance. No Subject in this Empire hath Land of Inheritance, nor have other title but the Kings will, which makes some of the Grandes to live at the height of their meanes; Merchants also to conceale their Riches lest they should be made Spunges. Some meane meanes the King allowes the Children of those great Ones, which they exceed not, except they happily succeed in their fathers favours. His

The Kings Pensions. See before in Captaine Hawkins. Pensions are reckoned by Horse, of which hee payeth a Million in his Empire, for every Horse allowing five and twentie pound yearely, raised from Lands thereunto designed. There are some twentie in his Court which have pay of five thousand Horse, others of foure thousand or three thousand, and so downward. Hee which hath pay of five thousand, is bound to have two thousand at command, and so in like proportion others. This absolute dependance makes them dissolute Parasites. When he giveth advancement, he addeth a new name, as

Gen. 41. Pharao did to Joseph, and those pithily significant, as Mahobet Chan, the beloved Lord; Chan Jahaun, the Lord of my Heart; Chan Allau, the Lord of the World, &c.

Principall Officers. The Chiefe Officers of State are his Treasurer, the Master of his Eunuches (who is Steward and Comptroller of his House) his Secretarie, the Master of his Elephants, the Tent-master, and Keeper of his Wardrobe. These are subordinate Titles of Honour, as Chan, Mirza, Umbra, or Captaine, Haddee (a Souldier or Horseman.) Gorgeous Apparell is prohibited by the Sunnes heate, the King himselfe being commonly vested with a Garment, as

Blue, mournfull colour. before described, of pure white Calico Lawne. Blue may not be worne in his presence (the colour of Mourners) nor the name of death sounded in his eares; but such casually is mollified by tearmes to this purpose; Such an one hath

made himselfe a Sacrifice at your Majesties feet. That heate of the Countrey makes little sale for English cloth, most used there for coverings of Elephants, Horses, Coaches. Yet may this King be thought to exceed any other in glorious Thrones and rich Jewels. Hee hath a Throne in his Palace at Agra, ascended by degrees, on the top whereof are foure Lions made of massie Silver, gilded, set with Precious Stones, supporting a Canopie of massie Gold. By the way I may mention, a tame Lion living in his Court while I was there, going up and downe without hurt like a Dogge. His Jewels wherewith hee is daily adorned about his head, necke, wrists, and hilts of his Sword and Dagger, are invaluable. He is on his Birth-day the first of September, (now sixtie times renewed) yearely weighed, and account kept thereof by his Physicians, thereby ghessing at his bodily estate. Part of two Letters to his Majestie (one you have before) is here translated out of Persian, sent by Sir Thomas Roe, but written, one a yeare before the other.

English cloth.

Tame Lion.

Borne 1562. *See of this and other things therefore here omitted, Sir T. Roes Journall.*

[II.ix.1481.] *Mogols Letters to his Majesty.*

WHen your Majestie shall open this Letter, let your Royall heart be as fresh, as a sweet Garden; let all people make reverence at your Gate; let your Throne be advanced higher amongst the greatnesse of Kings of the Prophet Jesus; let your Majestie be the greatest of all Monarches, who may derive their counsell and wisedome from your brest as from a Fountayne, that the Law of the Majestie of Jesus may revive and flourish under your protection. The Letters of Love and Friendship which you sent me, and the Presents (tokens of your good affection toward mee) I have received by the hands of your Embassadour Sir Thomas Roe, who well deserveth to be your trusted Servant; delivered to me in an acceptable and happie houre. Upon which mine eyes were so fixed, that I could not easily remoove them to any other Object, and have accepted them with great joy, &c. The last Letter hath this beginning.

HOw gracious is your Majestie, whose greatnesse God preserve? As upon a Rose in a Garden, so are mine eyes fixed upon you. God maintayne your Estate, that your Monarchie may prosper and be augmented, and that you may obtayne all your desires, worthy the greatnesse of your Renowme. And as your heart is noble and upright, so let God give you a glorious Raigne, because you strongly defend the Majestie of Jesus, which God yet made more flourishing, because it was confirmed by Miracles, &c.

That which followeth in both Letters, is to testifie his care and love toward the English. These Letters being written, their Copies were sent to the Lord Embassadour, and the originals rolled up and covered with cloth of Gold, and sealed up at both ends; which is the Letter-fashion of those parts.

Sealing Letters.

King's Progresse and Campe.

We travelled two yeares with the Great Mogoll in progresse, in the temperate moneths twixt October and April, there being no lesse then two hundred thousand men, women, and children in this Leskar, or Campe (I am hereof confident) besides Elephants, Horses, and other beasts that eate Corne: all which notwithstanding, wee never felt want of any provision, no not in our nineteene dayes travell from Mandoa to Amadavar, thorow a Wildernesse, the Road being cut for us in the mayne Woods. The Tents were of divers colours, and represented a spacious and specious Citie: The Kings Tents red, reared on poles very high, and placed in the midst of the Campe, covering a large compasse, incircled with Canats (made of red Calico stiffened with Canes at every breadth, standing upright about nine foot high) guarded round every night with Souldiers. He remooved ten or twelve miles a day more or lesse according to the convenience of water. His Wives and Women of all sorts (which are one thousand at least, provided for in his Tents) are carryed in Palankas, or upon Elephants, or else in Cradles, hanging on the sides of Dromedaries, covered close and attended by

His Tents.

His women.

Eunuches. In wiving, he respects fancie more then honour, not seeking affinitie with Neighbour Princes, but to please his eye at home. Noore-Mahal (the name of his best Beloved) signifieth the Light of the Court: Shee hath much advanced her friends, before meane, and in manner commands the Commander of that Empire by engrossing his affections. The King and his Great men maintayne their women, but little affect them after thirtie yeares of their age.

His children. This multitude of women notwithstanding, the Mogoll hath but sixe Children, five Sonnes and a Daughter. All his Sonnes are called Sultans, or Princes, the eldest Sultan Cursero, the second, Sultan Parneis, Sultan Caroon the third, Sultan Shahar the fourth, the last is Sultan Tauct, which word in the Persian signifieth, A Throne: so named by the King, who the first houre of his quiet possessing the Throne, had newes of his birth, about nineteene yeares since. The first Sonne by any of his marryed Wives, by prerogative of birth inherits: the elder Brother beeing there called the Great Brother. Although the younger be not put to death, as with the Turkes, yet it is observed, that they survive not long their Father, employed commonly in some dangerous expedition. Achabar-sha had threatned to dis-herit the present King for abuse of Anar-kalee, (that is, Pomegranate kernell) his most beloved Wife, but on his death-bed repealed it. This Achabars death is thus reported. He was wont upon displeasure to give Pils to his Grandes, to purge their soules from their bodies; which intending against One, and having another Cordiall Pill for himselfe, whiles hee entertayned the other with faire flatteries, by a happie-unhappie mistake hee tooke the Poyson himselfe, which with a mortall Fluxe of bloud in few dayes killed him: Neque enim lex justior ulla est. Quàm necis artifices arte perire suâ.

Achabars death.

The Mogolls disposition. This Kings disposition seemes composed of extreames, very cruell, and otherwhiles very milde; often overcome with Wine, but severely punishing that fault in others.

His Subjects know not to disobey, Nature forgetting her private bonds twixt Father and Sonne to fulfill that publike. He daily relieves many poore, and will in pietie helpe to carrie sometimes his Mother in a Palanka on his shoulders. He speakes respectively of our Saviour, but is offended at his Crosse and povertie, thinking them incompetible to such Majestie, though told that his humilitie was to subdue the Worlds pride.

Respect to Priests. All Religions are tolerated, and their Priests in good esteeme. My selfe often received from the Mogoll himselfe, the appellation of Father, with other many gracious words, with place amongst his best Nobles. *Jesuits and Converts.* The Jesuites have not only admittance into his presence, but incouragements from him by many gifts, with libertie of converting to them; and to the subject, to be without losse of favour converted. He made tryall of one Convert with many [II.ix.1482.] threats to deterre him from his new profession, and finding him undauntedly resolute, he assayed by flatteries and promises to re-gaine him, but therein also failing, hee bade him continue, and with a Reward discharged him; having told him, that if he could have frayed or brought him from his Religion, he would have made him an *Jesuite-Agent. Vaine Bragges.* example for all Waverers. The chiefe Jesuite was Franciscus Corsi a Florentine by birth, living at the Mogolls Court, Agent for the Portugals, I would I were able to confirme the Reports of their Conversions. The truth is, they have spilt the water of Baptisme upon some faces working on the necessities of poore men, who for want of meanes, which they give them, are content to weare Crucifixes; but for want of instruction are only in name Christians. (I observed that of the poore there, five have begged in the name of Marie, for one in the Name of Christ) I also desired to put my hand to this holy Worke, but found it difficult, both by Mahumetane libertie for women, and the debauched lives of some Christian-unchristian men amongst them, Per quorum latera patitur Evangelium. Hee which hath the Key of

David, open their eyes, and in his good time send Labourers into this Vineyard. Amen.

Because you have the transcripts of Letters from the Great Mogoll, I have added here part of a Letter from the Great Turke, to his Majestie, that the Reader may delight himselfe with the strangenesse of the stile.

Sultan Achmet Chan, Sonne unto the Sultan Mehemet Chan most invincible.

TO the most glorious of the great Lords that follow Jesus, elected by the great and mightie of the Christian Faith: Corrector of the things of all the Nations of the Nazaritanes; endued with the brightnesse of Lordship, Honour, Majestie, and Glorie, King James of the Kingdome of England, &c. whose end be with all happinesse and felicitie.

At the comming of this our Imperiall Letter to your Majesties hands, with our Imperiall signe, you shall understand of the arrivall at our Port (which Port is indeed the refuge of Justice, and the Gate of Honourable succour, yea, the principall place of all the Kings of the World) of one of your Majesties Honourable and acceptable Gentlemen, Thomas Glover, with your Majesties most friendly and most sincere Letter; the tenour whereof is, That by the good will and pleasure of the sole Creator of the World, your Majestie hath not only taken in possession the Kingdom of England, but also as heretofore the deceased Queene of England hath beene in sincere and mutuall Friendship and Peace with our sublime and most happie Port; so your Majestie also consequently vouchsafeth to manifest and approove the same. Moreover, your Majestie hath given us to understand, that your will and pleasure is, that the Subjects of your Majesties Countries, in manner as heretofore they were wont, should come and traffique in these our guarded Dominions, and so to the end accordingly at their pleasures might continue in the same. Finally, all those things that were by it certified unto our Imperiall Great-

nesse, we have sufficiently comprehended and understood. Now your Majestie shall understand, that it being from the time of our Father and Grand-father, of most happie Memories, alwaies the custome and use, and most excellent order, to hold our most high and sublime Port open, now also in conformitie thereof, especially we being by the Divine grace and favour seated in the Throne of Justice, it is not any way prohibited nor forbidden to any person to enter, and to depart from the same. Especially the Queene of England of good Memorie, being in friendship, from the time of our Father and Grand-father of most happie Memorie, it hath beene alwaies the use and custome to shew unto her Subjects, who trade and traffique within our Musulmanicall guarded Dominions, all extraordinary favour, grace, and aide. Now by the great favour of the Omnipotent God, we being come and established with honour, felicitie, prosperitie and greatnesse in the Seate and Throne of happinesse, in conformitie of the above said favours, before it was on your Majesties behalfe requested for the renovation of the peace and entercourse, which is betwixt us, wee have not only caused to renew the Capitulations for the securitie of the traffique of the Merchants, giving the same into the hands of your Majesties Ambassadour, but also, &c.

Written the last day of the Moone, called Giemasillenel, and of the Moones of the yeare of the transmigration of our Prophet, on whom the grace and peace of the highest God continue. 1013.

In the Residence of our Excelse Kingdome of Constantinople guarded.

Chap. VII. [II.ix.1483.]

The Travels of Lewis Barthema or Vertoman into Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, and India, heretofore published in English by R. Eden, and here corrected according to Ramusios Copie, and contracted.

§. I.

His Travell thorow the Desarts of Medina and Mecha, and their profane Holies.

DEparting from Venice with prosperous winds, in few dayes wee arrived at the Citie of Alexandria in Egypt: where the desire wee had to know things more strange and further off, would not permit us to tarrie long. And therefore departing from thence, and sayling up the River of Nilus, we came to the Citie of new Babylon, commonly called, Cayro. It seemed to mee much inferiour to the report and fame that was thereof: for the greatnesse thereof seemed nothing agreeable to the bruit, and appeared no more in circuit then the Citie of Rome, although much more peopled, and better inhabited. But the large fields of the Suburbs have deceived many, being dispersed with in manner innumerable Villages, which some have thought to have beene part of the Citie, which is nothing so. For those Villages and dispersed houses, are two or three miles from the Citie, and round about it on every side. *Cayro.*

Departing from Babylon, and returning to Alexandria, where we againe entred into our Sea, we came to Barutti, a Citie on the Sea-coast of Syria. From hence wee sayled to Tripoli. From thence we came to Aleppo. Departing from thence, we came to Damasco, in ten dayes journey. *Damasco.*

It is in manner incredible, and passeth all beliefe, to

thinke how faire the Citie of Damasco is, and how fertile is the soyle. And therefore allured by the marvellous beautie of the Citie, I remayned there many dayes, that learning their Language, I might know the manners of the People. The Inhabitants are Mahumetans, and Mamalukes, with many Christians, living after the manner of the Greekes. When it pleaseth the Sultan to extort a certaine summe of Gold of his Noblemen or Merchants (for they use great robberies and murthers (for the Moores are under the Mamalukes, as Lambs to the Wolfe) he sends two Letters to the Captaine of the Castle. In the one is contayned, that with an Oration he invite to the Castle such as pleaseth him. In the other is declared the minde of the Soldan, what hee demandeth of his Subjects. When the Letters bee read, with all expedition they accomplish his commandement, bee it right or wrong, without respect. This meanes the Soldan invented to extort money. Yet sometimes it commeth to passe, that the Noblemen are of such strength, that they will not come when they are commanded, knowing that the Tyrant will offer them violence. And therefore oftentimes when they know that the Captaine of the Castle will call them, they flee into the Dominions of the Turke. This have we gathered as touching their manners; wee have also observed, that the Watchmen in the Towers, doe not give warning to the Guard with lively voyce, but with Drummes, the one answering the other by course. But if any of the Watchmen be so sleepie, that in a Pater noster while he answere not to the sound of the watch, hee is immediatly committed to prison for one whole yeere. In every house are seene Fountaines of curious worke embossed and graven. Their houses outwardly are not beautifull, but inwardly marvelously adorned with variable workes of Marble and Porphyr. Within the Towne are many Temples or Churches, which they call, Moscheas. But that which is most beautifull of all other, is builded after the manner of Saint Peters Church in Rome, if you respect the greatnesse,

Christians Greekes.

A strange manner to demand a subsidie.

Their Churches.

excepting this, that in the middle is no roofe or coverture, but is all open: but about the rest of the Temple, it is altogether vaulted. There they observe religiously the bodie of the holy Prophet Zacharie. The Temple hath also foure great double gates of metall, very faire, and many goodly Fountaines within it.

The bodie of the Prophet Zacharias.

The Mamalukes are that kind of men, which have forsaken our Faith, and as slaves are bought by the Governour. They are very active, and brought up both in learning and warlike discipline, untill they come to great perfection. As well the little as the great, without respect, receive stipend of the Governour: which for every moneth amounteth to six of those pieces of Gold which they call Saraphos, beside the meat and drinke for himselfe and his servant, and also provision for his Horse. And the more expert they be, and of greater activitie, they have the greater wages. They walke not in the Citie but by two or three together, for it is counted dishonour for any of them to walke without a companion. And if by the way they chance to meet with two or three women (for they lay waite to tarrie for them about such houses whither they know the women resort) licence is granted them, as they by chance first meet with them, to bring them into certaine Tavernes, where they abuse them. When the Mamalukes attempt to discover their faces (for they goe with their faces covered) they strive with them, because they will not be knowne: but when the Mamalukes persist wantonly to discover them, they say thus unto them, Is it not enough for you, that you have abused our bodies as pleaseth you, but that you will also discover our faces? Then the Mamalukes suffer them to depart. But sometime it chanceth, that when they thinke to prostitute the daughter of some Gentlemen or Noblemen, they commit the fact with their owne wives: which thing chanced whilest I was there. The women beautifie and garnish themselves as much as any. They use silken apparell, and cover them with cloth of Gossampine, in maner as fine as Silke. They weare white

The Mamaluks. See Baumgarten in the end of the former Booke.

[II.ix.1484.] *How the Mamalukes abuse women.*

The women of Damasco.

Buskins, and Shooes of red or purple colour. They garnish their heads with many Jewels and Eare-rings, and weare Rings and Bracelets. They marrie as often as them listeth: for when they are wearie of their first marriage, they goe to the Cady, and make request to him to bee divorced from their first marriage. Some thinke, that the Mahumetans have five or sixe wives together, which I have not observed: but as farre as I could perceive, they have but two or three. They eate openly, especially in their Marts or Faires, and there dresse they all their meates. They eate Horses, Camels, Buffels, Goats, and such other beasts. They have great abundance of fresh Cheese. They that sell Milke, drive about with them, fortie or fiftie Goats, which they bring into the houses of them that will buy milke, even up into their chambers, although they bee three roofes high, and there milke them, to have it fresh and new. These Goats have their eares a span long, many udders or paps, and are very fruitfull. There is great abundance of Mushroms, for sometimes there are seene, twentie or thirtie Camels laden with Mushroms, and yet in the space of three dayes they are all sold. They are brought from the Mountaines of Armenia, and from Asia the lesse, which is now called, Turkia or Natolia, or Anatolia.

The Mahumetans wives.

Goats milke.

Mushroms.

Asia the lesse, now named Natolia, or Turkia.

The Mahumetans use long Vestures and loose, both of Silke and Cloth. The most part use Hose of Gossampine cloth, and white Shooes. When any of the Mahumetans by chance meeteth with any of the Mamalukes, although the Mahumetan be the worthier person, yet giveth he place and reverence to the Mamaluke, who otherwise would give him the Bastonado, and beat him with a staffe. The Christians also keepe there many Ware-houses of Merchandise, where they have divers sorts of Silkes and Velvet: but the Christians are there evill entreated.

Christians of Damasco.

The journey from Damasco to Mecha, and of the manners of the Arabians.

In the yeere of our Lord 1503. the eighth day of the moneth of Aprill, the Caravan being readie to goe to Mecha, I entred familiaritie and friendship with a certaine

Captaine Mamaluke, of them that had forsaken our Faith, with whom being agreed of the price, hee prepared me apparell like unto that which the Mamalukes use to weare, and giving me also a good Horse, accompanied me with the other Mamalukes. This (as I have said) I obtayned with great cost, and many gifts which I gave him. Thus entring to the journey, after the space of three dayes, we came to a certaine place named Mezerick, where we remayned three dayes, that the Merchants which were in our companie might provide things necessarie, as specially Camels, and divers other things. There is a certaine Prince whom they call Zambei, of great power in the Countrey of Arabia: he had three brethren, and foure children. He nourisheth fortie thousand Horses, ten thousand Mares, and foure thousand Camels. The Countrey where he keepeth the herds of these beasts, is large, of two dayes journey. This Prince Zambei, is of so great power, that he keepeth warre with the Soltan of Babylon, the Governours of Damasco, and of Jerusalem. In the time of Harvest & gathering of fruits, hee is given wholly to prey and robbing, and with great subtiltie deceiveth the Arabians: for, when they thinke him to bee a mile or two off, hee is with them suddenly betimes in the morning: and invading their Lands, carrieth away their fruits, Wheat, and Barley, even as hee findeth it in the sackes: and so liveth continually day and night with such incursions. When his Mares bee wearied with continuall running, hee resteth a while: and to refresh them, giveth them Camels Milke to drinke, to coole them after their great labour. Those Mares are of such marvellous swiftnesse, that when I presently saw them, they seemed rather to flye then to runne. Note also, that these Arabians ride on Horses without Saddles, and weare none other vesture then onely an inward Coat, or Peticoat, except some chiefe men; for weapon, they use a certaine long Dart of Reeds, of the length of ten or twelve cubits, pointed with Iron (after the manner of Javelins) and fringed with Silke. When they attempt any incursions,

Mezerik.

The Prince Zambei in Arabia.

The Prince of Jerusalem.

A Prince a Theefe.

Mares.

The Arabians live by robberie.

they march in such order, that they seeme to goe in troups: they are of despicable and little stature, and of colour betweene yellow and blacke. They have the voyces of women, and the haire of their head long and blacke, and laid out at large. They are of greater multitude then a man would beleeve, and are among themselves at continuall strife and warre. They inhabite the Mountaines, and have certaine times appointed to robberie: for this purpose they observe especially the time, when they are certaine of the passage of the Pilgrims, and other that journey that way to Mecha, then like Theeves they lie in the way and robbe them. When they make these theeyish invasions, they bring with them their Wives, Children, Families, and all the goods they have. Their Houses they put upon the Camels: for other Houses have they none, but live onely in Tents and Pavilions, as doe our Souldiers.

[II.ix.1485.] *Houses borne on Camels backes.* *Tents and Pavilions.*

Such Tabernacles are made of blacke wooll, and that rough and filthie. But to returne to our Voyage. The eleventh day of Aprill, departed from Mezaribe the companie of Camels (which they call the Caravan) to the number of five and thirtie thousand, with fortie thousand men. But wee were no more then threescore Mamalukes, which had taken the charge to guide and guard the Caravan; which was divided into three parts, some in the front, other in the middest of the Armie, and other in the reare. Damasco is from Mecha fortie dayes and fortie nights journey. Departing therefore from Mezaribe, we continued our journey that day, untill the two and twentieth houre of the day. Then our Captaine, after hee had given the watch-word and signe, commanded that every man should rest and remayne in the place where the signe should be given them. Therefore as soone as they heard the signe, by the sound of a Trumpet, they stayed, and after they had unburdened their Camels, spent there two houres to victuall themselves and their beasts: then the Captaine giving a new signe, charging their Camels againe, they departed speedily from thence.

This for feare of the Arabians.

From Damasco to Mecha.

Perhaps with the sound of a Horne or Trumpet.

Every Camell hath at one feeding five Barley loaves, raw and not baked, as big as a Pomgranate. Taking horse, they continued that journey the day and night following, untill two and twentie houres of the day, and at that houre they observe the order which we have spoken off here before. Every eighth day they draw water by digging the ground or sand: by the way nevertheless somwhere are found Wells and Cisternes. After every eighth day, they rest their Camels one or two dayes to recover their strength. The Camels are laden with incredible burdens, and double charge: that is to meane, the burden of two great Mules. They drinke but once in three dayes. They give them to eate five Barley loaves as big as a Pomgranate.

Water.

The burden of the Camels.

When they tarrie and rest them at the waters aforesaid, they are ever enforced to conflict with a great multitude of the Arabians: but the battell is for the most part without bloudshed: for although we have oftentimes fought with them, yet was there onely one man slaine on our part; for these Arabians are so weake and feeble, that threescore Mamalukes, have often put to the worst, fortie or fiftie thousand Arabians. For no Pagans are in strength or force of Armes to be compared to the Mamalukes, of whose activitie I have seene great experience: among the which this is one. A certaine Mamaluke layed an Apple upon the head of his servant, and at the distance of about twelve or fourteene paces, strooke it off from his head. I saw likewise another, who riding on a saddled Horse with full course (for they use Saddles as we doe) tooke off the Saddle from the Horse still running, and for a space bearing it on his head, put it againe on the Horse still continuing in his full course.

The feeblenesse of the Arabians.

Pagans.

The activitie of the Mamalukes.

Passing the journey of twelve dayes, we came to the Valley of Sodoma and Gomorrha, where we found it to be true, that is written in holy Scripture: for there is yet to be seene, how they were destroyed by Miracle. I affirme that there are three Cities. There is yet seene, I wot not what, like Bloud, or rather like red Waxe mixt

with Earth, three or foure yards deepe. It is easie to beleeve that those men were infected with most horrible vices, as testifieth the barren Region, utterly without water. Those people were once fed with Manna: but when they abused the gift of God, they were sore plagued. Departing twentie miles from these Cities, about thirtie of our companie perished of thirst, and divers other were buried in the sand, not yet fully dead. Going somewhat further forward, wee found a little Mountaine, at the foot whereof we found water, and therefore made our abode there. The day following early in the morning, came unto us foure and twentie thousand Arabians, asking money for the water which wee had taken. Wee answered, that wee would pay nothing, because it was given us by the goodnesse of God. Immediatly we came to hand-strokes. Wee gathering our selves together on the said Mountaine, as in the safest place, used our Camels in the stead of a Bulwarke, and placed the Merchants in the middest of the Armie (that is) in the middest of the Camels, while we fought manfully on every side. The battell continued so long, that water fayled both us and our Enemies in the space of two dayes. The Arabians compassed about the Mountaine, crying and threatning that they would breake in among the Camels: at the length, to make an end of the conflict, our Captaine assembling the Merchants, commanded a thousand and two hundred pieces of Gold to be given to the Arabians: who when they had received the money, said, that the summe of ten thousand pieces of Gold should not satisfie them for the water which we had drawne. Whereby we perceived that they began further to quarrell with us, and to demand some other thing then money. Whereupon incontinent our Captaine gave commandement, that whosoever in all our companie were able to beare Armes, should not mount upon the Camels, but should with all expedition prepare themselves to fight. The day following in the morning, sending the Camels before, and enclosing our Armie, being about three hundred in

A conceit of Manna contrarie to Scripture.

number, we met with the Enemies, and gave the onset. In this conflict, we lost onely a man and a woman, and had none other damage: we slue of the Arabians a thousand and five hundred. Whereof you need not marvel, if you consider that they are unarmed, and weare only a thin loose vesture, and are beside almost naked: their Horses also being as evill furnished, and without Saddles, or other furniture.

In the space of eight dayes, wee came to a Mountayne [II.ix.1486.] which containeth in circuit ten or twelve miles. This is inhabited with Jewes, to the number of five thousand, or *Jewes Pigmei.* thereabout. They are of very little stature, as of the height of five or sixe spannes, and some much lesse. They have small voyces like women, and of blacke colour, yet some blacker then other: They feede of none other meate then Mutton. They are circumcised, and deny not themselves to be Jewes. If by chance any Mahumetan come into their hands, they flay him alive. At the foote of the Mountayne, we found a certaine hole, wherein the Raine water was received. By finding this opportunitie, we laded sixteene thousand Camels, which thing greatly offended the Jewes. They wandred in that Mountayne, scattered like wilde Goates or Prickets, yet durst they not come downe, partly for feare, and partly for hatred against the Mahumetans. Beneath the Mountayne are seene seven or eight Thorne trees, very faire, and in them wee found a paire of Turtle Doves, which seemed to us in manner a miracle, having before journied fifteen dayes and nights, and saw neither Beast nor Fowle. Then proceeding two dayes journey, wee came to a certaine Citie named Medina Talnabi: foure miles from the said *Medina Talnabi, that is, the Citie of the Prophet.* Citie, we found a Well. And remayning here one day, we washed our selves, and changed our Shirts, the more freshly to enter into the Citie: it is well peopled, and contayneth about three hundred houses, the Walls are like Bulwarkes of earth, and the houses both of stone and bricke. The soyle about the Citie is cursed of God, and is utterly barren, except that about two stones cast from

the Citie, are seene about fiftie or sixtie Palme trees that beare Dates. There, by a certaine Garden, runneth a course of water, falling into a lower Plaine, where also passengers are accustomed to water their Camels. And here opportunitie now serveth to confute the opinion of them which thinke that the Arke or Tombe of wicked Mahumet in Mecha, to hang in the Ayre, not borne up with any thing. I affirme this neither to be true, nor to have any likenesse of truth, I presently beheld these things, and saw the place where Mahumet is buried, in the said Citie of Medina Talnabi: for we tarryed there three daies, to come to the true knowledge of all these things. When we were desirous to enter into their Temple, wee could not be suffered to enter, without a companion, little or great, of those Moores. They taking us by the hand, brought us to the place where, they say, Mahumet is buried.

The Tombe or Sepulchre of Mahumet.

Mahumet was not buried in Mecha.

The Sepulchre of Mahumet and his fellowes.

His Temple is square, and is a hundred Paces in length, and fourescore in breadth; the entrie into it, is by two Gates; from the sides it is covered with three Vaults, it is borne up with foure hundred Columnes, or Pillars of white Bricke, there are seene hanging Lampes about the number of three thousand. From the other part of the Temple, in the first place of the Meschita, is seene a Tower of the circuit of five Paces, vaulted on every side, and covered with a cloth of silke, and is borne up with a grate of Copper, curiously wrought, and distant from it two Paces: and of them that goe thither, is seene, as it were, through a Lettice. Toward the left hand, is the way to the Tower, and when you come thither, you must enter by a narrower Gate. On every side of those Gates or Doores, are seene many bookes, in manner of a Librarie, on the one side twentie, and on the other side five and twentie, which are of Mahumet and his fellowes: within the said Gate is seene a Sepulchre, that is, a grave under the earth, where Mahumet was buried. There are also his two sonnes in law, Hali and Othman; Hali was his brothers sonne, and tooke to wife Fatina, the daughter

Mahumets Librarie.

of Mahumet. There are also his two fathers in law, Bubecher and Homer. These foure were chiefe Captaines of the Armie of Mahumet. Every of these have their proper bookes of their facts and traditions. And hereof proceedeth the great dissention and discord of Religion and manners among this kind of filthie men, while some confirme one Doctrine, and some another, by reason of their divers sects of Patrons, Doctors, and Saints, as they call them. By this meanes are they marvellously divided among themselves, and like beasts kill themselves, for such quarrels of divers opinions, and all false.

For declaration of the sect of Mahumet, understand that in the highest part of the Tower aforesaid, is an open round * place. Now shall you understand what craft they used to deceive our Caravan. The first Evening that we came thither, our Captaine sent for the chiefe Priest of the Temple, to come to him: and bid him shew him the body of Nabi, that is, the Prophet, and that he would give three thousand Seraphins of gold. Also that hee had no Parents, neither Brothers, Sisters, Kinsfolke, Children, or Wives, neither that he came thither to buy Merchandize, as Spices, or any manner of precious Jewels: but onely for very zeale of Religion, and salvation of his soule, and was therefore greatly desirous to see the bodie of the Prophet. To whom the Priest of the Temple, with proude countenance, made answer in this manner: Darest thou with those eyes with the which thou hast committed so many horrible sinnes, desire to see him by whose sight God hath created Heaven and Earth? To whom againe our Captaine answered, thus: My Lord, you have said truly; neverthelesse I pray you that I may finde so much favour with you, that I may see the Prophet: whom when I have seene, I will immediately thrust out mine eyes. The Side answered: O Sir, I will open all things unto thee. So it is, that no man can denie but that our Prophet dyed here, who if he would, might have dyed at Mecha: But to shew in himselfe a token of humilitie, and thereby to give us example to follow him,

*Cupola.

The Devill he was.

he was willing rather here then elsewhere to depart out of this world, and was incontinent of Angels borne into Heaven, and abides in the presence of God. Then our [II.ix.1487.] Captaine said to him: Where is Jesus Christ the Sonne of Marie? To whom the Side answered: At the feet of Mahumet. Then said our Captaine againe: It sufficeth, it sufficeth, I will know no more. After this, our Captaine comming out of the Temple, and turning him to us, said: See (I pray you) for what goodly stuffe I would have paide three thousand Seraphs of gold? The same day at Evening, at almost three a clocke of the night, ten

Old men.

or twelve of the Elders of that Sect of Mahumet, entred into our Caravan, which remained not past a stones cast from the Gate of the Citie. These ran hither and thither crying like mad men, with these words, Mahumet the messenger of God shall rise againe. O Prophet, O God, have mercie on us. Our Captaine and wee all raised with this crie, tooke weapon with all expedition, suspecting that the Arabians were come to rob our Caravan: We asked what was the cause of that exclamation, and what they cryed? for they cried as doe the Christians, when suddenly any marvellous thing chanceth. The Elders answered:

False miracles to confirme false Religion.

Saw you not the lightning which shone out of the Sepulchre of the Prophet Mahumet. Our Captaine answered, that he saw nothing; and we also being demanded, answered in like manner. Then said one of the old men, Are yee slaves? that is to say, bought men: meaning thereby Mamalukes. Then said our Captaine, We are indeed Mamalukes. Then againe the old man said, You my Lords, cannot see heavenly things, as being not yet confirmed in our Religion. To this our Captaine answered againe, O yee mad and insensate beasts, I had thought to have given you three thousand pieces of gold, but now, O you Dogs, and progenie of Dogs, I will give you nothing. It is therefore to be understood, that none other shining came out of the Sepulchre, then a certaine flame which the Priests caused to come out of the open place of the Tower spoken of here before, whereby they

would have deceived us. And therefore our Captaine commanded that thereafter none of us should enter into the Temple. Of this also we have most true experience, and most certainly assure you, that there is neither Iron or Steele, or the Magnes stone that should so make the Tombe of Mahumet to hang in the Ayre, as some have falsely imagined: neither is there any Mountayne neerer then foure miles: we remayned here three dayes to refresh our companie. To this Citie victuals and all kind of Corne is brought from Arabia Fœlix, and Babylon, or Alcayr, and also from Ethiopia, by the Red Sea, which is from this Citie but foure daies journey.

The fable that Mahomets Tombe hangeth in the Ayre.

After that we were wearied with the trumperies of the Religion of Mahumet, we determined to goe forward on our journey: and that by guiding of a Pilot, who directed our course with the Mariners Box, or Compasse and Card, even as is used in sayling on the Sea. And thus bending our journey by the South, wee found a very faire Well or Fountayne, from the which flowed abundance of water. The Inhabitants affirme that Saint Marke the Evangelist was the Author of this Fountaine, by a miracle of God, when that Region was in manner burned with incredible drinesse. Here wee and our Beasts were satisfied with drinke. I may not here omit to speake of the Sea of Sand, and of the dangers thereof. This was found of us before we came to the Mountayne of the Jewes. In this Sea of Sand we travelled the journey of five daies, and five nights: this is a great broad Plaine, all covered with white Sand, in manner as small as Floure: If the winde had blowne from the South (as it came to us from the North) we had beene all over-whelmed with Sand. And although wee had prosperous winde, yet wee could scarcely see the one the other ten Paces off. And therfore the Inhabitants travelling this way, are inclosed in Cages of wood, borne with Camels, and live in them, so passing the journey, guided by Pilots with Mariners Compasse and Card, even as on the Sea, as we have said. In this journey also many perish for thirst, and many by

The journey to Mecha.

Journey on the land by Card and Compasse as on the Sea.

The Sea of Sand.

drinking too much, when they find such good waters. In *Momia.* these Sands is found Momia, which is the flesh of such men as are drowned in these Sands, and there dried by the heate of the Sunne: So that those bodies are preserved from putrifaction by the drinesse of the Sand: and therefore that dry flesh is esteemed medicinable. When the wind bloweth from the North, then the Sand riseth, and is driven against a certaine Mountayne, which is an arme of *Mount Sinai.* the Mount Sinai. There we found certaine Pillars artificially wrought. On the left hand of the said Mountayne, in the top or ridge thereof is a Den, and the entrie into it is by an Iron Gate. Some faine that in that place Mahumet lived in contemplation. Here wee heard a certaine horrible noyse and crye: for passing the said Mountayne, wee were in so great danger, that we thought never to have escaped. Departing therefore from the Fountayne, we continued our journey for the space of ten dayes: And twice in the way fought with fiftie thousand Arabians, and so at the length came to the Citie of Mecha, where all things were troubled by reason of the warres betweene two brethren, contending which of them should possesse the Lordship of Mecha.

The den where Mahumet lived in contemplation.

Of Mecha, and why the Mahumetans resort thither.

Now the time requireth to speake somewhat of the famous Citie of Mecha, or Mecca, what it is, how it is situate, and by whom it is governed. The Citie is very faire, and well inhabited, and contayneth in Compasse six thousand houses, as well builded as ours, and some that cost three or foure thousand Ducats of gold: it hath no walls. About two furlongs from the Citie is a Mount, where the way is cut out, which leadeth to a Plaine beneath. It is on every side fortified with Mountaynes in the stead of walls or Bulwarkes, and hath foure entries. The Gover- *The Sultan of Mecha.* nour is a Sultan, and one of the foure brethren of the Progenie of Mahumet, and is subject to the Sultan of Babylon, of whom we have spoken before: his other three [II.ix.1488.] brethren bee at continuall warre with him. The eighteenth day of May, we entred into the Citie by the North side: then by a declining way, we came into a Plaine.

On the South side are two Mountaynes, the one very neere the other, distant onely by a little Valley, which is the way that leadeth to the Gate of Mecha. On the East side, is an open place betweene two Mountaynes, like unto a Vally, and is the way to the Mountayne where they sacrifice to the Patriarkes Abroham and Isaac. This Mountayne is from the Citie about eight or ten miles, and of the height of three stones cast: it is of stone as hard as Marble, yet no Marble. In the top of the Mountayne, is a Temple or Meschita, made after their fashion, and hath three wayes to enter into it. At the foot of the Mountayne are two Cisternes, which conserve waters without corruption: of these, the one is reserved to minister water to the Camels of the Caravan of Babylon, or Alcayr; and the other, for them of Damasco. It is raine water, and is derived farre off.

Sacrifice to Abraham and Isaac.

But to returne to speake of the Citie: for as touching the manner of sacrifice, which they use at the foote of the Mountayne, we will speake hereafter. Entring therefore into the Citie, we found there the Caravan of Cayro, which prevented us eight daies, and came not the way that we came. This Caravan contained threescore and foure thousand Camels, and a hundred Mamalucks to guide them. And here ought you to consider, that by the opinion of all men, this Citie is greatly cursed of God, as appeareth by the great barrennesse thereof, for it is destitute of all manner of Fruits and Corne. It is scorched with drynesse for lacke of water, and therefore the water is there growne to such price, that you cannot for foure Quatrini buy as much water as will satisfie your thirst for one day. Now therefore, I will declare what provision they have for victuals. The most part is brought them from the Citie of Cayros; There is brought by the Red Sea, from a certaine Port, named Ziden, distant from Mecha fortie miles. The rest of their provisions, is brought from Arabia Fœlix (that is) the happy or blessed Arabia: so named for the fruitfulnesse thereof, in respect of the other two Arabiaes, called Petrea, and

Mecha cursed of God.

Water very deare.

Ziden.

Arabia Fœlix.

Deserta, that is, Stonie and Desart. They have also much Corne from Ethiopia. Here we found a marvellous number of strangers, and Peregrines or Pilgrims: Of the which, some came from Syria, some from Persia, some from Ethiopia, and other from both the East Indies, the greater and the lesser. I never saw in any place greater aboundance and frequentation of people, forasmuch as I could perceive by tarrying there the space of twentie daies. These people resort thither for divers causes, as some for Merchandize, some to observe their vow of Pilgrimage, and other to have pardon for their sinnes: as touching the which, wee will speake more hereafter.

Many Pilgrims and Strangers at Mecha.

Why so many Nations resort to Mecha.

The Temple of Mecha.

In the middest of the Citie is a Temple, in fashion like unto the Colossus of Rome, the Amphitheatrum I meane, like unto a Stage, yet not of Marble or hewed stones, but of burnt Bricks: For this Temple, like unto an Amphitheater, hath fourescore and ten or an hundred Gates, and is vaulted. The entrance is by a discent of twelve stayres or degrees on every part, in the Church porch are sold onely Jewels and precious stones. When you are past the entrance it is close above, and the gilded walls shine on every side with incomparable splendour. In the lower part of the Temple (that is under the vaulted places) is seene a marvellous multitude of men: for there are five or six thousand men that sell none other thing then sweet Ointments, and especially a certaine odoriferous and most sweet Powder, wherewith dead bodies are enbalmed. And from hence, all manner of sweet savours are carried in manner, into the Countries of all the Mahumetans. It passeth all beliefe to thinke of the exceeding sweetnesse of the savours, farre surmounting the shops of the Apothecaries. The three and twentieth day of May, the Pardons began to be granted in the Temple, and in what manner, we will now declare. The Temple in the middest is open, without any inclosing, and in the middest also thereof there is a Turret, of the largenesse of six paces in circuit, and involved or hanged with cloth or Tapestrie of silke, and passeth not the height of a man. They enter

This Temple and the buildings are altered since by Soliman. See hereof, and of these Meccan rites, inf. c. 9.

Mecca-Pardons.

A Turret in the Temple of Mecha.

into the Turret by a Gate of Silver, and is on every side beset with vessels full of Balme. On the day of Pentecost, license is granted to all men to see these things. The Inhabitants affirme that Balme or Balsam, to bee part of the treasure of the Sultan, that is Lord of Mecha. At every Vault of the Turret, are fastned grates of Iron, to let in light. The three and twentieth day of May, a great multitude of people began early in the morning before day, seven times to walke about the Turret, kissing every corner thereof, oftentimes feeling and handling them. From this Turret about ten or twelve paces, is another Turret, like a Chappell, builded after our manner. This hath three or foure entries: in the middest thereof is a Well of threescore and ten Cubites deepe: the water of this Well is infected with salt Peter. Eight men are thereunto appointed to draw water for all the people: and when a multitude of people have seven times gone round about the first Turret, they come to this Well; and touching the mouth or brim thereof, they say thus: Be it in the honor of God, God pardon me, and forgive me my sinnes. When these words are said, they that draw the water, powre three Buckets of water on the heads of every one of them that stand neere about the Well, and wash them all wet from the head to the foot, although they be apparelled with silke. Then the doting fooles dreame that they are cleane from all their sinnes, and that their sinnes are forgiven them. They say furthermore, that the first Turret, whereof we have spoken, was the first house that ever Abraham builded: and therefore, while they are yet all wet of the said washing, they goe to the Mountaine, where (as we have said before) they are accustomed to sacrifice to Abraham. And remaining there two daies, they make the said Sacrifice to Abraham at the foot of the Mountaine. When they intend to sacrifice, some of them kill three sheepe, some foure, and some ten: So that the Butcherie sometime so floweth with bloud, that in one day are slaine above thirtie thousand sheepe. They are slaine toward the rising of

A Gate of Silver.

Balsam or Balme.

A Chappell with a Well in it, in the Temple.

A strange baptisme for remission of sins.

[II.ix.1489.]

The house of Abraham.

Sacrifice to Abraham.

The manner of sacrificing at Mecha.

Sacrifice of sheepe.

the Sunne, and shortly after are distributed to the poore for Gods sake: for I saw there of poore people, to the number of thirtie or fortie thousand. These make many and long Ditches in the Fields, where they keepe fire with Camels dung, and roast or seethe the flesh that is given them, and eat it even there. I beleeve that these poore people come thither rather for hunger then for devotion: which I thinke by this conjecture, that great abundance of Cucumbers are brought thither from Arabia Fœlix, which they eate, casting away the parings without their Houses or Tabernacles, where a multitude of the said poore people gather them even out of the mire and sand, and eate them, and are so greedie of these parings, that they fight who may gather most. The day following, their Cadi (which are in place with them as with us the Preachers of Gods Word) ascended into a high Mountaine, to preach to the people that remayned beneath: and preached to them in their Language the space of an houre. The summe of his Sermon was, that with teares they should bewaile their sinnes, and beate their brests with sighes and lamentation. And the Preacher himselfe with loud voyce, spake these words, O Abraham beloved of God, O Isaac chosen of God, and his Friend, pray to God for the people of Nabi. When these words were said, suddenly were heard lamenting voices. When the Sermon was done, a rumour was spred that a great Armie of Arabians, to the number of twentie thousand, were comming. With which newes, they that kept the Caravans being greatly feared, with all speed, like mad men, fled into the Citie of Mecha, and we againe hearing newes of the Arabians approch, fled also into the Citie. But while wee were in the mid-way betweene the Mountaine and Mecha, we came by a despicable wall, of the breadth of foure Cubits: The people passing by this wall, had covered the way with stones, the cause whereof, they say to be this: When Abraham was commanded to sacrifice his Sonne, he willed his Sonne Isaac to follow him to the place where he should execute the commandement of God.

Religion for povertie.

Cadi, a Preacher. A goodly Sermon.

Souldiers trouble the Word of God.

As Isaac went to follow his Father, there appeared to him in the way a Devill, in likenesse of a faire and friendly person, not farre from the said wall, and asked him friendly whether he went. Isaac answered, that he went to his Father who tarried for him. To this the Enemie of Mankind answered, that it was best for him to tarrie, and if that he went any further, his Father would sacrifice him. But Isaac nothing fearing this advertisement of the Devill, went forward, that his Father on him might execute the commandement of God: and with this answere (as they say) the Devill departed. Yet as Isaac went forward, the Devill appeared to him againe in the likenesse of another friendly person, and forbade him as before. Then Isaac taking up a stone in that place, hurlde it at the Devill, and wounded him in the fore-head: In witnesse and remembrance whereof, the people passing that way, when they come neere the wall, are accustomed to cast stones against it, and from thence goe into the Citie. As we went this way, the Aire was in manner darkened with a multitude of stocke Doves. They say that these Doves, are of the Progenie of the Dove that spake in the eare of Mahumet, in likenesse of the Holy Ghost. These are seene every where, as in the Villages, Houses, Tavernes, and Graniers of Corne and Rice, and are so tame, that one can scarcely drive them away. To take them or kill them, is esteemed a thing worthy death: and therefore a certaine Pension is given to nourish them in the Temple.

The Devill appeareth to Isaac, or rather to Ismael, after their Legend.

Isaac wounded the Devill in the fore-head.

Stocke Doves of the Progeny of the Dove which spake in Mahumets eare.

The only report that I have found in any credible Author of Unicornes: neitherin 120. yeares which have passed since, have I found one Relation to second it.

Some mention Unicornes, but understand the Rhinoceros.

§. II.

Two Unicornes. His passage by the Red Sea to Aden. Imprisonment and counterfeiting himselfe madde. Escape and visiting other parts of Arabia, Zeila, Cambaia.

ON the other part of the Temple are Parkes or places inclosed, where are seene two Unicornes, and are there shewed to the people for a wonder. The one of them, which is much higher then the other, yet not

much unlike to a Colt of thirtie moneths of age; in the fore-head groweth only one Horne, in manner right forth, of the length of three Cubits.* The other is much younger, and like a young Colt: of the age of one yeare; the horne of this, is of the length of foure spannes. This beast is of the colour of a Horse of Weesell colour, and hath the head like an Hart, but no long necke, a thinne mane hanging only on the one side: their legs are thinne and slender, like a Fawne or Hind: the hoofes of the fore-feet are divided in two, much like the feet of a Goat, the outward part of the hinder feet is very full of haire. This beast doubtlesse seemeth wild and fierce, yet tempereth that fiercenesse with a certaine comelinesse. These Unicornes one gave to the Sultan of Mecha, as a most precious and rare gift. They were sent him out of Ethiopia by a King of that Countrey, who desired by that present to gratifie the Sultan of Mecha.

*Braccia.

[II.ix.1490.] Whereas my Captaine gave me charge to buy certaine things, as I was in the Market place, a certaine Mamaluke knew me to be a Christian. And therefore in his owne Language, spake unto me these words, Inte mename: That is, whence art thou? To whom I answered that I was a Mahumetan. But he said, Thou sayest not truly. I said againe, By the head of Mahumet, I am a Mahumetan. Then he said againe, Come home to my house. I followed him willingly. When we were there, he began to speake to me in the Italian Tongue, and asked me againe from whence I was, affirming that he knew me, and that I was no Mahumetan: Also that he had bin sometime in Genua and Venice. And that his words might be the better beleeved, rehearsed many things which testified that he said truth. When I understood this, I confessed freely that I was a Romane, but professed to the Faith of Mahumet in the Citie of Babylon, and there made one of the Mamalukes. Whereof he seemed greatly to rejoyce, and therefore used me honourably. But because my desire was yet to goe further, I asked the Mahumetan whether that Citie of Mecha was so famous as all the

World spake of it: and inquired of him where was the great abundance of Pearles, Precious Stones, Spices, and other rich Merchandise that the bruit went of to be in that Citie. Then he began with more attentive minde, in order to declare unto me the cause why that Mart was not so greatly frequented as it had beene before, and laid the only fault thereof on the King of Portugall. When I was well instructed in all things, I spake unto him friendly these words in the Mahumets Language, Menaha Menalhabi: That is to say, I pray you assist me. He asked me wherein. To helpe mee (said I) how I may secretly depart hence to those Kings that were most enemies to the Christians: Affirming furthermore, that I would give place to no man in making of all manner of Gunnes and Artillerie. Then said hee, Praysed be Mahumet who sent thee hither, to doe him and his Moores good service: and willed me to remayne secretly in his house with his wife, and required mee earnestly to obtayne leave of our Captaine, that under his name hee might leade from Mecha fifteene Camels laden with Spices, without paying any custome: for they ordinarily pay to the Sultan thirtie Saraphes of Gold, for transporting of such Merchandises for the charge of so many Camels. I put him in good hope of his request, although he would aske for a hundred, affirming that that might easily be obtayned by the Priviledges of the Mamalukes and therefore desired him that I might safely remayne in his house. Then nothing doubting to obtayne his request, hee greatly rejoyced, and talking with me yet more freely, gave me further instructions, and counselled me to repaire to a certaine King of the greater India, in the Kingdome and Realme of Dechan. Therefore the day before the Caravan departed from Mecha, he willed me to lye hid in the most secret part of his house. The day following, early in the morning, the Trumpetter of the Caravan gave warning to all the Mamalukes to make readie their Horses, to direct their journey toward Syria, with Proclamation of death to all that should refuse so to doe. When I heard the sound

Why Mecha is not so much frequented as in time past.

Paying of custome to the Sultan.

of the Trumpet, and was advertized of the streight commandement, I was marvellously troubled in minde, and with heavie countenance desired the Mahumetans wife not to bewray mee, and committed my selfe to the mercie of God. On the Tuesday following, our Caravan departed from Mecha, and I remayned in the Mahumetans house with his wife, but he followed the Caravan. Yet before he departed, he gave commandement to his wife to bring mee to the Caravan, which should depart from Ziden the Port of Mecha, to goe into India. This Port is distant from Mecha fortie miles. Whilest I lay thus hid in the Mahumetans house, I cannot expresse how friendly his wife used mee. This also furthered my good entertainment that there was in the house a faire young Maide, the Niece of the Mahumetan, who was greatly in love with me. But at that time, in the middest of those troubles and feares, the fire of Venus was almost extinct in me: and therefore with dalliance of faire words and promises, I still kept my selfe in her favour. Therefore the Friday following, about noon-tyde I departed, following the Caravan of India. And about mid-night, we came to a certaine Village of the Arabians, and there remayned the rest of that night, and the next day till noone.

The Citie Ziden.

From hence we went forward on our journey toward Ziden, and came thither in the silence of the night. This Citie hath no walls, yet faire houses, some-what after the building of Italie. Heere is great abundance of all kind of Merchandises, by reason of resort in manner of all Nations thither, except Jewes and Christians, to whom it is not lawfull to come thither. Assoone as I entred into the Citie, I went to their Temple, or Meschita, where I saw a great multitude of poore people, about the number of five and twentie thousand, attending a certaine Pilot who should bring them into their Countrey. Here I suffered much trouble and affliction, being enforced to hide my selfe among these poore folkes, faining my selfe very sicke, to the end that none should be inquisitive what I was, whence I came, or whither I would. The

Poore Pilgrims that came from Mecha.

Lord of this Citie is the Sultan of Babylon, Brother to the Sultan of Mecha, who are subject to the great Soldin of Cairo. The Inhabitants are Mahumetans. The soyle is unfruitfull, and lacketh fresh water. The Sea beateth against the Towne. There is neverthelesse abundance of all things: but brought thither from other places, as from Cairo, Arabia Fœlix, and divers other places. The heate is here so great, that men are in manner dryed up therewith. And therefore there is ever a great number of sicke folkes. This Citie contayneth about five hundred houses.

[II.ix.1491.] *From Arabia to Persia.*

After fifteene dayes were past, I covenanted with a Pilot, who was ready to depart from thence into Persia, and agreed on the price, to goe with him. There lay at Anchor in the Haven almost a hundred Brigantines and Foysts, with divers Boates and Barkes of sundry sorts, both with Oares and without Oares. Therefore after three dayes, giving wind to our sayles, we sailed in the Red Sea.

After sixe dayes sayling, we came to a Citie named Gezan. It hath a commodious Port, and very faire, where we found about forty five Brigantines and Foysts of divers Regions. The Citie is hard by the Sea-side, and the Prince thereof, is a Mahumetan. The soyle is fruitfull, like unto Italie: It beareth Pomegranates, Quinces, Peaches, Apples of Assyria, Pepons, Melons, Oranges, Gourds, and divers other Fruits: Also Roses, and sundry sorts of Flowers, the fairest that ever I saw: It seemeth an earthly Paradise. The most part of the Inhabitants goe naked. In other things, they live after the manner of the Mahumetans. There is also great abundance of Flesh, Wheate, Barley, and Graine of white Millet or Hirse (which they call Dora) whereof they make very sweet Bread. Departing from the Citie of Gezan, the space of five dayes, sayling toward the left hand, having ever the Coast of the Land in sight, wee came to the sight of certayne houses, where about fourteene of us went a-land, hoping to have had some victuals of the Inhabi- *Baduines.*

tants. But we lost our labour, for in the stead of victuals, they cast stones at us with Slings. They were about a hundred that fought with our men for the space of an houre. Of them were slaine foure and twenty. The rest were driven to flight, they were naked, and had none other Weapons then Slings. After their flight, we brought away with us certayne Hennes and Calves very good. Shortly after, a great multitude of the Inhabitants shewed themselves to the number of five or sixe hundred: but we departed with our prey, and returned to the ships.

The same day sayling forward, we came to an Iland named Camaran, which contayneth ten miles in circuit. In it is a Towne of two hundred houses, the Inhabitants are Mahumetans: it hath abundance of fresh water and flesh, and the fairest Salt that ever I saw. The Port is eight miles from the Continent, it is subject to the Sultan of Arabia Fœlix. After wee had remayned here two dayes, we tooke our way toward the mouth of the Red Sea in the space of two dayes sayling.

The Author taken and put in Prison.

The day after our arriving at Aden, the Mahumetans took me, and put shackles on my legs, which came by occasion of a certayn Idolater who cryed after me, saying, O Christian Dog, borne of Dogs. When the Mahumetans heard the name of a Christian, incontinent they layd hands on mee, and brought me to the Lieutenant of the Sultan of that place, who assembling his Councel, asked their opinion if I should be put to death as a Spye of the Christians. The Sultan himselfe was out of the Citie, and therefore his Lieutenant, who had yet never adjudged any man to death, thought it not good to give sentence against me, before the Sultan should bee advertized hereof. And therefore I escaped this present danger, and remayned in custodie fiftie and five dayes, with an Iron of eighteene pound weight hanging at my feet. The second day after I was taken, many Mahumetans in great rage resorted to him, whose Office was to make Inquisition of Treason. These a few dayes before, by swimming hardly escaped the hands of the Portugals, with the losse of their Foysts

and Barkes, and therefore desired greatly to bee revenged of the Christians: affirming, with outragious cry, that I was a Spye of the Portugals. But God fayled not to assist me. For the Master of the Prison perceiving the outrage of the Mahumetans, and fearing that they would offer me violence, made fast the gates of the Prison. After that five and fiftie dayes were past, the Sultan commanded that I should be brought before him: and so set upon a Camell with my shackles, I came in eight dayes journey to the place where the Sultan lay, and was brought to his presence in a Citie named Rhada: for there the Sultan had assembled an Armie of thirtie thousand men, to make warre against the Sultan of the Citie of Sana, which is three dayes journey from Rhada, and situate partly on the declining of a Hill, and partly in a Plaine, very faire to be seene, well peopled, and having plentie of all things. When I came before the Sultan, he began to aske me what I was. I answered that I was a Romane, professed a Mamaluke in Babylon of Alcayr, and that of Religious minde to discharge my conscience of a Vow which I had made, I came to the Citie of Medinathalhabi, where Nabi (or the Prophet) is buried and after to Mecca. And that in all Cities and Countries by the way, I heard honourable report of his greatnesse, wisedome, and singular vertue, and therefore ceased not untill I entred his Dominions, most desirous to see his face, yeelding thankes to God and Nabi, that it was now my chance to be presented before him: trusting that the equitie of his wisedome, would thereby consider that I was no Spye of the Christians, but a true Mahumetan, and his servant and slave. Then said the Sultan, Say Leila illala Mahumet resullala: which words I could never well pronounce, eyther that it pleased not God, or that for feare and scruple of conscience, I durst not. Therefore when he saw me hold my peace, he commited me againe to Prison, commanding that I should be straightly looked unto, where sixteene men of the Citie were appointed, every day foure, to watch me by course. So that for the space of three

moneths, I had not the fruition of Heaven, during which miserable time, my Dyet was every day a Loafe of Millet, so little that seven of them would not have satisfied my [II.ix.1492.] hunger for one day: But if I might have had my fill of water, I would have thought my selfe happy. Within three dayes after the Sultan marched with his Armie, in which were foure thousand Horsemen, to besiege the Citie of Sana. These Horsemen were borne of Christian Parents, and blacke like the Ethiopians, and while they were yet very young, were bought in the Kingdome of Prester John, at eight or nine yeares old. They are brought up in Discipline of Warre. This Sultan hath them in great estimation, for they are the guard of his owne person, and are more valued then foure score thousand of the other; they cover their body with a sindon, like unto a cloke or cape, putting out onely one arme, and are beside naked without any other apparell. In the Warres they use round Targets made of Buffels Hydes, with certayne little barres of Iron to strengthen them. These Targets are painted very faire with sundry colours, and very commodious to resist Darts, and are in largenesse as much as the mouth of a Barrell: the handle is made of wood, as bigge as they may well hold in their hands, and made fast with nayles. They use Darts and short broad Swords. At other times, they use also Vestures of Linnen cloth of sundry colours. In the Warres every man beareth with him a Sling, which he casteth, first shaking it often about his head. When they come to forty or fifty yeares of age, they make them hornes, by wreathing the haire of their heads, so bearing two hornes like young Goates. When they proceed to the Warres, five thoucand Camels follow the Army, all laden with Ropes of Bombasine.

Souldiers Horsemen of Christian Ethiopians.

Hard by the Prison was a long entry in manner of a Cloyster, where sometime we were permitted to walke. Yee shall further understand, that in the Sultans place remayned one of his three Wives, with twelve young Maids to waite upon her, very faire and comely, after

their manner, and of colour inclining to blacke. The favour that they bore me, helped me very much: for I with two other, being in the same Prison, agreed that one of us should counterfeit himselfe to be mad, that by this device, one of us might helpe an other. In fine, it was my lot to take upon me the mad mans part, and therefore it stood me in hand to doe such follies as pertayne to madnesse. Also the opinion which they have of mad folkes, made greatly for my purpose: for they take mad men to be holy, and therefore suffered me to runne more at large, untill the Eremites had given judgement whether I were holy, or raging mad, as appeareth hereafter. But the first three dayes in which I began to shew my madnesse, wearied mee so much, that I was never so tyred with labour or grieved with paine, for the Boyes and Rascall people sometime to the number of fortie or fiftie, hurled stones at me almost without ceasing, while in the meane time againe I paid some of them home with like wages. The Boyes cryed ever after me, calling mee mad man. And to shew it the more, I carryed alwayes stones with mee in my shirt, for other apparell had I none. The Queene hearing of my follies, looked oftentimes out of the windowes to see me, more for a secret love she bore me, then for the pleasure she tooke in my follies, as afterward appeared.

Counterfeite madnesse.

Therefore on a time, when some of them, much madder then I, played the Knaves with me in the sight of the Queene (whose secret favour towards mee I somewhat perceived) that my madnesse might seeme more manifest, I cast off my shirt, and went to the place before the windowes, where the Queene might see me all naked: wherein I perceived she tooke great pleasure. For she ever found some occasion that I might not goe out of her sight: and would sometimes, with all her Damosels wayting on her, spend almost the whole day in beholding me: and in the meane season divers times sent me secretly much good meate by her Maidens, and when she saw the Boyes or other doe me any hurt, she bad me kill

them, and spare not, reviling them also, and calling them dogges and beasts. In the Palace was nourished a great fat sheepe: whose tayle weighed fortie pound weight. Under the colour of madnesse, I laid hand on this sheepe, saying, Leila illala Mahumet resullala: which words the Sultan before, when I was brought to his presence, willed me to say, to proove whether I were a Mahumetan, or a professed Mamaluke. But the beast answering nothing, I asked him if he were a Mahumetan, Jew, or Christian. And willing to make him a Mahumetan, I rehearsed againe the said words, Leila illala Mahumet resullala (that is to say) there is one God, and Mahumet his chiefe Prophet: which are the words which they speake in professing their Faith. But when the beast yet answered nothing, I broke his legges with a staffe. The Queene tooke great pleasure in these my mad follies, and commanded the flesh of the sheepe to bee given mee to eate: I never ate meate with more pleasure, or better appetite. Also three dayes after, I likewise killed an Asse, that was wont to bring water into the Palace, because he refused to be a Mahumetan, and to say those words. The same time also I handled a Jew so evill, that I had almost killed him, one in the meane time calling mee Christian Dogge, Dogge borne. With which words beeing very angry, I cast many stones at him: but he againe hurling at me, gave me a stroke on the brest, and an other on the side, which grieved me very sore.

Sheepe with exceeding great tayles.

A sheepe made a Mahumetan.

And because I could not follow him by reason of my shackles, I returned to the Prison, and stopped the doore with a heape of stones, and there lived in great paine for the space of two dayes without meate or drinke: And therefore the Queene and other thought me to be dead, but the doore was opened by the Queenes Commandement. Then these Dogges deriding me, gave me stones in the stead of bread, and pieces of white Marble, saying, [II.ix.1493.] that it was Sugar: other gave me clusters of Grapes full of sand. But partly, that they should not suspect that I counterfeited madnesse, I ate the Grapes as they gave me

them. When the bruite was spred that I lived two dayes and nights without meate and drinke: some beganne to suspect that I was a holy man, and some that I was starke mad. And thus beeing divided into divers opinions, they consulted to send for certaine men, of whom they have such opinion of holinesse, as wee have of Heremites: these dwell in the Mountaynes, and lead a contemplative life. When they came unto me, to give their judgement what manner of man I was, certaine Merchants asked them if I were a holy man, or a mad man. These were also of divers opinions, some affirming one thing, and some another. While they were yet debating this matter, for the space of an houre, I pissed in my hands, and hurld it in their faces: whereby they agreed that I was no Saint, but a madde man. The Queene seeing all this at the window, laughed well thereat among her Maidens, and said thus to them, By the goodnesse of God, and by the head of Mahumet, this is a good man. The day following, when in the morning I found him asleepe that had so sore hurt mee with stones, I tooke him by the haire of the head with both hands, and with my knee so punched him on the stomacke, and battered his face, that I left him all bloudie, and halfe dead. Which thing the Queene seeing, cryed unto me, saying, kill the Beast, kill the Dogge: whereupon, hee ranne his way, and came no more in sight. When the President of the Citie heard that the Queene favoured me, and tooke pleasure in my mad sport, thinking also that I was not madde, commanded that I should goe at libertie within the Palace, only wearing my shackles: Yet every night was I put in another Prison in the lower part of the Palace, and so remayned still in the Court for the space of twentie dayes. In the meane time, the Queene willed mee to goe a hunting with her, which I refused not, and at my returne, I fained me to be sicke for wearinesse. So continuing for the space of eight dayes, under the colour of sicknesse, the Queene often sent to me to know how I did. After this, finding oportunitie, I declared to the Queene that I had made a Vow to God

Madness taken for holinesse.

Heremites.

Mahumetans.

A holy Vow.

and Mahumet, to visit a certaine holy man in the Citie of Aden, and desired her to give me leave to goe thither. Whereunto she consented: and commanded immediately a Camell and twentie five Sarraphes of Gold to be delivered me. Therefore the day following, I tooke my journey, and in the space of eight dayes, came to the Citie of Aden: and shortly after my comming, visited the man of whom was so great report of holinesse, and whom the people honoured for a Saint. And this onely, because he had ever lived in great povertie, and without the company of women. When I had performed my Vow, I fained that I had recovered health by miracle of that holy man, and certified the Queene thereof, desiring that I might tarrie ther a while, to visit likewise certaine other men in that Countrey, of whom was the like fame of holinesse: which excuse I devised, because the fleet of India would not yet depart from thence for the space of a moneth. In the meane time, I secretly agreed with a certaine Captaine of that Navie to goe with him into India, and made him many faire promises to reward him largely. Hee answered, that hee would not goe into India, before hee had first beene in Persia: whereunto I agreed.

A holy Saint.

The fleet of India.

The day following, mounting upon a Camell, and making a journey of five and twentie miles, I came to a certaine Citie named Lagi, situate in a great Plaine, well peopled, having abundance of Olives, and flesh, with also great plentie of Corne, after our manner: but no Vines, great scarcenesse of wood. The Inhabitants are uncivill and rusticall people of the Nation of Vagabond and field Arabians, and therefore but poore. Departing from hence one dayes journey, I came to another Citie named Ajaz, situate upon two hils, with a great Plaine betweene them, and hath in it an notable Fountayne, and therefore divers Nations resort thither as to a famous Mart. The Inhabitants are Mahumetans, and yet greatly differing in opinion of their Religion: insomuch that therefore they bee at great enmitie one against the other, and keepe sore warre. The cause whereof they say to be this: That the

Strife and hatred for Religion, and all worth nought.

people of the North Mountayne, maintayne the Faith and Sect of Mahumet and his fellowes, of whom we have spoken before: but the other of the South Mountayne affirme, that Faith should be given onely to Mahumet Haly, saying, the other to be false Prophets.

Mortus Raly, as the Persians cal him.

I departed hence to Dante, from thence to Almacharan, where the Aire is marvellous temperate and holesome, and the Citie second to none in all respects: the colour of the Inhabitants is rather inclining to white, then any other colour. And to speake that I have seene, the Sultan reserveth here as much Gold as will lade a hundred Camels.

Reame is distant two dayes journey from Almacaran. The colour of the Inhabitants is inclining to blacke: and they are great Merchants. The soyle is fruitfull of all things saving wood: it contayneth in the circuit two thousand houses: on the one side is a Mountayne having on it a very strong Fortresse. Here I saw a certaine kind of sheepe having their tailes of fortie and foure pound weight, and are without hornes, and also so marvellous fat, that they can scarcely goe for fatnesse. There be likewise certaine Grapes without Graines, the sweetest that ever I eate, and all manner of such Fruits, as I have spoken of before. It is of marvellous temperatenesse, as witnesseth the long life of men, for I have spoken with many of them that have passed the age of a hundred five and twentie yeares, and yet verie lustie and well complexioned. They goe for the most part naked, wearing only shirts, or other loose and thinne apparell, like Mantles, putting out one arme all bare. Almost all the Arabians make them hornes with wreathing of their owne haire, and that they thinke very comely.

Grapes without graines.

Men of long life in temperate Aire.

[II.ix.1494.]

Departing from thence three dayes journey, I came to a Citie named Sana,* situate upon a very high Mountayne, verie strong by Art and Nature. The Sultan besieged this, with a great Armie of fourescore thousand men for the space of three moneths, but could never win it. Yet it was at the last rendred by composition. The

**See the next Chap.*

An Armie of 80000. men.

Strong walls. wals are of eighteene cubits height, and twentie in bredth, insomuch that eight Camels in order may well march upon them. The Region is very fruitfull and much like unto ours, and hath plentie of water. A Sultan is Lord of the Citie: hee hath twelve Sonnes, of the which one is named Mahumet, who by a certaine naturall tyrannie and madnesse, delighteth to eate mans flesh, and therefore secretly killeth many to eate them. He is of large and strong bodie of foure Cubits high, and of the colour inclining to ashes. The soyle beareth certayne Spices not farre from the Citie. It contayneth about foure thousand houses. The houses are of faire building, and give no place to ours. The Citie is so large, that it contayneth within the wals, Fields, Gardens, and Medowes.

After three daies journey, I came to a Citie named *Taessa.* Taessa, situate upon a Mountaine, and very faire to sight: it hath plentie of all delices, and especially of marvellous *Roses.* faire Roses, whereof they make Rose-water. It is an ancient Citie, and hath in it a Temple built after the fashion of Sancta Maria Rotunda in Rome. The houses are very faire, and shew yet the Monuments of antiquitie: innumerable Merchants resort hither for the trafficke of sundrie Merchandize. In apparell they are like unto other, and of darkish Ashe colour of skinne, enclining to blacke. Three daies journey from thence, I came to another Citie named Zibith, very faire and good, distant from the Red Sea onely halfe a daies journey: there is great abundance of Merchandize, by reason of the neernesse of the Sea. It aboundeth with many goodly things, *Sugar.* and especially with most white Sugar, and sundry kindes of pleasant fruits. It is situate in a very large Plaine within two Mountaynes: it lacketh walls, and is one of the chiefest Marts for all sorts of Spices. The Inhabitants are of the colour of them aforesaid. From hence in one daies journey, I came to the Citie of Damar: It is a fruitfull soyle, and hath great exercise of Merchandize. The Inhabitants are Mahumetans, in apparel and colour like unto the other.

These Cities whereof we have spoken here a little before, are subject to a Sultan of Arabia Fœlix, named Sechamir: Secha (by interpretation) signifieth Holy, and Amir, a Prince, named the holy Prince, because he abhorreth shedding of mans bloud. At the time of my being there in Prison, hee nourished sixteene thousand poore men and Captives in Prison condemned to death, allowing to every of them daily for their diet, sixe of their pence of the smallest valure, and at home in his Palace entertayneth as many blacke slaves.

The Sultan of Arabia Fœlix

A pitifull Pagan.

A great familie.

Departing from hence, I returned to the Citie of Aden in three dayes journey: in the midway, I found an exceeding high and large Mountaine, where is great plentie of wilde beasts, and especially of Monkeyes, which runne about the Mountaine every where. There are also many Lions, very noysome to men: and therefore it is not safe to journey that way, but when a multitude of men goe together, at the least, to the number of a hundred. I passed this way with a great companie, and yet were we in danger of the Lions, and other wilde beasts which followed us: for we were sometimes constrayned to fight with them with Darts, Slings, and Bowes, using also the helpe of Dogs, and yet escaped hardly. When I came to the Citie, I fayned my selfe sicke: and in the day time lurked in the Temple, and went forth onely in the night to speake with the Pilot of the ship (of whom I have made mention before) and obtayned of him a Foist or Barke to depart thence secretly.

Monkeys and Lions.

Danger of wilde beasts.

Committing our selves to the Sea, we were by inconstant fortune and sundry tempests, deterred from that Voyage: for whereas we were now sixe dayes sayling on our way to Persia, a sudden contrary tempest drove us out of our way, and cast us on the coast of Ethiope. Our Barkes were laden with Rubricke (that is, a certaine red earth) which is used to dye Cloth: for yeerely from the Citie of Aden, depart fifteene or twentie ships laden with Rubricke, which is brought out of Arabia Fœlix. Being therefore thus tossed with stormes, we were driven into

Tempest.

The Voyage to Persia.

Ethiope.

Rubricke.

Zeila. a Port, named Zeila: where we remayned five dayes to see the Citie, and tarried untill the Sea were more quiet.

In this Citie is great frequentation of Merchandise, as in a most famous Mart. There is marvellous abundance of Gold and Ivorie, and an innumerable number of blacke Slaves, sold for a small price: these are taken in Warre by the Mahumetan Moores, out of Ethiopia, of the Kingdome of Presbyter Johannes. In this Citie Justice and good Lawes are observed: the soyle beareth Wheat, and hath abundance of Flesh, and divers other commodious things. It hath also Oyle, not of Olives but of some other thing, I know not what. There is also plentie of Honey and Waxe: there are likewise certaine Sheepe, having their tayles of the weight of sixteene pound, and exceeding fat; the head and necke are blacke, and all the rest white. There are also Sheepe altogether white, having tayles of a cubit long, hanging downe like a cluster of Grapes: and have also great laps of skin hanging from their throats, as have Bulls and Oxen, hanging downe almost to the ground. There are also certaine Kine with hornes like unto Harts hornes, these are wilde: and when they be taken, are given to the Sultan of that Citie as a Kingly present. I saw there also certaine Kine, having onely one horne in the middest of the forehead, about a span and halfe of length, but the horne bendeth backward: they are of bright-shining red colour. But they that have Harts hornes, are enclining to blacke colour. Coney is there good cheape. The Citie hath an innumerable multitude of Merchants: the Walls are greatly decayed, and the Haven rude and despicable. The King or Sultan of the Citie is a Mahumetan, and entertayneth in wages a great multitude of Foot-men and Horse-men. They are greatly given to warres, and weare onely one loose single vesture, as wee have said before of other. They are of darke ashie colour, enclining to blacke. In the warres, they are unarmed: and are of the Sect of Mahumet.

Gold. Ivorie. Black slaves.

Presbyter Johannes, King of Jacobins and Abyssins.

Justice and good lawes.

Sheepe with great tayles.

Palearia.

[II.ix.1495.] *Kine with Harts hornes.*

Kine with onely one horne.

After that the tempests were appeased, we gave wind to

our Sayles, and in short time arrived at the Iland named Barbara, the Prince whereof is a Mahumetan. The Iland is not great, but fruitfull, and well peopled: it hath abundance of flesh. The Inhabitants are of colour enclining to blacke. All their riches is in herds of Cattell. Wee remayned here but one day, and departing from hence, sayled into Persia: and thence to Cambaia.

The Sultan of Cambaia, at my being there, was named Macamut, and had raigned fortie yeers, after he had expulsed the King of Guzerat. They thinke it not lawfull to kill any living beast to eate, or to eate flesh. They are no Mahumetans, neither Idolaters. As touching their apparel, some of them goe naked, and other cover onely their privities. On their heads they weare fillets of purple colour. They themselves are of darke yellow colour, commonly called Leonell colour. This Sultan maintayneth an Armie of twentie thousand Horse-men. Every morning resort to his Palace, fiftie men, sitting on Elephants. Their office is, with all reverence to salute the King or Sultan, the Elephants also kneeling downe. In the morning assoone as the King waketh, is heard a great noyse of Drummes, Tambarts, Timbrels, Waits, and also Trumpets, with divers other Musicall Instruments, in rejoycing that the King liveth. The like doe they while he is at dinner: & then also the men sitting on the Elephants, make him the like reverence as before. Wee will in due place speake of the wit, customes, and docilitie of these beasts. The Sultan of this Citie, hath his Mustachos so long that he beareth them up with a fillet, as women doe the haire of their heads: his beard is white and long, even unto the navell. He is so accustomed to poyson from his infancy, that he daily eateth some to keepe it in use. And although he himselfe feele no hurt thereof by reason of custome, yet doth hee thereby so impoyson himselfe, that he is poyson to other: for when he is disposed to put any of his Noblemen to death, he causeth him to be brought to his presence, and to stand naked before him. Incontinent hee eateth certaine fruits

Banians.

They may seeme the successors of Darius and Porus.

The great pompe of the King of Cambaia.

Elephants.

A strange Historie of a King accustomed to eate poyson.

(which they call Chofolos) like unto Nutmegs: and eateth also the leaves of herbes, which they call Tambolos, adding also thereto the powder of beaten Oyster shells. And a while chawing all these together in his mouth, he spitteth it upon him whom he desireth to kill, who being sparkled therewith, dieth by force of the poyson within the space of halfe an houre. He entertayneth about foure thousand Concubines: for whensoever he hath lyen with any of them, shee with whom hee hath lyen, is dead in the morning. And when hee changeth his shirt or other apparell, no man dare weare it: and for this cause he hath great change of apparell. My companion enquired diligently of the Merchants, by what meanes hee was of so venimous nature? They answered, that the Sultan his father brought him so up of a child with poyson by little and little, with preservatives so accustoming him thereto.

A venimous King.

But wee will follow our Author no further into India, having entertayned him for an Arabian guide: But for our Readers satisfaction will adde this little of Arabia, taken from an Author which lived long since, and was in those parts better travelled: to which wee will adde Collections out of Arabike Authors, for more full understanding of their unholy Holies.

Chap. VIII.

Collections of Asia, especially of Arabia, gathered out of an Arabike Booke of Geographie, written by a Nubian, foure hundred and seventie yeeres agoe, and translated into Latine by Gabriel Sionita, and Johannes Hesronita, Maronites of Mount Libanus, the one Professor, and both Interpreters to the French King, of the Arabike, and Syriake Tongues.

THis Author is unknowne: by some passages of his Booke esteemed by the Translators a Nubian and a Christian; by learned Casaubon thought to be an Egyptian

and Mahometan, to which later opinion I should rather subscribe, by reason of his weaker Relations of Nubia, and the next Westerne parts of Africa, (erring in the course of Nilus it selfe) then of others: and though he calls Christ Lord; and the Blessed Virgin, Ladie, yet his [II.ix.1496.] phrase and stile-devotion is after the Mahumetan manner, and his Geographie best in those parts, where was then no safe travell for Christians, as in Arabia, Spaine, &c. His method is by the Climats. This which we have translated, is out of the first, second, and third Climate. The Mahumetans also call Christ, Lord; (Nazaret Eesa) as is observed before in Master Terry.

Praise be to God the Lord of the Creatures.

THe Aloe of Socotra exceedeth in goodnesse that which is gathered in Hadhramut of the Land of Jaman, in Seger, or any where else. This Iland is reckoned amongst the Regions of Jaman,[a] and belongs to it. Over against it are Melinda, and Monbasa. Alexander having conquered the Indians, returned by the Indian Sea to the Sea of Jaman, and overcomming those Ilands, came to Socotra, and wrote to Aristotle his Master thereof, who advised him to people it with Grecians. Thus (according to the Moores Tradition) were the Natives removed, and Greekes there planted, which is the reason (in our Authors conceit) that the then Inhabitants were for the most part Christians.

[a] *Jamon is South or Happie Arabia.*

The Iles Chartan and Martan are in Giun Alhascisc (herbæ Sinu, the weedy or grassy Bay) over against the Land of Seger, in which Frankincense groweth. In both these live a People of Arabs, which speake a Language unknowne to the Moderne. Of the Regions of Jaman is the Castle Alherda, the Inhabitants whereof live a hard life. From hence to the Castle Galafeca are foure stations[b] by land. It is neere the Haven Zabid, fiftie miles distant. That Citie[c] Zabid is great and rich,

[b] *Stations are dayes journeys or such places where Travellers and Caravans made stay.*

[c] *Zabid.*

frequented by Merchants of Hagiaz, Habascia, and Metsr (or Egypt) which passe by the ships of Giodda. The Æthiopians bring thither their Merchandises, and thence carrie Spices, and China Dishes. It is situate neere a small River, distant one hundred thirtie two miles from the Citie Sanaa, by the way which goeth to the Land of Jaman. From Zabid to Gilan is sixe and thirtie miles; thence to Alhan, two and fortie; to Alholf, thirtie; and then to Sanaa, foure and twentie. Those are small Villages and Castles, but populous. Sanaa is rich, stored with buildings, and in all the Land of Jaman, the most ancient, large, and populous; temperate and fertile. Thence to Dhamar a small Citie, is eight and fortie miles; to Aden from Sanaa is foure and twentie miles; by the way which leads to Dajar-Dahes.[e] Aden[f] is a small Citie, yet of note as a Port of both Seas; from whence the ships of Sinda, India, and China set forth, and thither are brought (Vasa Sinica) the China Dishes.

[d] *Sanaa, haply that which is now the Metropolis Sinan or Zenan, where Sir H. Mid. was.*

[e] *Daiar-Dahes now Taies.*

[f] *Aden.*

From Aden to Mahgem[g] is eight Stations: this is a small populous Citie, the border twixt the Government of Tahama and Jaman, and is from Sanaa seven stations. From Mahen to Habran are foure stations. From Habran to Saada are eight and fortie miles. From Aden to Abin are twelve miles Eastward alongst the shoare; the Inhabitants are famous Magicians. It is distant from Laasa, a day and nights sayling. Betwixt Laasa and Sciorama (two dayes sayling by the shoare distant) is a great Towne, and therein a medicinable hot Bath. These two Cities are in the Land of Hadhramut: in it are Sciabam and Tarim, and Mareb now ruined, which was Saba,[h] whence was Belcqis the wife of Salomon sonne of David. From Hadhramut to Saada are two hundred and fortie miles. Hadhramut is Eastward from Aden five stations. In it are wide fields of Sands, called Ahcaf. In Saba dwell the People of Jaman and Oman; and there was that famous wall of the Arabians, before they were dispersed thence. From Sciorama to the Citie Merbat are sixe dayes sayling. Betwixt them is Ghobbo-Icamar. In the Hills of Merbat[i]

[g] *Mahgem, now perhaps Moha: for the pronunciation of letters especially gutterals, cause much alteration.*

[h] *Saba, I suppose he meaneth the queen of Saba, 1. Reg. 10.*

[i] *Merbat and Frankincense.*

grow Trees of Frankincense, which is thence carried to the East and West. Merbat is foure dayes journey by Land from Hasec (and two by Sea) against which are Chartan and Martan.

I am loth to follow our Author, as he followeth his Climate into the Indian Sea, called Harchend, where he findeth the famous Iland Sarandib (which I take to be that which is now called Zeilan,) fourescore leagues long, and as much broad, with a high Hill, called Rahon, where are many precious stones and Spices, and in the shoares fishing for Pearles; the King whereof hath sixteene Counsellors, foure of that Nation, foure Christians, foure Muslemans or Mahumetans, and foure Jewes, to which all of those professions resort for justice. Thence to the Iland Alrami, is three daies saile, which is said to be seven hundred leagues in length. (This seemeth Sumatra) But I will not by Moorish and now obsolete names lose my selfe in these Indian Seas, better knowne to our English Sailers, then this unknowne Geographer. Yet in Arabia we will ascend with him more Northerly in that part of Arabia, placed in his Second Climate. He reckoneth on the Red Sea Adhab, whereto adjoyneth the Desart, travelled by the course of the Sunne and Starres: the Red Sea with many Ilands inhabited, and Desart; and chiefe Ports Serrain, Soquia, Giodda, Giohfa, and Algiar: the Mid-land Regions, Sanacan, and Mecca, Taief, Codaid, Medina, and Adhab. The Mount Mocatta extends from Metser by Sahra, that is, the Desart, to Asuan: Adhab is at the top of the Desart by the Sea, from whence they goe to Gidda. Adhab is victualled by the Governour under the King of Egypt, and by another under the King of Bega, out of Habascia, which two divide the Revenues thereof betwixt them. In our time they there exact tributes of the Pilgrims Moslemans, which come from the West, of each Poll eight pence weight of gold. Nor may any passe over to Giodda, without this payment, or else the Ship-master which sets him over shall pay for him. They therefore shew to the Master this their tribute before hee

Sarandib.

Metser is Cairo or Egypt.

[II.ix.1497.]

Mosleman is a right Orthodox beleever, so the Mahometans call themselves.

admits them. This tribute goeth to Alhasemi, the Lord of Mecca. This Sea is full of Sholds and Rocks, and some Ilands thereof in winter are desolate. Neaman is the greatest in this part. Sameri is inhabited by Samaritan Jewes, whose word is Lamesas, if they have offended any, by which they are knowne to descend of Samer,* the author of the Calfe in the time of Moses, to whom bee peace. On the East side of this Sea is the Tower of Hali, a little Citie whence are two short stations to the Citie Sancar. Five daies from Hali, is Serrain on the shoare: three stations from Serrain in the Port of Socquia, and as farre from Socquia to Giodda. This is one of the Ports of Mecca, and fortie miles distant from it.

**This is but Mahumetan ignorance, for the Samaritans, or Cutheans are another sect: of which see my Pilg. l. 2. c. 8.*

Medina.

From Mecca to Medina, that is, the Citie (the name of it is Jathreb) in the right way are ten stations: from Mecca, to Batn-Marri, a certaine Inne or Cane, in which is a Spring of water, environed with Palme trees sixteene miles: thence to Offan thirtie, to Codaid foure and twentie: thence to Gioffa (a station of the Pilgrims of Damasco) six and twentie: thence to Alabua seven and twentie: as many thence to Socquia, thence to Rovaitham six and thirtie, to Sabala foure and thirtie, to Malal seventeene, to Sogera twelve, to Medina six. Hee expresseth another way from Mecca to Medina, by the Mountaines, which I omit. Medina is compassed with Palme trees, the Dates whereof sustaine the Inhabitants, wanting both Corne and Cattell. Their drinke is out of a small River which Omar brought thither from a great Spring. It is halfe as big as Mecca. Betwixt Medina and the Sea is three daies journey, and Algiar is the Port thereof, a Towne well inhabited: one station from Medina to Chosciob, a second to Ghoraib, the third to Algair. From Algiar to Giodda, is about ten daies journey by land neere the Coast: the wayes hidden by Sands moved by the winds.

On the East of Mecca sixtie miles distant is Taief, the way by Badid-almortafe, which is populous, and there are wandring Arabians, then to Carn-almanazel, thence to

Taief. This is the habitation of * Thacqifi: and is celebrated for Raisins, and most part of the fruits of Mecca are brought thence. Taief is seated on Mount Ghazuan, the coldest Mountaine in all Hagiar,* where water sometime freezeth in Summer. To Mecca belongs the Castles Naged-Altaief, Nageran, Carnalmanazel, Acqis, Ocadz, Lia, Tarba, Maisa, Caisa, Gioras, and Sarat; and in Tehama, Sancan, Serain, Socqia, Ghasin, Bais, and Aac. The Castles of Medina, are Taima, Daumat-Algiandel, Alfere, Dhu-linorvat, Vadi-liqora, Madian, Chaibar, Fadac, Cqere-Arinæ, Vahida, Sajara, Rohba, Sajala, Sabana, Rahett, Adhab, Achhal, and Hamia. The way from Mecca to Sanaa, is to Serrain Carn-almanazel, then to Sofr, Caze, Rovaitha (a great Towne) Tabala, Baisat, Jactan, Giasda, Niab (a very great Towne frequented with people and Palmes) Singia, Cassa, Negem, Sedum, Rah. This is a great towne stored with Vineyards, whence Gioras is eight miles, a Towne as big as Nageran, and in them both are shops for dressing Skinnes: From Sadum also to Mahgera is as farre; there is a deepe Well, and a very great Tree, called Talhat-almalec, the border betwixt the jurisdictions of Mecca and Jaman. Thence to Adhia, then to Saada, where are dressed the best Pelts, carryed to many places of Jaman and Hagian, and distant one hundred and eightie miles from Sanaa; thence to Amasia, to the Citie Gionva, where grow huge Grapes, which are dryed, and carried to other parts farre and neere: seventie two miles from Sanaa (to the west hereof,) is the land of the Abadhites, well fortified and peopled, thence to Anafeth, to Rabda encompassed with Vineyards, Fields, and Fountaynes; the Inhabitants of which possesse Droves and Camels. This hath a deepe Well, and that strong house or Temple memorable amongst writers: and is one station from Sanaa. The whole journey is made by Caravans in twentie stations. The way from Mecca to Dhi-Sohaim of the land of Chaulan, is first to Maleca, then to Jalamla, to Caina, to Darca, and Olbob, to Habascia, to Canona, to Baisat-Haran, to Hali upon the Sea, to the

*A chief sectarie.

*Arabia.

River Sancan, to Baisat-Jartan, to Haran-Alcarin, and then to Chaulan-Dhi-sohaim. All these Regions are in the Land of Tehama (which is a portion of Jaman) the limits of which are the Red Sea on the West, Mountaynes on the East which runne from the North to the South, on which East side are Saada, Haus, and Nagera: On the North Mecca, and Giodda. In Tehama are wandring Arabs of all families. Mecca is the Centre of all Arabia, betwixt the Seas. For from Mecca to Sanaa is twentie stations, as much to Sobaid, to Jaman twentie one, to Damascus thirtie, to Baharain * from Mecca five and twentie.

**i. the two Seas.*

The Regions and Provinces of note in the sixt part of the second Climate, are Gioras and Baisa, Tabala, Ocadh, Nagera, Olu-Jahseb, Tehafar, Mareb, Seger, Sofi-Jahseb, Sceba, Hadhramut, Sur, Calhat, Mascat, Sohar, Ofor, Soal, Manea, Sorooman, Bathrun, Hogera, Hadhrama, Cariatain, Vagera, Verema, Maaden, Alnocra, Salamia, Barca, Assheh, Hagiar, Barman, Hobal, and Giloffar. And on the part of the Persian Sea, the Iles Abron, Heber, Kis, Ben-Caüan, and Dordur; and two Mountaynes, Cosair, and Oüair. In this part also are of the Land of Kerman, Senaüain, and the Mountaynes Mascan. Betwixt Gioras and Honüa are foure stations, and sixe twixt Honüa and Nagera. Tabala is foure stations from Mecca. From [II.ix.1498.] Tabala to Ocadh are three: here are Faires every Sunday of divers Merchandizes. Tdafar is the cheefe Citie Jahseb: from whence to Dhamar, are sixe and thirtie miles, and fortie from Dhamar to Sanaa: from Choud to Sanaa, one hundred and fortie: from Tdafar to Mareb, three stations. In this Towne is Salomons Tower, the Sonne of David, to whom bee peace, called Servah, now nothing but ruines. In the same Mareb, is the Tower Cascib, which was the Tower of Belcqis, the Wife of Salomon, to whom be health. There was also the Fortresse famous amongst all people, called Aarem. The Inhabitants of Mareb were a certaine Sect of the Hamaraite Arabians, very proud; they had a strong defence against the course

Servah, built as they fable by Spirits, for Belcqis Wife of Sal.

of the water of admirable structure, and each Family had their Conduit pipes for their fields and houses; but God sent a great floud whiles they were asleepe, which overthrew that building (hanging over the Citie as a Mountaine) and carried away the whole Citie and Suburbe with the people. *Gods Judgement.*

In Hadhramut are Teria, and Sceba foure stations from Mareb, a strong Tower on the descent of Mount Sceba, a steepe hill, whereon you shall see many habitations, fields, and water-courses. Eastward is the Land of Seger, from the furthest end whereof to Aden, are three hundred miles. To the North of Seger is Oman, in which are two Cities, Tsur, and a station thence is Cqelhat, situate on the Persian Sea. Betwixt Tsur and the Promontorie Almahgiame, is fifteene daies by Land, two courses (or fortie eight houres) sayling. Neere to that Promontorie they fish for Pearles. From Cqelhat to Sahar, are two hundred miles: neere it is Dhamar. From Maschatt to Sohar, are foure hundred and fiftie miles. Sohar is the ancientest Citie of Oman, on the Persian Sea, somtime the Port for the China Ships: which now is ceased, because in the midst of the Persian Sea lyeth the Iland Kis, of square forme twelve miles over, two courses from Sohar, and on the Kerman shoare Tairuset is over against it. Two daies from Sohar, is Soal and Ofor, two small Cities, made Ports by the River Falg. Halfe a daies journey thence is Mang, at the foote of Mount Sciorum, from whence west-ward to Sorooman, are two stations. Falg hath on it many Townes, and runneth into the Sea neere Gioloffar. Most of the Inhabitants of the Region Oman are Schismatickes. Betwixt Naged and Oman, are great Desarts. From Sohar to Bahrain, are about twentie stations. The way from Oman to Mecca, is very difficult, for often Desarts, and therefore they goe by Sea to Aden. Like difficulties are in the way thence to Albahrain North-wards, for the invasions of Arabs. North-west to Oman, confineth the Land Jamama, Cities whereof are Hagiar, (now ruined) and Barca and Salamia. The way from Jamama to Mecca, *Kis.* *Tairuset.*

is to * Aardh, to Chodaia, to Thania, to Sofra, to Soda, to Cariatain, to Dama, to Tangia, to Sarfa, to Giadila, to Falcha, to Rocaiba, to Coba, to Maran, to Vagera, to Autas, to Dhaterc, each a station, to Benamer, and thence to Mecca another station. Maaden-alnocra is a great Towne, where the families of Basra and Cufa meete, when they goe on Pilgrimage to Mecca. The Persian Sea is annexed to the Indians, and on the shoare of Jaman hath two Mountaines, Cosair and Oüair, against which is Dordur, where the Sea is called Ghazera. Dordur is a whirlepoole which swalloweth ships, on the South of the Ile Ben-Caüan, which is from Kis fiftie two miles. The length of Ben-Caüan is fiftie two miles, the breadth nine, the Inhabitants schismaticall Abatdhite. Neere it is Dordur, a narrow place nigh to the Mountaines Cosair and Oüair, which are hidden with waters, but the waters breake on their tops. Three such whirlepooles are found, this, another not farre from the Iland Comar, the third in the end of Sin betwixt Siraff, and the Promontorie called Mascat Saif.

**The River Astan, on which River are seated Monsarecha, Vabara, Cafa, Abra, Baasa, Sal, Ameria, Nisan, Barcat-Dhahec, Salamia, Taudheh, Merca, Megiara.*

But to returne to the Red Sea, and the most Northerly parts thereof. In Calzem are made the flat bottomed ships, broad and shallow, fit for great burthen and the Sholds of that Sea. From Calzem to Faran-Ahron, are fortie miles; this is in the bottome of a Bay, whence they goe to Mount Tur, trending along by the Sea. That Mountaine is high, and is ascended by steps, and hath an Oratorie on the top, with a pit of Spring-water. From Tur to Masdaf, a pleasant place where they fish for pearles: from Masdaf to Sciarm-Albait, hence to Sciarm-Albir, thence to Cape Abi-Mohammed, three Ports without water: and here beginneth the ascent of Ayla, a small Citie of Arabs. Then to Aumed a watery Port, over against the Ile Noman, tenne miles from the Continent: thence to Tanna, to Atuf, to Haura, where they make Pots, transported farre and neere. Not farre thence on the South, is Mount Radhua, where grow the Whetstones hence carried East and West: thence to the faire Port and

River Tsafra, then to Caüajaa, to Giar, to Giohfa, Codaid, Aasfan, Giodda. On the shoare of the Red Sea, is the Citie Madian, and the Well where Moses, to whom peace, watered the flocke of Scioaib: from Madian to Ayla, are five stations, from Ayla to Giar about twentie. From Madian to Tabuc by Land East-ward, sixe stations; it is seated betwixt Hagiar and the beginning of Damascus. Hagiar is from Vadialiqora, one station: they have houses in the Rockes. But the waies are difficult, and will leade us backe to the hatefull Mecca and Medina, I will therefore commiserate my Reader (such as are more studious, may resort to the Author) and having given you that face of Arabia, which no Christian (to my knowledge) doth so well, or almost at all, could to any purpose describe, we will stay and intertaine our selves with some more pleasing spectacle, the Actors being other Mahometans, produced on this stage by the Maronites our Translators.

Chap. IX. [II.ix.1499.]

Collections out of divers Mahumetan Authors in their Arabicke Bookes, by the said Maronites, Gabriel and John, touching the most remarkable things in the East, especially of the Mosleman superstitions and rites, and the places of chiefe note.

ARabia hath not her name of I know not what Arabus, sonne of Apollo and Babylonia, but of the Region Araba, not farre from Medina, where Ismael Sonne of Abraham dwelt: and that of Jaarob, sonne of Cahhtan or Jectan, sonne of Heber (and not as Jusef Ben-Abdillatif saith, the great grand-child of Abel) who (as Mohamed Ben-Jacub Sirazita, Author of the Arabick Dictionarie affirmeth) was first Inventor of the Arabicke tongue; which Ismael after did bring to more elegance and perfection, and is therefore

Of Arabia, and the Arabians. Gen. 10. 25. Jerah or Jaarob first Arabian: so before Ben. Tudel. cals the sonnes of Ghereb.

called, the Father of Arabicke eloquence. Some of the Arabians dwell in Cities, some in the Desarts; those better civillized, and fit for Arts: these, which inhabite the Desarts, are called Bedauyæ, or Beduois, that is, the people of the Desart; exceed in numbers, and wander without houses, using Tents made of Cotton Wooll, or of Goats and Camels haire, alway moving and removing, as water and pasture move them, carrying their Wives, Children, and Utensils on their Camels. Their Horses are leane, little, swift, laborious, bold; and the Horsemen active beyond beliefe, darting and catching with their hand the same Dart in the Horses swiftest race before it commeth at the ground; and avoiding a Dart throwne at them, by sleightie winding under the Horses sides or belly: also taking up Weapons lying on the ground whiles the Horse is running, & in like swift race hit the smallest marke with Arrow or sling. Their armes are arrowes, Javelings with Iron heads, Swords (which they use not to thrusts but strokes) Daggers, Slings, and use the same in adverse fight or in averse flight. They lye in waite for Caravans, pray upon Travellers, live on rapine and spoile, and often make themselves the great Turks Receivers and Treasurers, and raise new Imposts on all such as they can enforce, whether Travellers or Cities; obeying neither the Ottoman, nor any other Soveraigne, but being divided in innumerable families, obey the heads of their owne Families or Tribes. These Tribes are distinguished by the names of their first Parents, as Abi-helal, Abi-Risce, Abi-Zaid, and sixe hundred others, all esteemed and saluted Gentle, and equall in rights. Their food is browne Bread, new and sowre Milke, Cheese, Goats and Camels flesh, Pulse, Hony, Oyle and Butter. Rice is esteemed a great delicacie, by reason of their Tradition, that it came of Mahomets sweat. For, say they, when Mahomet compassed the Throne of God in Paradise, God turned and looked on him, which made the modest Prophet sweate, and wiping it off with his finger, sixe drops fell out of Paradise: one whereof produced the Rose; the second, Rice; the other

Beduois or Beduines activity.

Their Tribes or Families.

Their food.

Foolish and blasphemous Traditions.

foure, his foure Associats. They use a certaine Hodge-podge, or Frumentie of boyled Wheat, laid after a drying in the Sun, then beaten and boyled with fat flesh, till the flesh be consumed. This they call Herise, and say that Gabriel the Angell taught it Mahomet for strengthening his reines; whereby one night he fought against fortie men, and in another had fortie times carnall dealing with Women. These might seeme calumnies devised by some Mahumetan adversarie, if the former Author (both learned in, and zealous of the Law of Mohamed) had not related the same in a Chapiter of the choise of meats. Mohamed or Mahomet, commended also the eating of Gourds, and of the Melongenæ, affirming, that he had seene this Plant in Paradise, and measured the quantitie of mens wits, by their eating store hereof. When he was once in prison (saith Ben-sidi Aali) the Angell Gabriel came downe from heaven, and carried him into Gennet Elenaam, or the Garden of pleasures, where amongst others he saw this shrub, and he asking why it grew there, the Angell answered, because it hath confessed the Unitie of God, and that thou art a true Prophet. Their garments are base, a Cotten shirt with very wide sleeves, an upper garment of Wooll, woven with white and blacke lines of Goats or Camels haire; their feet are bare. Their Nobler sort go better cloathed, and use shooes, a red leather girdle, a white Tulipan of Cotton or Linnen of few folds. Their Women go almost naked, in a blew smock of Cotton, Linnen head-tire, and face vailed. They use Eare-rings, Chaines, Brooches, and Rings of Glasse, or other base matter, and Dye or Paint with blew markes made with a needle, their cheekes, armes and lips. Thus much of the Beduines.

Melongenæ.

Their apparell.

Baghdad or Bagdat.

Baghdad (which is also called Dar-assalam, that is, The Citie of peace *) received that name of a Monke called Baghdad, who as Ben-Casen writeth, served a Church builded in that Medow. But Abu-Giaphar Almansur the second Abassæan Chalifa, who wanne it, A. Heg. 150. named it Dar-assalam. It is the Citie Royall of Mesopo-

**The Devils Jerusalem. See my Pilg. l. 3. c. 2. §. 3. The Tartarian conquest is here omitted.*

tamia, now called Diarbecr, which the said Almansur, placed in a large Plaine upon Tigris, and divided by the River into two Cities, joyned by a Bridge of Boats. This Citie built in this place, Almansur ruled many yeeres, and after him other Chalifas till the 339. yeere of the Hegira, in which King Aadhd-eddaule and Saif-eddaule took it, who with their Successors enjoyed it till Solymus the [II.ix.1500.] Ottoman Emperour subdued, and is now ruled by a Bascia, with many Janizaries. But hereof Ahmad Abi Bacr of Baghdad, in his Annuals, will shew you more. This Citie is famous for Schooles of all Sciences, both in former and the present time. Here Ahmad Assalami a famous Poet wrote his Verses. Here Alpharabius the renowned Philosopher and Physician, borne at Farab in Turcomannia, professed these studies publikely with great applause, and leaving many of his Scholers in this Citie went to Harran of Mesopotamia, where finding Aristotles Booke, De Auditu, hee read it fortie times, and wrote upon the Booke, that hee was willing againe to reade it. Hence hee went to Damascus, and there died, A. H.* 339. Thus Ben-Casem in his Booke, De viridario Electorum.

Aristotles books of Physicks admired.

**This number seemeth false.*

Bochara is an ancient Citie upon Euphrates, in a Village belonging whereto Honain Ali Bensina (whom the Latines call, Avicenna) was borne, A. H. 370. Hee gave himselfe to Physicke very young, and was the first which became Physician to Kings and Princes, who before in that Countrey used [y] no Physicians. He published neere an hundred books, many of Physick, some of Philosophie, a Dictionarie of Herbs and Stones, Verses of the Soule, &c. He lived eight and fiftie yeeres, and died in Hamadan. Hee had runne thorow all Arts, at eighteene. Thus Ben-Casem. But others affirme, that a certaine Physician flourishing of great note, upon whom no praying nor paying could fasten a Disciple, lest the secrets of his Art should bee made common: the mother of Avicenna offers her sonne to doe him service in decoctions, and other meaner offices, which he could not doe himselfe, nor was there feare of danger from him whom nature had made

Bochara the Citie of Avicenna: some say in Bochara neere Samercand.

[y] This seemed to arise of their opinion of Fate.

Avicenna. His dissimulation.

deafe, and therefore dumbe. He made trials, and found Avicenna deafe, as he thought, and entertayned him, who watched his times, and transcribed his bookes and notes, sending them closely to his mother, which after his mothers death he published in his owne name.

Damascus. Damascus is called of the Arabians, Sciam, and Demasc, of the Syrians Darmsuc. It is luxurious in fruits of all kinds, rich in Olives and Iron of excellent temper by nature, and so bettered by arte, that no Helme or Shield can withstand it. It is seated in a large Plaine at the roots of Libanus, there called Hermon, sixe miles in compasse, double walled, with a strong square Tower in the midst, built by a Florentine, beautified with Springs, Market places, Publike buildings, Meskits, Bathes, Canes, and all sorts of silke-weaving, and in all ancient times with learning and learned men. Here flourished Saint Damascen: and here Almotannabbi excelled in Arts and Armes, emulous of Mahomet, but not with like successe. He was called Nabion, that is, The Prophet; this Motannabbi, that is, Prophecying: he wrote the Alcoran elegantly and eloquently; this excelled in Prose and Verse: both had Followers, but this mans Disciples after his death were disperst, which happened, A. H. 354. Ben-Casem also relates, that Mohamed Abi Abdillah professed Philosophie in this Citie, and to dispute with all commers, and wrote a huge Booke, De unitate existendi principiorum. He died there, A. H. 638.

Comparison of Mah. and Almotannabbi.

M. Abi Abdillah.

Aleppo. Aleppo is called of the Inhabitants, Haleb, the chiefe Mart of all the East, frequented by Persians, Indians, Armenians, and all Europæans. The Port is Scanderone, called by the Inhabitants Escanderuneh. The soyle is very fertile, and nourisheth abundance of Silke-wormes. A. H. 922. Sultan Selim tooke it, and found therein infinite wealth. Sciarfeddin which wrote the Victories of the Othomans in two Tomes, sayth, that it had of Gold and silver coyned 1150000. and a mightie masse uncoyned; Vests of cloth of Gold, tissued or wrought with Gold, Silke, and Scarlet above 300000. besides abundance of

Sciarfeddin a Turkish Historian.

Gems and Pearles. And besides other wealth innumerable, it had eight Armories well furnished. It now flourisheth in the next place to Constantinople and Cairo, and may be called, Queene of the East: Here are store of Gems, Ambar, Bengeoin, Lignum Aloes, and Muske, which is taken from a little reddish beast, beaten with many blowes on one place that the bloud may all come thither. Then is the skin so swolne and full of bloud bound straight that the bloud may not issue: and put into one or more bladders, is dried on a beasts backe till the bladder fall off of it selfe, and that bloud after a moneth becomes excellent Muske. At Aleppo was borne that great Grammarian Othoman Abu Homar, surnamed Ben-ellhhageb, which wrote Cafia and Sciafia of Grammer, and died, A. H. 672.

Muske how made.

Mount Libanus.

Libanus is called by the Arabians Lobnan, Lebnon by the Syrians, so called of the Syriake word Lbunto, which signifieth, Frankincense. It contayneth about sixe hundred miles compasse, rich in Soyle, Waters, Groves, Vines (the Wine whereof is very wholsome, not windie; and here in a Village, called Sardania, they say, Noa planted a Vineyard) and hence runne Pharphar, Abana, and the River of Tripolis. On this Mountaine grow Cypresses, Pines, Boxes, and other trees plentie: especially Cedars; the forme whereof from our owne eyes wee will here relate. It groweth on the top of the Mount, higher then the Pine, so thicke as foure or five men can joyntly fadome: the boughs not elevated upwards, but stretched out acrosse largely diffused and striking on each other, thickly enfolded as it were by wonderfull Art, insomuch as we have seene many both sit and lie along on the boughs. The leaves are thicke and frequent, narrow and hard, prickly and alway greene. The wood is knotty and somewhat wreathed, hard, incorruptible and sweet-smelling. The fruit like the Cones of Cypresse, gummie and marvellous fragrant.

Cedar described.

Maronites.

On this Mountaine dwell the Maronites, derived from Saint Maron the holy Abbot, and his Disciples, or as others thinke from the Land Maronia: uncertaine whether, but

most certaine, from no Heretike so called, as some will have it. These possesse all the Mountaine, and besides other ordinary tributes, pay great summes yeerely to the Lord of the Land, that no man of other Religion be permitted to dwell with them, and that no tribute children (as amongst the Greekes) be taken from them. They onely use Bells, which are prohibited other Nations, because in the beginning of Mahumetisme, by the sound of a Bell, the Christians had assembled and done the Moslemans great mischiefe. The Patriarch of the Maronites (which is also of Antiochia) is much reverenced of the people, and with his Clergie acknowledgeth the Roman Bishop. Their Liturgie is in the Syriake Tongue. [II.ix.1501.]

Bells why forbidden to all Christians under the Mahumetans.

The Patriarch.

Mecca chiefe Citie of Arabia Deserta, is called also in the Alcoran, Becca, the holy Citie of the Moslemans, both for Mahomeds revelations there had; and for the Temple especially, called by them Kabe, or, The square House, which they fable, was first built by Angels, and often visited by Adam himselfe: and lest it should be destroyed by the Floud, was lifted up to the sixth Heaven, called Darassalam (The habitation of peace) after the Floud Abraham built another house like to the former, by the shadow thereof sent from heaven to him. Thus writeth Jaacub Ben-Sidi Aali. This is a Chappell, not very large, of square figure, open with foure Gates, by one of which the Ministers have accesse; the other are opened but once in the yeere. It glittereth all with Gold, and is covered with vests of Gold, and encompassed with elegant Iron-worke to keepe off neere commers. No man may enter it but certaine Elders, which have long beards to their breasts, and remayne there night and day. Neere to this Chapell is a large marble Floore adorned about with eight huge Lights, and sixe and thirtie Lamps of Gold, perpetually burning. Three pathes leade thereto whereon men and women goe bare-foot to the Chapell, which they compasse seven times with great reverence, mumbling their devotions; kisse the corners, sigh and implore the ayde of Abraham and Mohamed. Round about all this space is

Mecca and the Temple.

Kabe like to the House at Loretto in Angel-legends.

a stately building of very elegant structure, as it were a wall; in which are numbred sixteene principall Gates to goe in and out, where hang innumerable Lamps and Lights of incredible greatnesse. Within this space betwixt the rowes of Pillars are shops of Sellers of Gemmes, Spices, Silkes, in incredible store from India, Arabia, Æthiopia: that it seemes rather the Mart of the World then a Temple. Here doe men kisse and embrace with great zeale a certaine stone which they call Hagiar Alasuad, or, The blacke stone, which they say, is a Margarite of Paradise, the light whereof gave lustre to all the Territorie of Mecca. Before this, sayth Jacub Ben-Sidi Aali, Mohamed commanded to weepe, to aske God pardon for sinnes, and to crie with sighs and teares for ayde against their enemies. After they have visited that Chappell and the stone, they goe to another large Chappell within the Temple, where is the Well, called Zam Zam; which is (sayth the said Author) the Well which flowed from the feet of Ismael when he was thirstie and wept: which Hagar first seeing, cried out Zam Zam, in the Coptite or old Egyptian Tongue; that is, Stay, stay. There are many which draw water thence and give to the Pilgrims, who are commanded to wash therewith their bodie and head three times, to drinke thereof, and if they can, to carrie some of it with them, and to pray God for health and pardon of sinnes. To this building is added a Noble Schoole or Universitie, A. H. 949. by Solyman who adorned it by his costs by marvellous structure, and endowed it with revenues.

The blacke stone.

Zam Zam, Ismaels Well.

After these visitations, all the Pilgrims goe to a certaine Temple on a Hill, ten miles from the Citie, and flocking in great numbers buy according to their abilitie, one or more Rammes for sacrifice. And because some are of opinion, that the Mohamedans have no sacrifices, we will relate what Jacub Ben-Sidi Aali hath written of their Ceremonies. Dhahhia (so the Arabs call a Sacrifice) is a killing of beasts in the worship, and for the offering of God, and they are Lambs of sixe or seven moneths at least; Camels of five yeeres, Bullockes of two yeeres. The males are to be

Mahumetan Sacrifices.

chosen before females, and those cleane, white, infected by no naturall or violent defect, fat, corpulent, horned. Every man must kill his owne Sacrifices, and rippe them with his owne hands, except in urgent necessities, and then he may substitute others to doe it for him. For every one before they eate any thing, are bound to eate some piece of the Sacrifices; the rest, if they can, to give cheerfully to the poore. They which are admitted to these Oblations, let them offer one Ramme for themselves, another for the soules of the Dead, another for Mohamed, that in the day of Judgement he deliver them from calamities. These Sacrifices are offered to God in imitation of Abraham, which would have offered his sonne Ismael to God; who going out of the Citie with him to a certaine Hill, called Mena, where he would have offered him to God: but when the sword could not cut his necke, a white Ramme appeared betwixt his hands, fat, and horned, which he sacrificed to God in stead of his sonne.

Lying Tradition.

Whiles the Pilgrims are here busied in their sacrifices, Beduine Arabs assault the Caravans, and robbing them, flee to the Hils, and inaccessible refuges, so swift as if they did flie. And although all armes are forbiden in the territorie of Mecca (which containeth on the East six miles, on the North twelve, on the West eighteene, on the South foure and twentie, in which respect Mecca and Medina are called Atharamain) yet they cease not to infest, and Pilgrims are here often forced to armes. This Territorie is barren for want of water, and raine, hath very few Herbs and Plants, or other pleasures of Groves, Gardens, Vines, or greene objects; but is roasted with the Sunne, both land and people. And this haply is the cause that no man may breake a bough if they find any Tree. Onely the shrubs of Balsam, brought hither from Cairo thrive well, and are now so propagated, that all the sweet liquor of Balsam is carried onely from this Citie, thorow all Regions in great plentie. Here are store of Pigeons, which because they are of the stocke of that which came to Mohameds eare (as the Moslemans fable)

Territorie of Mecca.

Balsam brought from Gilead to Cairo, thence to Mecca. [II.ix.1502.]

c. 1155.

Scerif of Mecca.

no man may take or scarre them. A certaine Scerif enjoyeth the dominion of this Citie, and all the Land of Medina by inheritance, called Alamam-Alhascemi, that is, the Captaine or chiefe Hascemee, descended of Hascem great Grandfather of Mohamed; Who were never deprived of their dominion by the Ottoman or Soldan. Yea, the Ottoman calls not himselfe the Lord of Mecca and Medina, but the humble servant. Yet this Scerif notwithstanding his revenues and gifts by Pilgrims and Princes, through the Beduines spoiles, and his kindreds quarrels seeking the Soveraigntie, is alway poore. Therefore doth the Ottoman bestow the third part of the revenues of Egypt, and to protect the Pilgrims from the invasions of the Arabs.

Medina.

Mohameds birth and life.

Medina is called The Citie by Antonomasia, and Medinat Alnabi, that is, the Citie of the prophet: because Mohamed, when he was forced to forsake his Countrey Mecca, betooke himselfe to this Citie, then called Jathreb, and was made Lord thereof. It is an error that he was borne here, for he was borne and brought up at Mecca; and in the fortieth yeere of his age, and as Ben-Casem hath, in the nine hundred thirtie three of Alexander the Great, he began to utter his Doctrine, first privily, after that publikely; whereupon he was banished the Citie in the two and fiftieth of his life; or according to Abdilatif Ben-Jusof, the three and fiftieth, and fled to Jathreb, from which flight, which they stile Hegeraton or Hegera, which happened, An. Dom. 622. or thereabouts. And although this yeere 1623. be to them 1032. Yet because they reckon according to the yeeres of the Moone, which they say, consist of three hundred fiftie foure daies, the Moones course hath in this space exceeded that of the Sunne, some Moneths above one and thirtie yeers. Whereupon their Moneths are uncertaine. In this Citie by subtill hypocrisies, Mohamed became Politicall and Ecclesiasticall Prince; and began to procure the friendship of many, and to promulgate his Lawes by degrees. In the second yeere of his flight, he enacted his Lawes of fasting; in the third,

Computation of their Hegira.

Not for reconciliation thereof, with Christian account.

forbad Wine and Swines-flesh; and so proceeded with the rest, that within eight yeeres, he brought into subjection Mecca (whence hee had beene expulsed) and Muna, and went forward with his Law and Conquest. As concerning his Wives, Ben-Casem saith, hee had foure: he is also reported to have many Harlots and Concubines: and in his Chapiter, Suratolbaqra or de vacca, he bids them marry one, two, three, or foure wives a man, and to take as many Concubines as they are able to keepe. Ben-Sidi Aali saith, that he gloried that he had the power of ten Prophets in copulation given him by God: Yea, he ascribed all his villanies to God, by ministerie of the Angel Gabriel. His first wife was named Codaige, by whom he had two sonnes, and foure daughters, Zainab, Fatema, (whom Aali married) Om Kalthum the third, and Rakja the fourth (both which Abu-becr married.) His second wife was Aisce Daughter of Abu-Becr, the first Califa, which was but six yeeres old (Ben-Casem is our author) when Mohamed tooke her to wife: the Moslemans call her the mother of the faithfull: who besides the knowledge of tongues, perused diligently the Arabike Histories, loved exceedingly and alway praised Mohamed. The third was named Mary, which brought forth to Mohamed, Ebrahim, surnamed Casem (whence Mohamed is often called Abulcasem) though Ben-Abdilatif will have Ebrahim to be one, and Casem another; but Ben-Casem saith, he had but three sons, of which Ebrahim Casem dyed at eighteene moneths, and Taiheb and Taher his sonnes by Codaige, dyed both in their Cradles. Mohameds last wife was Zainab, whom also they call the mother of the faithfull, before the wife of Zaidi Ben-Harteb, Mohameds Master, who divorced her, whereupon Mohamed gladly tooke her to wife.

Mahomeds filthinesse.

His foure wives and his children.

Mother of the Moslemans.

He had foure Counsellers or Companions; the first, Abdollah, or Abu-Bacr, his sincerest and most inward friend, a man very rich and releever of Mohameds necessities, his successor after his death. He dyed the thirteenth yeere of the Hegira, and sixtie three of his age, and was

His foure Associates or Counsellors. Abi-Bacr.

buried in the same grave with Mohamed. The second
Homar. was Homar the sonne of Chattab, surnamed Faruq, who succeeded Abi-Bacr, and ruled ten yeeres and six moneths. He was the first which was called King of the faithfull, and writ the Annals of the Moslemans, and brought the Alcoran into a Volume, and caused the Ramadam Fast to be observed. He was slaine the three and twentieth of the Hegira, and buried by Abi-Bacr. The
Othman. third was Othman, who in his twelve yeeres raigne subdued Cyprus, Naisabur, Maru, Sarchas, and Mauritania, and died A. H. 35. and was buried in the buriall place of the
Aali. Citie. Aali was the fourth, who is called also Emir Elmumenin, that is, King of the faithfull; he was slaine A. H. 40. in the three and sixtieth of his age, and was buried in the Citie Kerbelai. He was his Uncles sonne, or Cousin-german to Mohamed and his sonne in law, and deare familiar from his youth, and received the Mosleman Law together with Mohamed; whereupon he was wont to say, I am the first Mosleman. And therefore the Persians detest the other three Chalifas, as Heretikes; burne their Writings wheresoever they finde them, and persecute their Followers, because forsooth they were so impudent, to preferre themselves before Aali, and spoyled him of the right due by Testament. Hence are Warres and hostile cruelties betwixt them and the Turkes, and Arabs. Mohamed the false Prophet, in the eleventh yeere after his Hegira or flight, and the three and sixtieth of his age,
[II.ix.1503.] dyed at Medina and was buried there in the Grave of
Mohameds death and Sepulcher. Aaisee his wife. Heere is a stately Temple and huge, erected with elegant and munificent structure, daily increased and adorned by the costs of the Othomans, and gifts of other Princes. Within this building is a Chappell not perfectly square, covered with a goodly Roofe, under which is the Urne of stone, called Hagiar Monaüar, sometimes belonging to Aaisce aforesaid. This is all covered with Gold and Silke, and compassed about with Iron grates gilded. Within this, which shineth with Gold and Gemmes, Mohameds carkasse was placed, and not

lifted up by force of Load-stone or other Art; but that stone-Urne lyeth on the ground.

The Mosleman Pilgrimes after their returne from Mecca, visit this Temple, because Mohamed yet living was wont to say, that he would for him which should visit his Tombe, aswell as if he had visited him living, intercede with God for a life full of pleasures. Therefore doe they throng hither, and with great Veneration kisse and embrace the grates (for none have accesse to the Urne of stone) and many for love of this place leave their Countrey, yea, some madly put out their, eyes to see no worldly thing after, and there spend the rest of their dayes.

The compasse of Medina is two miles, and is the circuit of the wall, which Aadhd Addaule King of Baghdad built, A. H. 364. The Territorie is barren scorched Sands, bringing forth nothing but a few Dates and Herbs.

Metsr is the name of Cairo, and all Egypt, so called of Mesraim the Sonne of Noa, as saith Mohamed Sarazita. This Citie is governed by a Bascia, and five and twentie thousand Spahies and Janizaries. It is rich in Cassia Trees, Sugar-canes and Corne, many Lands adjoyning yeelding Harvest twice a yeere, Hay foure times, Herbs and Pulse in manner alway greene. Adde store of Salt very white, the water of Nilus inclosed in Pits and by the only heate of the Sunne in three dayes beeing turned into it. In former times it was famous for Balsam Plants now remooved to Mecca by command of the Othomans; and none are found in all Egypt, but seven shrubs * in the Bassas Garden, kept with great diligence. The leaves are like to wild Marjoram, the juyce is taken by a little incision in the trunke or branch. *Cairo.* *Salt of Nilus.* *Balsam.* **M. Sandys saith there is now but one, l. 6. c. 8. §. 2.*

Abu-Chalil-Ben-Aali writes, that from the fifteenth to the two & twentieth of Rabii Athani (June) there fals a dew which leaves no token thereof in the earth, yet by vulgar * experience is found by weighing the sand or earth of Nilus bankes, and is an evident token of the increase of Nilus. The Aire also is then made more *Vid. sup. p. 897.

wholsome; Plagues and Fevers cease, and those which were sicke * of them recover.

**This is in Syriæ and ascribed to the Suns entrance into Leo.*

Mescuites, or Moschees, and their Ceremonies in them.

Touching the Easterne Customes. Bensidi Aali hath written of the structure of Mescuites. Before them is a large floore paved with Marble, in the midst is a square Laver, where they which come to pray use to wash themselves. After this is a great Hall without Images or Pictures, the Walls bare, not shining with Gold or Gemmes: the Pavement matted, on which the vulgar sit; the Rich use Carpets spred for them by their Slaves. From the Roofe hang many Lampes, which are lighted in Prayer time, and that beeing ended, are put out. These Churches are for the most part round and covered with lead; and have adjoyned high Towers which serve for Steeples with foure Windowes open to the foure winds; whereon the Priests at set-times ascend, and with a strong voyce call men to Prayers. Which being ended, and their Legall washing being done, all of them leaving their Shooes on a rew at the threshold of the Gate or Porch, they enter with great silence. The Priest beginneth the Prayer and all follow, and whiles hee kneeleth they doe so, and rise when hee stands up, and imitate him in the elevation or depression of the voyce. None yanneth, cougheth, walketh or talketh, but in great silence after Prayers they resume their Shooes and depart. No women may come to the Mescuites at these set houres, if there bee any men, nor may have any societie of men except the Priest, which directeth and goeth before them with his voyce in their manner of praying, as saith the said Author.

Mosleman women disrespected. Hence some ascribe to the Turkes falsly, that women have no souls.

They are permitted, not to enter the Mescuites, but to stand at the doore, and must bee gone quickly before the men have done their Prayers. Hee addes that the womens Church is the inner part of their owne house. Such is their dis-respect of women, notwithstanding Mohameds promises in his Alcoran, that many say they enter not Paradise but may stand at the doore with Christians, and see the glorie of the men.

Easterne attire.

The Garments of the East are commonly long, some

slit on the right and left hand, some whole. The upper Garment hath wide sleeves. Their head-tire is a Tulipant but differing, of Princes white and fine, artificially wreathen, rather long then round: of their Cadies and Mufeis very large of fiftie or sixtie els of Calico round and wreathed; of Citizens lesse, of Serifs or Mohameds posteritie greene: of Souldiers and Servants long and white. Christians use not white nor round ones: the Maronite Patriarke and his Suffragan Bishops weare a huge Tulipant, round and blue, with a blacke hood under it: other Priests lesse and no hood. The women are pompous, but comming abroad weare a covering made of Horse-haire before their face, that they may see and not be knowne, not if their owne Husbands meete them; neither if they did know, would they salute, it being a shame for a woman to be seene speaking with a man. Their Chaines, Brooches and other Ornaments and Paintings of their eyes, browes, and fingers ends, I omit. Both men and women are so addicted to neatnesse, that they are very carefull lest any drop of urine spot their clothes in making water or going to stoole, and would then thinke themselves uncleane. They therefore then sit downe (like women) and wash; or if no water may be had, wipe with three stones, or a three cornered stone, as Ben-Sidi Aali in his Chapiter of washing warneth. They thinke it unlawfull to spit or pisse on a brute creature. In food they abstaine from strangled and bloud; and Moslemans, from Swines flesh. They love Junckets: they breake bread and cut it not. Their Table is a round piece of Leather, to which they come with washing and Prayers promised. They use not Forkes but Spoones of wood of divers colours, and where they need not them, three fingers as Ben-Sidi Aali warneth. Pewter and Porcelane is in much use, but other Vessels of plate or Gold, saith hee, Mohamed forbade, saying, the Devill used such, the common drinke is water; the better sort adde Sugar, sometimes Amber and Muske, &c. [II.ix.1504.]

A note for travellers in these parts, not to provoke them with our libertie in urine, &c., a cause of quarrell often to Christians.

Easterne Languages.

There are in the East eight principall Languages, the

Arabike, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriake (which little differs from Chaldees) Greeke, and Armenian. The Arabike is most noble and usuall, and is extended as farre as Mohameds name as their sacred Language, knowne to all Moslemans of better fashion. In this is their Alcoran and their publike Prayers, and most of their Lawes. Yea, saith Zaheri, the blessed in Paradise use it. In this also are written their Bookes of Physicke, Astrologie, Rhetorike. The Persian hath little but Poets and Historians, the Turkish almost nothing: the Chaldee and Syriake are nigh lost, as the Greeke. But Averroes, Algazeles, Abu-Becer, Alfarabius (called of the Moslemans the second Philosopher) Mohamed Ben-Isaac, and Mohamed Ben-Abdillah adorned the Arabike: besides very many Astrologers, Mathematicians, Physicians, and Historians. Ben-Sidi Aali reckons one hundred and fiftie, which have written on their Law; Ben-Casem, innumerable Grammarians and Rhetoricians.

Arabike Authours.

Moslemans Creed.

Now for the Moselmans Religion, Ben-Sidi Aali expresseth it to consist herein, that they beleeve all the speeches made by Gabriel the Angell to our Prophet, when hee questioned him of the things to be beleeved and done: which are these, to beleeve in one God to whom none is equall (this against Christians) and that the Angels are the Servants of God, to beleeve in the Scripture sent to the Apostles, divided in their opinion into one hundred and foure Bookes, of which ten were sent to Adam, fiftie to Set, thirtie to Enoc (called Edris) ten to Abraham, the Law to Moses, the Psalmes to David, the Gospell to Isa, or Jesus Christ; lastly, the Alcoran to Mohamed. That they hold these sent for mens good; and beleeve in the Resurrection after death, and that some are predestined to fire, some to Paradise according to the will of God (for it is said in the Alcoran; there is none of you which hath not his place in Paradise, and a place determined in Hell) that they beleeve also the reward of the good and punishment of the bad; and the intercession of the Saints. Also this is of the things to bee holden, that they firmely

beleeve in the Divine Pen, which was created by the finger of God. This Pen was made of Pearles, of that length and space that a swift Horse could scarcely passe in five hundred yeares. It performeth that office, that it writes all things past, present and to come: the Inke with which it writes is of light; the tongue by which it writes none understandeth but the Archangell Seraphael. That they beleeve also the punishment of the Sepulchres; for the dead are used often to be punished in their Graves, as happened in a certaine Sepulcher betwixt Mecca and Medina.

Mosleman Precepts are; Circumcision.

The Precepts of the Moslemans are, first Circumcision, not on the eight day as to the Jewes, but at the eight, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth yeare that they may know what they doe, and may professe their Faith with understanding. And although most hold women free therefrom, yet in Egypt they circumcise women at thirteene, fourteene, or fifteene yeares old (many of them till then goe starke naked) and Sidi-Ben Aali saith, that it was commanded to men, but is used to women for honour.

Five houres Prayers.

The second Commandement is Prayers hourely, which in the Church, at home, or abroad, they are bound to perform, five times in the day and night: first at break of day; the second about noon; the third in the afternoon; the fourth after Sun-set, when the stars begin to appeare: the last in the first watch, or before mid-night (for after, it is unlawfull saith Ben-Sidi Aali) neither may any transgresse these houres without sinne; yea, saith hee, if one were cast into the Sea and knew the houre of Prayer, if he be able he ought to doe it; as also women in travell must hide the Infants head as they can and doe it. Travellers when they perceive that houre is come, goe out of the way and wash; or if they have no water; lightly digge the Earth and make shew of washing, and goe not thence till they have finished their Devotion. Thirdly Almes is also commanded; and they which are so poore that they cannot give to Orphans and the poore, must helpe in Hospitals,

Almes.

and high-wayes, by such service to satisfie God. Fourthly, *Fast.* Ramahdan Fast of thirtie dayes is commanded from morning to Sun-set and the Starres appearing: for then after evening Prayer they eate any food (except Wine) *Pilgrimage.* with Bacchanall cheere and tumults. Fiftly, Pilgrimage once in their lives to Mecca and Medina is also com- *Fighting.* mended; and sixtly, to fight against the enemies of their Faith is no lesse commanded; not to preach by the Word and Meekenesse, as Christ, but by the Sword and Warre, to invade and revenge. And if by their persons and bloud they cannot, they must (saith our Author) by their purse and goods helpe the Prince herein. And if they [II.ix.1505.] die in Warre, the sensuall pleasures of Paradise, Rivers of Milke and Honey, beautifull women and the like are their *Note.* present purchase. Therefore doe they give to Apostataes, which become Moslemans, an Arrow borne up by their fore-finger; the Arrow signifying Warre, and that one Finger the Unitie of the Deitie. Their last Commande- *Washings.* ment is washing with water, which is three-fold, one before Prayers, handled in three Chapiters by Ben-Sidi Aali, thus performed; the armes stripped naked to the elbow, they wash the right hand and arme, then the left, after the Nose, Eares, Face, Necke, Crowne, Feet to the joynts, if they be bare, or else their shooetops, lastly their Privities; mean-while mumbling their Devotions. These washings they thinke to wash away their Veniall and lighter sinnes; for their greater they use Bathes, and say all the bodie must be washed to wash away Crimes. The third washing is of their secrets by themselves or their Servants after the Offices of Nature, delivered by him in two Chapiters, too foolish and filthy to be related. Adde the prohibition of Images painted or carved, Thefts, Homicides, Robberies, Adulteries, Swines flesh, Wine, strangled bloud, and things dying of themselves, and all uncleane Creatures.

Order of visiting the sick, of Wils, Restitutions, and Burials. Hee also instructs at large of their Testaments and Funerals. The Moslemans beeing sicke presently send for an Abed, Religious man or Santone to strengthen them in the Faith and propound heavenly things to him,

reciting somewhat out of the Alcoran. And if the Disease bee very dangerous, they wash and make their Testament; and are bound to restore all ill-gotten goods, giving the Creditors a Bill of their hand. And if they know not to whom to restore, they must bequeath a summe of money to publike uses, Hospitals, Mescuits, Bathes, the poore and Religious persons: yea, for that respect they set Captives at libertie, as is read that Avicenna did; some give Bookes to publike uses; some, other things. Ben-Sidi Aali saith, it is Mohameds precept that the third part of mens goods be bestowed on publike uses. And if a man die intestate, they say other dead men will chide him. When they are dead, the bodie is washed; the Nose, Eyes, Mouth, and Eares stopped with Cotton; better apparell is put on, white shirts and Tulipants. Then is the bodie carryed to the buriall place without the Citie with a great troupe; the Santones or Religious going before then the men promiscuously, after the Corps; followed by women howling, lamenting, shrieking, till they come to the Grave. There are those Garments taken away, and the Corps shrowded in a white sheet, and put into the Grave with the face to the South. After the covering with Earth, many Prayers are made, and much Almes is given to the poore to doe the same.

Christians in the East their death & burial.

The Christians in those part in like case take the Sacrament, having before confessed and made their wils. The Priest ceaseth not to exort them to hopes of a better life by Faith in Christ. Being dead Perfumes are burned in the Chamber, the Corps is wrapped in a white sheet, and on a Herse carried by foure to the buriall place, men accompanying and women following. The neerer Kindred lament, cast ashes on their head and face, rent their Garments, pull off their haire, smite their cheekes, and lift up horrible cries to Heaven without ceasing. When they are comne to the Grave, they bury them with their faces to the East. But Priests and specially Bishops are attyred in their Priestly Habits, set in a Chaire, and the mouthes of the Sepulchers closed with a stone. Then

upon the Graves they burne Frankincense and make many Prayers. After this the women goe round about the Grave in a ranke with mournfull laments, strikes, plaints, and piteous Songs in prayse of the dead partie. Service is after celebrated for the dead; which ended, the Priests, many Clerkes and Lay-men by the Heires are invited to Dinner. Whiles they are set, the neerest Kinsman often warnes them to pray for rest to the deceased, and they with a loud voice answere, God have mercy on him, for whose sake we eate these meates. After Dinner they comfort the Heires, and praying for rest to the deceased, depart.

As concerning the Moslemans Beliefe of God and Christ, the Reader may reade the Dialogue, published by my learned Friend Master Bedwell, called Mohameds imposture, as also my Pilgrimage and the quotations there, out of the Alcoran.

[II.ix.1506.]

Chap. X.

Don Duart* De Meneses the Vice-roy, his tractate of the Portugall Indies, containing the Lawes, Customes, Revenues, Expenses, and other matters remarkable therein: heere abbreviated.

Of this name Meneses or Menezes, Frier John Santos reckoneth foure Vice-royes: two of which were Duartes or Edwards. One An. 1521. This was Earle of Tarouca, and sent into India, An. 1584. and ruled there more then foure yeares. Note also, that Don John de Castro, whose Rutter of the

§. I.

A Register or Collection of Uses, Lawes, and Customes of the Canarins, or Inhabitants of this Iland of Goa, and of the Townes thereunto belonging.

DOn John by the Grace of God, King of Portugall and of the Algarves, of this side and beyond the Seas, Lord of Guinea, and of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce or Trafficke of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India, &c. To all those that shall see this our Bill of Rites and Customes, given to the Governors, Farmers and

A.D. 1584.

Inhabiters of the Townes and Ilands of our Citie of Goa, greeting. We let you understand, that by the good ordering, diligences, and examinations, which were to bee done by Justification, and Declaration of that which the said Farmers were bound to pay unto us, and did pay unto the Kings and Lords of the Countrey before it was ours, of their inheritances, duties, rights, and other charges: and also the rights, uses and customes which they had, and we ought to command, should be kept unto them, and wee found by the Declaration of the said diligences, that they are bound to pay unto us that which is contained in this our other Bill of Customes of the said payments of duties. And also wee finde that they ought to use these uses, rights and customes, in manner and forme following.

Red Sea ye have in the seventh Booke, was Vice-roy of India, An. 1545. famous for arts and Armes, which I mention that the Reader may observe our care in forreine Authors to chuse the best.

It was found, that every Towne of the said Ilands have certaine Governors; some more, some lesse, according to their custome, and as the Ilands and the Townes are in bignesse, and that the said name Gançares is as much to say, as Governor, Ruler, or Benefactor, & it was thus ordained. In old time there went foure men to make profit of an Iland, and of another unprofitable waste place, the which they manured and fortified in such manner, and so well, that in processe of time it came to such increase, that it became very populous. And these Beginners, for their good government, rule and trafficke, were called Gançares; and afterward there came Lords and Conquerors upon them, which did make them for to pay tribute, and custome for to let them dwell quietly in their Lands or Inheritances and Customes, but I could not know the beginning of this.

In this Iland of Tisoare, where the Citie of Goa stands situated, there are two and thirtie Townes and Villages, as followeth. Nevra the great, Gancin, the old Goa, Cogin, Hella, A. Josin, Carambolin, Batin, Teleigaon, Bamolin, Curqua, Calapor, Morabrin the great, Talaulin, Galimola, Nevra the lesse, Corlin, Sirdaon, Dugnari, Murura, Morabrin the lesse, Chumbel, Pannelin, Solecer,

Mandur, Murcundin, Agaçarin, Horar, Gaudalin, Renoari, Banganin, Foleiros.

The Townes or Villages of Choram, and of Juan, and of Divar, are these that follow: Choran, Cararin, Juan, the Pescadores, or Fishers of Dabarin, Malar, Navelin, Goltin, Diva.

And every one of the said Townes, is bound to pay unto us certaine rent, contained and declared in the said Register. Heretofore the said Governors of every Towne or Village, with the Notarie of the same, doth divide and ceasse upon the Farmers or persons, that within the bounds of every Towne hath Lands or Inheritance, and this according to the condition wherewith it is given them for their uses and customes: and the said are bound to levie, gather, and pay the said rent, whither it increase or decrease, and the losse or encrease shall remaine with them of the Towne, that the persons to whom it doth appertaine by their custome, may pay the losse, or take the increase, as here under it shall be declared, except the losse should chance to come by warre, for then they shall be quit of that which shall be by the meanes thereof lost.

The said increase or losse of every yeare, shall bee divided according to every ones substance equally, so that every one doe pay the rent of the Lands or Rice-grounds that he doth occupie.

Which are 75. Reys every one, and two pence farthing English.

Some Gardens and Palme-tree Groves, and Rice-grounds, are bound to pay every yeare certaine Tangas: and although they doe sustaine losses, there be in the said Ilands other Palme-tree Groves, and Rice-grounds, which doe not pay but a certaine custome; and besides, they are bound to a contribution of the losses when there be any. And there be other Lands or Inheritances which the said Governours may give gratis to any person or persons, whom they shall thinke good, without custome or Obligation, to pay any thing to the contribution of the losses.

[II.ix.1507.] If any Towne or Village be so decayed, that they cannot pay their custome and rent that appertaineth to us, the

Governors and Inhabiters of it, shall give intelligence of it to the chiefe Master of the Ports, and to the Notarie of the Iland, and they shall goe to see the said losse, and finding it for good truth that it hath such a losse; the said chiefe Master of the Ports shall command the chiefe Governours of the eight principall Townes above rehearsed, and then there may come to this other Governours, which soever they shall thinke good, although the matters of the Iland must be done by order with them of the eight principall Townes, and altogether with the said chiefe Master of the Ports, and the Notarie, the Inhabitants of the decayed towne may engage or morgage their Towne unto the Governours, because they are bound unto it: and they may also make sale of it in the presence of the said Officers, and it shall be delivered or surrendred to him that will give most for it, and that which is wanting of the rent and custome which it is bound to pay, in that which is given for the Towne, shall bee divided and levied of the eight principall Townes, or of all the Iland, upon those Lands which are bound to the contribution of the losses, in such sort, that we may have full payment of the Custome of the said Towne, and that the said Hirer or Hirers shall be bound to increase better, and profit the Towne or Village: and with this condition it shall be let or set unto them. And the said Hirers or Farmers of the said Towne, shall have the voyces of Governours during the time of their Lease or Farme.

The Governours of the Towne decayed, doe not lose their Offices by that which is spoken. And at all times that they shall aske, or demand, the Towne paying the whole rent or custome, it shall be delivered unto them, and the said Towne shall be no more of the Farmers, having ended their time or lease.

The Governours by authoritie of their Offices, and because they were Beginners, and also because the said Offices or charge doth come to them by descent, they doe not lose them, to wit, the Governours every one in the Towne in person for any error he doth commit: nor the

Clerke of Common Councell, which also commeth to him by inheritance or descent: and this order was made by the Governours themselves, onely the one and the other shall have for the errors and hurts that they doe commit, the penaltie that they doe deserve, in their goods and bodie. Notwithstanding, such an error they may doe, that they may dye for it: or it shall be convenient that they shall not serve in their Offices, and in such case it shall remaine to their Sonnes or Heires; and if the case be not great, the chiefe Master of the Ports shall judge it, accounselling himselfe with some of the Governours. And if the facts bee greater, the said chiefe Master of the Ports shall give knowledge of it to our Captaine Generall, and Governour of India, or to the Captaine of our Citie of Goa, or to the over-seer of our goods, if the matter bee thereunto attaining, for to provide in it what shall bee convenient and right. And also the Governours of the said Towne have the said Offices by inheritance or descent. And if they doe commit any error, they shall be punished as these other, and so their Offices shall remaine to their Sonnes, or to their Heires.

The Governors may give such fields as within every Towne are waste or unprofitable, to such as shall aske or demand them, for to make them profitable in Gardens, or Palme-tree Groves, or to other good uses, with condition that they shall pay a certaine rent, or custome, as shall seeme good unto them, and this so given, shall bee for the space of five and twentie yeeres; for, from that time forward, they shall pay according to the order and custome, which is every Field or Plaine, of twelve Paces in length (which is the space betweene Palme-tree and Palme-tree, reckoning one hundred Palme-trees to the field) some of them to pay five Tangas, worth foure Barganis every Tanga. And after this rate, the greater or lesser field so given shall pay. And the said Governours may give the waste Fields and Plaines, for to be profited in Palme-tree Groves, and Gardens, for lesse then five Tangas, and they shall passe their Warrant for this,

[4] *Bargani is two pence halfe peny farthing, and a sixteenth part of a penie.*

according to their custome, notwithstanding they may not exceed above.

When they shall give Fields or Plaines, to make Rice grounds, they shall be given in this manner, to wit, five Cubits in length, and five in breadth, which is the space betweene one rew and another, reckoning in this manner one hundred rewes to every Field. And any Field or Plaine of them, being watered with Well water, they shall give it for foure Barganis, every yeeres rent; and if they be watered with running water, their rent shall be six Barganis every yeere; and after the said Gardens bee so given unto them by the Governours, they cannot bee taken away from them, for they remaine to their Sonnes, Grand-children, and Heires, and this is the generall custome. Notwithstanding, if any other custome be used besides this in any Towne, or Village, it shall be fulfilled.

Which is eleven pence farthing English.

The Clerke of the Councell must be present at all the bargaines, and agreements (which amongst themselves they call Nemes) that shall be made by the principall Governours of all the Iland with the Officers of it, the chiefe Master of the Ports, a Portugal Notarie with him, or a Bramane, and without him or the Clerke of the Councell, no bargaines nor agreements can be made, because they doe write the cases, for to notifie and declare the debts that might arise in time to come. And in the abovesaid manner, the Scriveners of the Townes must be with the Governours of them, in all matters that shall passe in any one of the said Townes. And the Townes of all this Iland of Tisoare, and the other Townes of Divar, and Choran, and Junha, are guided by their writings.

Which is a kind of Priest of their Idols.

[II.ix.1508.]

The Governours every one in his owne Towne, may give Fields, or Plaines, freely or gratis, for to profit them: or if be profitable being voide, to the Officers of the said Townes, to wit, to the *Priest of the *Pagode, or Church of the Idoll, and to the Scrivener, and to the Porter, and to the Rent-gatherer, and to the Magnato (which is a washer of Cloth, or a Laundresse) and to the Shoomaker, and Carpenter, and to the Smith, and to the Faras (which

**Which is called Bramane.*

**Which is their Temple.*

is a servant to the Pagode, or Church) and to the women of the world (which are common women or Curtesans) and to the Jester. And to those persons abovenamed, the Plaines, or Fields, and Gardens, are given gratis, for to serve continually in the said Townes: And after they be given unto them, they may not be taken away, nor other persons be set in their place, because they are given unto them for their Sonnes, Grand-children, and Heires. And every Towne may have no more Officers then abovenamed, to whom they may give the said Lands gratis. Neither may they give them any more Lands without Heires, and they being willing to leave them, they shall bee given to other Officers of their Facultie, and the Heires of the same Officers are bound to serve in the said Offices also.

The Governour of any Towne, may not give any Field, or Garden, to any one that is not of the Towne, gratis, but paying tribute; except they have an order for it.

When the chiefe Master of the Ports shall send for the Governours of all the Iland, or of one Towne, they are bound for to come, or to make an assemblie, for to choose in every Towne any one whom they thinke meete, for to send to the said calling; and when they make the said assemblie (which among them is called Gançaria, or an assemblie of Governours) if any Governour be wanting of them, which are ordained in the said Towne, there can nothing be done, except they be all together, and if there be any Heire of that Governour that is wanting, it is sufficient for the said Assemblie or meeting to be made with him. And if other people doe not come, they shall incurre the penaltie that among themselves they have ordained.

If any Governour or any other person is willing to sell any lands in any of the said Townes, they may not doe it without license of all the Governours of the said Towne, and also no person may buy without the said license. And if any person shall make any sale, or buy any land without the license, it shall be in it selfe of no effect, and at any

time when the Governour will, it shall be voide for the benefit of the duties which they are bound to pay unto us, and because they also that doe buy, may bee contented and acquainted with the said rights, and may have their Letters with a declaration of these duties which they are to pay.

When any Bill of sale shall be made of any Land or Inheritance, it shall not be sufficient to be signed by the Letter, but also it must bee signed by all the Heires, and although some of the Heires be under age, declaration shall be made, that some other person that did appertaine unto him, did signe for him, and if any one of the Heires remaine that hath not signed, the said sale shall at any time be of no effect, taking the quantitie that it was sold for, and if the buyer shall be at any cost or charges upon the said Land, he shall lose it.

If any Governour shall goe or runne away because he will not, or is not able to pay us the rent that he is bound to pay, the other Governours of the said Towne shall meete, and call a Court about this matter, and shall prefixe a time wherein he may come, and if within the said time he doth not come, they shall require the Heires of the said Governour so fled, to take the said Lands, and Governement, so as they be bound to pay unto us our right, and the debts that he doth owe: and if he will not accept it, it shall remaine to the said Governours, for the Obligation that they have to pay the said right or custome, and they may give them to whom they shall thinke best, paying besides our right all the debts that he doth owe.

If a Governour or any other person shall runne away for debt, or any other matter, no man shall take away his Lands, and his Heires shall bee demanded, if they will remaine in the said Lands, and be bound to pay his debts, and our right, and if there be no Heires, or being any, if they will not accept it, then the said Lands shall remaine to the said Governours, for want of an owner, and they shall pay for it the right and debts that they doe owe unto us, and they shall take the overplus of that which is

remayning, and if anything be wanting, they shall pay that which it amounteth unto, and as touching the moveable goods, they shall remaine unto us, whensoever the Heires shall not accept of the Inheritance or Lands.

If any person, Governour, or other, doth chance to die, or goeth out of the Countrey, and hath no Heires, the Lands that they have which are not bound to any tribute or custome, shall be ours, even as the movables, and if the Lands doe owe any debts or legacies, or if they doe not owe any thing, after we are paid ours, of the remainder shall be done according to right.

The Rice-lands in every Towne shall be let every yeere by the voice of a Crier, to them that will give most for them, according to their custome, because they are not proper of any one man, as the other lands are, and therefore they must be given to such men as will give most for them, being Inhabitants or dwellers of the Townes, [II.ix.1509.] and if any Towne hath, of, or by custome of old time to give the said lands, or let them to any person or persons out of the Towne, which shall give more for them then the men of the said Towne, it shall be accomplished according to their custome.

The Governours of this Iland of Tisoare, and of the other Ilands of Divar, and Choran, and Junha, are bound to give among the Inhabiters of the Towne certaine *labourers, at their owne cost and charges every yeere for to clense the wall, and the bottome of the trenches of this Citie, of the Weedes and Bushes that grow in them, or also for other needfull or hastie services, which sometimes doe chance as neede doth require.

*Called Bigarins.

If there chance to bee any demand or controversie in any of the said Townes, touching any Lands or Tenements, they may not demand them by any witnesses, but onely by writings, or bonds, or by the Townes Register, and if there be no writings, nor bonds, and the Register of the Towne should chance to be lost, there shall another bee taken of the demander of the said lands, that by it he shall declare that which shall seeme convenient for to know

the truth. And concerning such cases, and other of like importance, they shall sweare upon a Pagode* (which is an image of the Devill) which swearing is called Use or Custome.

*See my Pilg. l. 5. c. 9. §. 2.

If any person shall lend another money upon a bond, and by negligence he did not demand it, or it was not paide unto him within the time prefixed in the said bond, in such manner that when he goeth to demand the said money, the debtor doth denie it, in such a case there shall bee an oath taken of him that hath the bond or obligation, that hee tell truth of the case how it standeth, and he shall sweare upon the said Pagode (which is an image of the Devill.)

There may not be lent to any man above fiftie Tangas, without an obligation or bond, and for one person or persons to demand another or others, to the quantitie of fiftie Tangas, the demander shall shew an obligation or witnesses, and above the summe of fiftie Tangas, one cannot demand of another without an obligation, onely the parties may come to an agreement, putting it in arbitration of two such sworne men as they shall like, the which shall sweare after they have heard them, that which they shall find to be equitie and right.

They may give money at interest in this manner, that for every six Tangas, they may receive every moneth one Bargani, and no more, and if any person shall give money at interest, and doth not demand the interest, and so much time doth passe without demanding it, that the interest doth amount to so much or more then the principall, although long time bee past, the Debtor shall not be bound to pay to the Creditor but the principall with the double.

The persons that can bee witnesse are these, to wit, a youth under the age of sixteene yeares, nor a Drunkard, nor a Blinde man, nor a Dumbe man, nor a Moore, nor a Deafe man, nor a Russian, nor a Journey-man, nor a Gardiner, nor a Gamster, nor the Daughter of a Whore, nor an infamous person by Record, nor a man that is in hatred with another, cannot beare witnesse against him.

Notwithstanding, these may beare witnesse in matters of small importance.

Of men deceased, and how they inherit one after another.

If a man doe chance to dye without a Sonne, although he hath a Father, or other heires ascendant, the Inheritance commeth to us, except the said Father and Sonne deceased hath their Inheritance commixt, or both in one Title or Custome: for then the Father doth inherit of the Sonne: and if any man hath foure Sonnes, or more or lesse, they may divide the Inheritance in his life time, except it be by his owne good will, and the Father contented with it, they shall divide it brotherly as well in his life time, as after his death; and dividing it in his life time, the Sonnes shall be bound to maintaine the Father with all things necessary, and any of these Brothers dying without Heires descendant, the division of the brethren shall be viewed, either at the death, or in the life time of their Father, if it be written in the Towne-booke; and being written in the said Booke, then the inheritance of every Brother so dying without an Heire descendant commeth to us, and if he dyeth before the said division was made or written, then the Inheritance commeth to the Brethren, if they have no Father: and if the said Inheritance be not of forreine Lands, and bound to the rent of the Towne, then the Inheritance of a man so deceased shall remaine unto us, as well as the mooveable without any contradiction. And if any of these Brethren become a Turke, a Moore, or a * Jogue (which is like to the Gipsies in our Kingdomes) in such manner, that he doth alienate himselfe from the custome of his house, and if the goods be divided among them, his moveable goods shall remaine unto us, and his Land also, except it be forreine Lands, for then it shall be sold by Obligation to pay the custome due, and the remainder (the debts being first paid) shall remaine unto us, as here is contained.

**Which is a Gyptian.*

How the goods of men deceased, must bee sold in the Towne to the Governours, and they shall pay the debts, being due and lawfull.

At the time of the decease of such a man, whose inheritance appertaineth to us in such manner as is declared already, the Governours of the Towne shall bee bound, before they doe burie them, or burne them (according to

their custome) they shall make it knowne to our Officers, for to goe thither to take notice of the goods, and to set them downe in an Inventorie, and make sale of them by the voyce of a Cryer, the Governours of the Towne being present: and they shall be given to the Governours of the Towne, or to any of their kinred that shall give most for them, and not to any person out of the Towne, or to any of their kinred, notwithstanding if the neerest Kinsman of the man deceased, or any other of his Kinsmen will have the said Inheritance, with the customes belonging to it, which the Governours doe pay, it shall be given him. [II.ix.1510.] And suppose it should happen that the Kinsmen of the deceased did not come at the selling of the said goods, and within five daies after they shall know of it, shall request the said Inheritance to be given them for the quantitie it was sold for, it shall bee given unto them for the said price. And the said five daies being past, they not requiring it, it shall not after bee delivered unto them; but they that most shall give for it, shall possesse it; and the duties that doe arise of the said goods, shall be for us, and it shall bee charged upon our Factor, and there shall passe a Certificate in Farme unto the Governours for their discharge, how it is charged upon his account, and thence forward may they not bee constrained, or oppressed for it, and therefore the lawfull and due debts that the said deceased doth owe, shall of the said goods first be paid, and the rest that remaineth, shall be for us, as aforesaid.

The moveables of any one deceased having no heirs ascendant, or descendant, (as is alreadie said) are without any difference to remaine to our use, and they shall bee sold to them that will give most for them, either be he Kinsman or not, of the Towne, or out of it, notwithstanding the debts shall first be paid, as already is specified.

The Inheritance is in this manner; from the Father it commeth to the Sonne, and to the Grand-child, &c. and to the Father and Grand-father: so that there bee heires ascendant and descendant, to whom the Inheritance doth appertaine, so that the said Inheritance come by the Male,

and by the Female no person doth inherit, no not the Daughter, but the Brother shall possesse her goods in such manner, as is already specified.

If any Thiefe shall goe to steale any Money, or any other thing, and is taken with the said stealth, in such case it shall be provided according to our Ordinances and Lawes; and if the said thing so stollen hath an Owner, it shall bee given him, although by their uses and customes it belongeth unto us, and this, because so it is our pleasure, and wee thinke it good to shew them favour, as we doe unto them that well and faithfully doe us service, as we hope they will doe.

If any treasure or goods be found or discovered, it belongeth and appertaineth to us.

If any man be married with two Wives, and have foure Sonnes of the one and of the other, or more or lesse, although that they bee not in number equall, whensoever the said Sonnes shall divide the said goods of the Father, they shall divide it in the middest, and the one Sonne shall have as much as the other foure, and the goods of the Father and of the Mother, shall not bee inherited in the Daughter, as is above rehearsed.

The Officers placed by us, and by our Governors and Captaines, and over-seers of our goods, shall not take any bribes, nor Lands, of, or at the hands of the Governours and Townes, neither may they use any Merchandize within the compasse of their Office. And I command, that if at any time they or he shall be attainted with the same fault, that which shall be found he hath taken, or by his meanes any losse was sustained, hee shall repay it againe, and the said quantitie so paid, shall remaine unto us.

Or a Cassock: Pachorins a kind of Linnen cloath.

If the Governors shall lay, or exact any demands in the Townes for Cabaga, Pachorins, or whatsoever profits or commodities for themselves, or for to give to the Captaines, or chiefe Master of the Ports, or to any other Officers, or persons whatsoever, every Governour of a Towne so convicted, shall pay the whole summe of that,

which they have levied through all the Townes; the one halfe for them that shall accuse them, and the other halfe for redemption of Captives and the Scriveners, or Notaries of the Townes, shall be contributaries with them, if the said tribute, subsidie, or tyrannie was raised, or levied with their consent.

He that shall convay, or purloyne any Merchandize, of whatsoever sort it be, without paying to our Officers the duties belonging to us as they are bound: they shall pay after the rate of eleven for one, of that which he hath so convayed and purloyned, being thereof convicted.

At what time soever that the chiefe Master of the Ports, with the Clerkes or Clerke of his charge together, or every one of himselfe, shall goe to the Iland about matters concerning our affaires, or any one whom they shall send to the said Iland, or to the Townes of the same, they shall give them their meat according to their use and custome.

And also to our Factor, or Officer of that office when they shall goe thither, to provide in any matters concerning our affaires, or the Towne of the Iland.

Whatsoever Foot-man shall goe with any message pertaining to our service, or to the recoverie of our rents, they shall give him every day that he shall be there without dispatching, two measures of Rice for his meat, and one Leal for Betre, which is an hearb that they use to eate.

A piece of Money of three farthings.

Betre, an herbe that they use to eate.

If any Governours of the Iland of Choran, or of the other Ilanders annexed to the same of Tisoare shall runne away to the Turkes out of the Land, because they would not pay the rent, as it is aforesaid alreadie, it hath beene done, the which from hence-forward wee hope they will not doe, they shall lose their mooveable goods, and they shall fall unto us, and their Lands and Offices shall bee given unto them they doe appertaine to, and will give most for them, being bound to pay the rights and customes that the said Lands are bound to pay, and that which they shall give over-plus for the said Lands and

Governourship, their custome reserved, shall bee to our use.

When they doe make any feast or assembly, wherein [II.ix.1511.] they are to take Betre, (which is an Herbe) or Pachorins, the principall Governour of every Towne shall take first the said Betre, Pachorins, or Jewell, and after him the other Governours by degrees, according to their authorities and customes.

Which is a piece of linnen cloath.

When any assembly or convocation is to be made, and the names of the Governors to be named in writing; first shall begin in the name of the principall in honour, and consequently one after another in their degrees.

When in the end of any Councell that they make, there is any difference or doubt in setting downe that which they have agreed upon, it shall bee written by the Scrivener, or Notarie of the Towne; and having written it, he shall say with an high voyce, which is called Nemo, that which they have agreed upon, and if there be no bodie to gainesay that which he hath said, and declared with an high voyce, it shall remaine in full force and power.

When the Governours of the Iland do meete for any councell, agreement, or decree, the said decree shall be set downe by the Clerke of the Common Councell of all the Iland, and the voyce that shall be given at the end of the said decree, called Nemo (as aforesaid) shall bee spoken by the most principall Governour that will be accepted, the said Nemo shall be made by the Scrivener or Notarie that writ it.

The Towne of Teleigaon hath the preheminence, for it must bee the first that beginneth to share their Rice, and the Governours of it must come every yeare with a sheafe of Rice, to present it before the high Altar of the Church, and the Vicar with them must go to the Store-house where our Factor is, and he shall have bestowed foure Pardoas in Pachorins, and hee shall cast them about the neckes of the Governours, ordained among them, that they may receive honour, and from thence forward the

Which is a piece of Mony worth 300. Reys.

Pachorins a piece of Linnen cloath.

other Townes may reape, or share their Rice as hereafter shall be declared.

In the time of Tillage, the first Rice-ground that shall be ploughed, and in the time of Harvest that first shall be reaped, must be the chiefe Governours field of every Towne, and after him any one that will may reape his: and the same order shall be used in the covering, or thatching of their houses every yeare, the which Governour of the Towne shall cover his house first with Palme-tree leaves, and after him all the other people of the same.

The Men or Women Dancers, that shall come to feast to a Towne, they shall goe first to feast at the house of the principall Governour; and when there be two in like honour it stands in the choyce of the Dancers, to goe to which of them they thinke best: and these Governours so in one degree of honour, shall rise together to the Betre, or to any other honour, when they are to receive estate, with their armes a crosse, the right arme under the left, because that he that goeth on the right hand, doth take it for more honour, and because another Governour might say, that he which did take the present with the left hand had the preheminence, because it came over the right hand.

Which is an herbe they use to eate.

The Governours that are in Common; to wit, which is to take Betre, (which is an Herbe) or any other honour, have no preheminence the one of the other; and they may sell the said honour of the Betre, or Pachorins, (which are certaine Linnen cloaths) to any of the said Governours of the said Towne, every time that the said honour chanceth to bee given, and this for a certaine price, and it must be divided in the Towne: and when there is no objection to the contrary, then the Scrivener of the Towne receiveth the said honour.

Toucha, a kind of Torch or Lampe carried before them. Andor is a Chaire. Somb. a kind of Canopy to hide from the Sunne.

No man may carrie Tocha, Andor, or Sombreiro, without our liccense, or of our Governor, except it come to him by Inheritance from his Fathers, and those to whom we or our said Governor shall give the said license for desert of his services, it shall bee given in two sorts;

the one, that they may carrie the said Sombreiro and Andor with his Foot-men, and Tocha with the Oyle at their owne charge; and the other is, that hee doe receive of us the said Sombreiro with the said Foot-men, and the Oyle paid at our charges, and the said light also may bee given without the shadow, and the shadow without the said light or Tocha, every thing by it selfe, or altogether in any of the manners above specified. Therefore also we notifie it, as well to our Captaine Generall, and Governour of these parts of India, which now is, or hereafter shall bee: and also to the Captaines of this Citie, Judges, Justices, and Officers of the same, and to every other person or persons, to whom this our Letter shall be shewen, and the knowledge of it doth appertaine: We command, that in all things they keepe and fulfill the same, and cause it to bee kept and fulfilled, as in it is contained, for our meaning is the same. Given in the Citie of Goa, the sixteenth of September, the King commanded it by Alfonso Mexia, Over-seer of the goods in these parts of India, and Anthonie de Campo did write it, in the yeare of 1526. Alfonso Mexia.

Don Philip by the Grace of God, King of Portugall, and of the Algarves, on this side and that side the Sea in Africa, Lord of Guinea, and of the Conquest, Navigation and Trafficke of Æthiopia, Persia, and India, &c. Be it knowne to you, that I seeing how much the good government, and preserving of my Estates in those parts of India, doth import, and Justice to be truly administred in them to my Subjects and Vassals, and desiring that in my time it may bee done with that integritie, libertie and brevitie that thereunto belongeth;
[II.ix.1512.] I thought meete to send or provide after I had succeeded in the Crowne of those Kingdoms, Persons of conscience and learning, to the most of the Fortresses of those parts, that should administer it, to the which we gave power and authoritie according to their governments or charges. And being now enformed that in the Citie of Goa, principall and head of the said Estates, the Kings

my Predecessors of glorious memory, did ordayne there should bee an house of Justice, or place of hearing, wherein some Officers by them chosen (as in a supreme Tribunall) should determine the Causes, giving them for that purpose at sundry times divers charges, the which for the varietie of matters ought to be reformed, and I being willing in dutie to continue with the same intent, and command to provide in those Causes, which at this present were most necessarie for the good of the said House, commanded for that effect, learned men of my Counsell, and of experience that they should determine what might be done in that case, as well in the ordering and governing of the said House, as in the multiplying of the Ministers belonging to it, that matters of Justice might with more ease and facilitie be prosecuted, and having heard their opinions, and necessary diligences being used, and having given mee relation of all things and account, I thought good to provide for them in manner and forme following.

As Westminster Hall.

§. II.

A Copie of the order that the Vice-roy of the Estate of India shall hold in matters of Justice, as also of the other Magistrates, in the divers places holden by the Portugals in India.

THe Vice-roy shall goe to the house of Justice, the times that he thinketh good, and shal give no voyce, nor assigne or pronounce any sentences, but he shall onely use the offices that the chiefe Judge doth use in the Court of Requests, and of the rest which in extraordinary matters is granted unto him in all things whereunto his charge may bee applyed.

There shall be in the said House or Court ten Officers, to wit, one Chancellour, the which shall also serve for a Judge of the Chancerie: one chiefe Judge of facts and causes Criminall: one chiefe Judge of matters or causes Civill, the which notwithstanding

shall serve for Judges in matters of complaint, wherein any Judge of our estate, goods, or revenues hath not given sentence, one Attorney for causes touching the Crowne goods, or revenues: and one Prometor of Justice, the which shall serve also for a Judge of complaints, and wrongs in those cases wherein he is not Attorney: one chiefe Judge for Wills and Testaments, the which shall serve also for a Judge of Complaints, in such cases as he hath not given sentence.

Or a Preferrer of Bills and Supplications.

Also there shall be in the said house three extraordinarie Judges, the which shall serve in absence, and for any hindrance of the said Judges of complaints above named, and for the other Offices. And this by commission of the Vice-roy, and in his absence of the Chancellor, or of the most ancient Judge, which doth serve himselfe as Chancellor, when the Chancellor himselfe is absent, and they shall helpe the Judges that sit on the Bench to dispatch the causes then depending, and not in any matter aforetime past, &c.

Every day before they sit or dispatch any matters, there shall a Masse be said by a Chaplaine, which the Vice-roy shall choose for that purpose, and he shall be paid at the charges and expences of the said house, and the Masse being ended, they shall beginne to dispatch such matters as shall be brought unto them, and they shall be foure houres at the least in dispatching matters, by an houre-glasse, which shall stand upon the Table where the Vice-roy doth sit.

The Judges, as well in cases Civill as Criminall, shall have the same authoritie, and shall keepe the same order that is given unto them, whereof the Judges of the Court of Requests doe also use, and of those sentences which by mine Ordinances I command account be given unto mee before they be put in execution, the said account shall be given to the Vice-roy, if hee have not beene present at judgment, or if he be not absent from the Citie of Goa: for if he be absent, the account shall be given unto him that ruleth in his stead, and when there is any judgement

Criminall of Importance, as is to put some person of qualitie to death, or other judgement of importance in Civill cases, execution shall not be made without giving account to the Vice-roy thereof, although he be absent, or out of the Citie.

The Vice-roy and Judges may in the house of Justice supply the defects, and annihilating of the acts, when he shall thinke that the cause doth require it, for the performing of Justice.

And the said Judges, while they are in the said house executing their Offices with the Vice-roy, shall be set in plaine Chayres, and the Vice-roy shall presently command them to be covered, and not to sit bare-headed.

The said Judges shall not enter into the said house with any weapons, neither shall they weare any garments of colour, but they shall be apparelled in long blacke garments, in such manner as it may represent the Authority they have.

The Vice-roy shall have a particular to command the [II.ix.1513.] Pensions to be payd to the said Judges at their due times, in such manner as they may bee effectually payd every quarter, without any delay to the contrarie, and their payment shall be given or payd unto them in the said house, at the end of every quarter.

The Bills of pardons, Bills of assurance, legitimations, and suppliances of ages, shall be given to the Vice-roy being in the said house, and he with the said Judges shall dispatch them, and they shall be such as he for that purpose shall choose, alwayes the Chancellor being one of them, if he be present, with the Judge of the cause, and to the dispatches of the said Petitions, the said Judges with the Vice-roy shall set their hands, and the Bills shall passe in my name, with the accustomed causes, and they shall be signed by the Vice-roy, and no Bill of pardon shall be taken without pardon of the party offended, and in the dispatches of the said causes they shall alwayes have a due regard and consideration.

And because of the easie granting of pardons, which

the Vice-roy in those parts doth ordinarily grant, hath sprung that the faults are not punished, and the boldnesse to commit new hath encreased; Wee thought it meet and convenient, that no pardons should bee granted in matters of Apostacy, Sodomie, false coyning, treacherous murder, falshood in the crime of any of the Heads, Læsæ Majestatis, wounding, or killing of any Judge or Justice, or of a Captaine of any Fortresse, the slaughter of a Maior, or Bayliffe, or any other Officer of Justice, except any cause so urgent doth concurre, that the granting of the said pardon of the said cases, doth concerne the preservation of the estate of India: then the causes shall be communicated with the said Judges, as is already declared, and when any of these cases so excepted shall happen, the Vice-roy shall take the said cases particularly in memorie, and shall give me account of them in his Letters, by the first Fleet after the pardon were granted, with the causes that moved them to pardon such a fault.

The said Vice-roy from hence forward shall not grant any Warrant, that the money of Orphans shall be given to any Gentleman, or Captaine of any Fortresse, nor to any other persons which are not Merchants, for the many inconveniences that thereof doe proceed.

The Vice-roy of India in the providing of publike Offices of Justice in those parts, shall have a great care to provide in my servants or any other persons, bene meritos, and apt for the said Offices, preferring alwayes my servants, when they have equall deserts with the other, and he shall passe no Warrant for any Captaine of a Fortresse, that he may provide the said Offices that are voyde, for the great inconveniences that thereof doth arise, and because it is provided in mine Ordinances, how the Offices of the said charges must be provided by the Justices, and Commissioners of those Countries, in whose place being absent, the Learned men that I have sent for Judges of the Fortresses to those parts doe remayne.

The said Vice-roy in the Warrants of Justice, or of goods that he passeth, shall not command in an Edict,

that they may not passe by the Chancerie, for the many inconveniences that thereof doth arise, and being passed in any other forme, they shall be of no force, and the persons to whom they shall be directed, shall not keepe nor conceale them, except the Warrants be of secresie, or of matters of importance, the which passing by the Chancerie would take no effect; and if any Warrant that the Vice-roy doth grant, doe come with restraint or seizure whatsoever, the said restraint or seizure shall be dispatched ordinarily in the house of Justice, or Hall above named, by the Judges to whom it doth appertaine.

All the Warrants or Letters that the Vice-roy maketh, shall be written or subscribed by the Secretarie of the estate of India, to whom it pertayneth, and not to any other person except he supply the place of a Secretarie, because there is none provided by me for that effect.

The Vice-roy shall command an *account to bee taken of the Captaines, and of the other Officers which shall deserve in them, as soone as their time is expired, the which shall be done by the Judges of the Hall or Court above named, which he shall choose for that purpose, or by any other trusty persons notwithstanding the accounts, or regidencias of Ormus, Malaqua, and Mosambique shall be taken by the Judges themselves, because of the importance of them, and the acts or examinations of the said accounts or regidencias shall be dispatched in the said House or Court of Relation, and the sentences which upon them shall be given, with the copie of the said acts and examinations, the Vice-roy shall cause them to bee to the Realme the same yeere that they are taken, and they shall be delivered to the Judge of India, and of the Myne, that he may deliver unto me relation of them, and I may command them to be set in that place that I shall thinke to be most meet.

Which is called regidencia.

Viz. of Portugal.

The condemnations of money that shall be made in the House or Court of Relation, shall be applied for the expences of the said House, and the Judges of the said House or Court may not apply them to any other use, of

the which forfeitures, or condemnations there shall bee a Receiver, and a Scrivener of the receit, and expences of them, and the said expences shall be made by order of the Vice-roy, for the which there shall be a Booke assigned and kept, by one of the said Judges, to whom the Vice-roy shall commit it in keeping.

[II.ix.1514.] And because I may have knowledge of all causes as well Criminall as Civill, which shall be dispatched in the said House or Court of Relation in every yeere, the Vice-roy shall command a Roll or Register of all the said cases that so shall bee dispatched to bee made, and also of those which remayned to be dispatched, the which Register he shall send unto us every yeere.

The Vice-roy shall nominate every three yeeres, one Judge of great confidence and trust, that may take the Examinations in the Citie of Goa, of the Scriveners, Advocates, Rulers, Bayliffes, Tellers, Inquisitors, and of all the other Ministers of Justice, and of the Revenues, excepting the Justices of the House or Court of Relation, and also besides the Examinations that the chiefe Justice of Criminall causes, and the other Officers of Justice in the said Citie are bound to make every yeere according to their Offices or Authoritie, and the said Judge shall proceed against the faulty according to Justice, and finally, he shall dispatch them in the said Court of relation, with the Judges that the Vice-roy shall nominate unto him.

And the Vice-roy not being present in the House or Court of relation, or being absent from the Citie of Goa, the Chancellor shall serve in his place, according to the order of our Decree.

A note or copy of the authoritie that the Chancellor of the House or Court of Relation of India hath.

The Chancellor shall peruse or over-see all the Bills & Sentences, that are given by the Judges of the said Court or House of relation, and in the passing and ingrossing of them, he shall keepe the same order that the Chancellor of the Court of Requests doth keepe, by authoritie of my Ordinances and Warrants.

He shall take notice of the suspicions that are to the Judges of the said House or Court of relation of India,

and to the other Officers of the said House, the which he shall dispatch in the said House or Court of relation.

He shall take notice of the cases and errours of the Notaries and Scriveners, and other Officers, whereof the Judge of Chancerie pertayning to the Court of Requests may take Notice, and he shall passe Bills of assurance upon the said cases being of such qualitie that it may bee done, and no other Judge shall passe them, and he also shall take notice of the appeales of errours committed by these Officers of the estate of India, and of the wrongs past before the Tellers of the costs, using in all that is above named that authoritie, that is given to the Judge of the Chancerie belonging to the Court of requests.

For there is a Chancerie belonging to the Court Requests.

And for so much as in the said parts there is no other Chancellor but he of the house or Court of relation, it is my will and pleasure, that all those matters that in whatsoever manner be dispatcht by the Vice-roy, by Letters, Bills, or Warrants, which by authoritie of my Ordinances should passe by the chiefe Chancellor, doe passe by him, and in the passing and engrossing of the said matters, he shall use the authoritie of the chiefe Chancellor, and the Debts that are due in the engrossing of the Warrants, which the Vice-roy shall passe, he shall determine upon them with three of the said Judges, which the Vice-roy shall nominate unto him.

And hee shall also take notice of the suspicions layd to the Overseers of our Revenues, or Exchequor, and to the Officers thereof, and hee shall dispatch them according to the authoritie of the chiefe Chancellor.

And touching the valuation of the Garrisons, and other Offices of what ought to bee payd in the Chancerie, the said Chancellor shall use the same order contayned in the Orders of the estate of India, whereof hitherto hath beene used, the which he shall use onely in this behalfe.

The Chancellor shall keepe the Courts that the Judge of the Chancerie is bound to doe, in the dayes ordayned for that purpose, and the Sentences that the said Chancellor

doth give, shall passe by the Chancerie, or by the ancientest Judge of the Appeales.

And when the Chancellor chanceth to bee absent, or busie about other affaires, in such sort that thereby he cannot be present, the Seales shall remayne with the ancientest Judge of Appeales in that Office, he which shall take notice of all such matters as the said Chancellor might take notice of.

And in all the rest that in this Register is not declared, the said Chancellor shall use the same order that is given to the high Chancellor, or to the Chancellor of the Court of Requests, by our Ordinances and Decrees, and this shall be used in such cases as they well may be applyed unto.

A note or copy of the authoritie that belongeth to the Judges of Appeales.

There appertayneth to the Judges of the Appeales, to take notice of the Appeales of the Sentences definitive, that the chiefe Judge of the Civill cases, and the chiefe Commissioner of the deceased shall pronounce in such Civill cases as are not contayned in their Prerogative or Authoritie.

There appertayneth also unto them, the deciding of the Appeales of Civill cases that doth passe before the Judge of the Citie of Goa, and before the ordinarie Judges, and before the Judges of Orphants, and whatsoever Judges of the said Citie, and also of the Judges of the Fortresses, or Garrisons of India, and of the Towneships thereof, and of those Captaines that have no Judges, the which doth not appertayne to any other Judgement by authoritie of my Ordinances or Decrees.

All the cases which by authoritie of the same Decree doth appertaine unto them, they shall dispatch them by a pretence, and in the dispatching of them, they shall keepe the order that I have given by mine Ordinances and Decrees to the Judges of the Complaints, and Appeales of the Court of Requests, and they shall as well in the [II.ix.1515.] dispatching of the Sentences definitives, as of the Interlocutorie, Bills of complaint, Petitions, and Examinations of Witnesses, and they shall have the same authoritie that

the Judges of Appeales of the said House or Court of Requests have.

And the Judges of Appeales shall take notice of the Petitions of the injurie that is done in cases Criminall, and Civill, of all the Judges that are resident in the Citie of Goa, and five leagues round about the same, in those cases wherein appeale or complaint may be made by Petition, and shall dispatch them according to the forme of our Ordinances and Decrees.

And notwithstanding, that according to the Decree in the Appeales, the account surmounting the summe of ten thousand Reys, three voyces agreeing are needfull to confirme or revoke; it is my will and pleasure, and command that two voyces agreeing shall suffice to confirme or disanull the summe of twentie thousand Reys, and in the Appeales of greater summes, the forme of the said Decree shall be kept in all points.

Which is, 6l. 5s. sterling.

Which is, 12l. 10s. sterling.

And in all the rest which in this Processe is not declared, the said Judges of Appeales shall use the same order given to the Judges of Appeales of the Court of Requests, by my Ordinances and Decrees, and this in those cases wherein they may be applied according to Justice.

A note of the authoritie belonging to the chiefe Judge of Criminall cases.

To the chiefe Judge of Criminall cases appertayneth to take notice by Ausaon nova of all the Crimes or Facts that shall be committed in the Citie of Goa, or five leagues round about it, the Vice-roy, or the Court of Relation being in the said Citie, and those cases that shall be written in processe in his Court, he shall dispatch them in the Court of Relation.

Or, in matters of late time. Which is as Westminster Hal.

Hee shall take notice also of all the Bills of complaint, or Bills of testimonie, or witnesses: and of all Criminall cases remitted, to wit, in the cases wherein it may be remitted, which doe come from whatsoever part of the State of India, the which hee shall dispatch in the Court of Hearing, or of Relation, if the Judgement of them doth not appertaine to other Judges especially, according to my Ordinances and Decrees.

Hee shall also take notice by Petition of all Criminall Appeales, that the Parties shall bring before the Judges, and the Judge of the Citie of Goa, and of five leagues round about the same, the which he shall command to be answered by himselfe alone, and he shall dispatch the said Appeales in the Court of Relation, and the parties being willing to appeale directly to the Court of Relation by Petition, they may doe it, and the Judges of Appeales shall give a dispatch in the said Petitions, according to the forme of the Ordinance in that case provided.

Or in matters of late time. And likewise hee shall take notice by Ausaon nova, and shall dispatch by himselfe alone, all those cases that the Corregidor of the Criminall cases of the Court may take notice, and dispatch by himselfe alone, and of the determination that in the said cases may be appealed by Petition to the Court of Relation, in such manner as they doe appeale from the Corregidor of the Court according to the Ordinance in that case provided.

Hee shall give Warrants or Letters of assurance in all those cases, wherein the Corregidor of the Court may passe them by the authoritie of his Office, and in passing of them he shall keepe the forme of the Ordinance in that case provided, &c.

Hee shall have a particular care, that as soone as any Facts be dispatched of any man condemned to die, that receiveth wages or a stipend of the King, or is banished, to cause his name to be set in the Register, or Check-roll, upon these Titles within ten dayes, whereunto he shall joyne a Certificat to the Fact of his condemnation.

Hee shall keepe every weeke two Court dayes, to wit, upon Tuesday and Friday in the afternoone.

Hee may also pleade by Petition the Criminall cases that doe passe before the Judges of the Citie of Goa, and five leagues round about the same, and hee shall receive the complaints in all those cases wherein the Corregidor of the Court may receive them, and he shall use in all such cases the rule or authoritie of the

said Corregidor of the Court, in all manner of matters whereunto this may be applied.

And hee shall take notice of the Appeales of Criminall cases that shall come from any part of the Estate of India, and shall dispatch them in the Court of Relation, the Judgement of them not appertayning particularly to any other Judges, according to the Ordinances and Decrees, and in the dispatching of the said Appeales, hee shall keepe that order, which I have given to the Judges of Criminall cases of the Court of Requests by mine Ordinances and Decrees.

There shall serve with him two Scriveners or Clerkes, of the foure belonging to the chiefe Judge, according to the Warrant that I past, in the division that I commanded to be made of the Office of the chiefe Judge.

A note of the authoritie belonging to the chiefe Judge of Civill cases.

To the chiefe Judge of Civill cases belongeth by Ausaon nova the notice of the cases Civill of the Citie of Goa, and round about the same five leagues, the Court of Relation being in the said Citie, the which shall be written in Processe in his owne Court, and he shall dispatch them by himselfe alone, giving leave to appeale in those matters that belong not to his Authoritie, according to the forme of the Decree provided in those cases.

Also there appertayneth to him to passe the Certificats, and Letters of Justifications.

And the said Auditor shall have authoritie by himselfe alone to judge in matters amounting to the summe of fifteene thousand Reys, which is nine pounds seven shillings sixe pence sterling, in landed Goods; and in movable Goods, to the summe of twentie thousand Reys, which is twelve pounds ten shillings sterling. [II. ix. 1516.]

And of the interlocutory Sentences that the said Judge shall give, the parties may appeale by Petition in those cases, which by the Ordinance the Corregidores in Civill cases of the Court may appeale.

And he shall keepe two Courts every weeke, to wit, upon Monday, and upon Thursday in the afternoones.

And in all the rest which in this Processe is not declared,

the said chiefe Judge of Civill cases shall use the order, that the Corregidores in Civill cases of the Court doe use, by my Ordinances and Decrees, and this in such cases as they may be applied unto.

There shall serve with him two Scriveners, or Clerke of the foure that served in the chiefe Judges office, according to the Warrant that I past in the division that I commanded to be made in the said Office.

A note of the authoritie belonging to the Judge of the Crown Office, and of the Exchequor. Or in matters of late time.

To the Judge of the Crowne Office, and of the Exchequor appertayneth to take notice of all matters pertayning to the Crowne, or to the Exchequor by Ausaon nova, and by Petition of Appeale in the Citie of Goa, and five leagues round about the same, the Court of Relation being there, and out of Goa he shall take notice from all parts of India by Appeales, or by Bill of Complaint, or by Bills of Testimonie of all the said cases, although it be betweene partie and partie. And also he shall take notice of all the other cases, whereof the Judge of matters touching the Crowne and the Exchequor of the Court of Request, may take notice by vertue of my Ordinances, and he shall dispatch the same cases in the Court of Relation, according to the order that I have given by my Ordinances and Decrees to the Judge, of cases touching the Crowne and Revenues of the Court of Requests.

Note that there is a Judge of Crowne and Exchequor matters in the Court of Requests.

And in the interlocutory Sentences that he shall give by himselfe alone, in whatsoever cases, there may bee an Appeale by Petition in the Court of Relation, in such cases as by vertue of the Ordinances may be appealed of by Petition.

He shall goe at all times being necessarie to the Accounts, where hee shall proceed according to the rule that I have given in cases belonging to the Exchequor of the Estate of India.

The said Judge of the Crowne and Exchequor shall also serve for Judge of the Kings Revenues, and he shall use in all such matters that order that I have given to the Judge of the Revenues, which is resident in the Court of

Requests, and also in all other matters which otherwise I shall command hereafter.

There shall be two Scriveners or Clerkes, the which shall write by their turnes, all those cases that shall passe before the said Judge of the Crowne Office, Exchequor, and Revenues.

A note of the authoritie belonging to the Attorney of cases touching the Crowne, and exchequor.

The Attorney of matters touching the Crowne and Exchequor, ought to bee very diligent and know particularly of all the cases pertayning to the Crowne and Exchequor, for to require in them all things belonging or appertayning to the true performing of Justice, for the which he shall be present at all the Courts that the Judge of the Crowne Office, and of the Exchequor doth keepe, and also at all other Courts that shall appertayne to my Exchequor, and in all the rest hee shall accomplish the Ordinance that I have given to my Attorney in matters of the Crowne and Exchequor, in mine Ordinances and Decrees.

Also in those cases wherein he is to be a Preferrer, either in the behalfe of Justice, or of the Revenues, he shall also use the same order which by mine Ordinance I have given to the Preferrer, or Informer of the Court of Requests, and to the Attorney of the Revenues.

A note of the authoritie belonging to the Chiefe Commissioner of the Deceased. Or, in matters of late time.

There appertayneth to the chiefe Commissioner of the deceased of the Estate of India, to take notice by Ausaon nova, in the Citie of Goa, and five leagues round about the same, within the limit of which five leagues shall contayne the Territories of Bardes and Salcete, although some of them be without the said five leagues, the which shall dispatch such matters as shall be processed in his Court by himselfe alone, giving in them Appeales, in such cases, as are not contayned within his authoritie, and he shall use that authoritie which by my Ordinances and Decrees I have given to the Commissioners of the Orphans, and of the Citie of Lisbone, and to the Commissioners of the Borders or limits of the said Kingdome, in such matters as they may be applyed unto, and also in all such matters as in this Ordinance are not especially provided for.

The said chiefe Commissioner shall have authoritie to the quantity of twentie thousand Reys in mooveable goods, and in Lands or Tenements fifteene thousand Reys without application, or appeale. And he shall appeale in cases appertayning to the Orphans, and Captives in those Sentences that he shall give, and are not contayned within the compasse of his Authoritie, although that the parties doe not appeale in the said Sentences, according to the Decree in such a case appertayning.

Which is, 12*l.* 10*s. sterling.* *Which is,* 9*l.* 7*s.* 6*d. sterl.*

And because I understand by Information that the Commissioners of the Orphans, and of the men deceased, which doe serve in other parts of India, doe give every one assurance only of two hundred thousand Reys, according to the Decree and Ordinance that hitherto they did use, and some of the said Commissioners doe receive great quantitie of money of the men so dying, the which when the parties will recover they cannot doe it, by reason of the goods which the said Commissioners have not, nor by the assurance which was of a very small quantitie. And I being willing to provide in this matter. It is my wil & pleasure that the Commissioners of the Fortresse of Sofola, Mosambique, Ormus, Malaca, and Macao, and in Bengala before they come to, or enter in their Offices, that every one of them doe give assurance of five thousand Cruzadoes, and the other Commissioners of the said Fortresses or Townes, shall give every one assurance of two thousand Cruzadoes.

Which is 125*l. sterling.* [II.ix.1517.]

Which is 1250. *pound sterling.* *Which is* 500. *pound sterling.*

There shall be in the Court of the chiefe Commissioner, a Chest with three Keyes, of the which the said chiefe Commissioner shall have one, and the most ancient Scrivener or Clarke of his Court another, and the Treasurer of the said Court shall have the other, in the which all the money of the men deceased which in the said parts is to be had, shall be deposited, and it shall be set downe, or entred into a Booke, with the number or summe thereof, according to the order of the Decree to that Case appertayning, the which Booke shall also be layd in the same Chest, the which shall not be opened, but when any Money

is to be put therein, and it shall bee entred in the said Booke, all the three Officers being present, aswell at the receit as at the expences of the said money, and the said money which in the said Chest shall be deposited, and all the rest which doth appertaine to the said Orphans or men deceased, the said chiefe Commissioner shall not consent to the taking out of the Chest, neither that it be lent to any person, but only it shall bee sent unto this Realme, *Viz. of Portugal.* by Letters of exchange as the custome is, or hee shall command it to be delivered in India, to the parties to whom by right it doth belong or appertaine.

And because I am enformed that some persons dying, to whom there is no certaine knowne, the Vice-Royes doe give the goods of the said men deceased to some persons, whereof there doth arise many inconveniences, and I being willing to provide in the said case, doe thinke it meete, and doe command that from hence-forward the said Vice-Royes shall not give the said goods to any person with assurance or without, and that they shall command them to be kept in good safeguard, according to the order of mine owne goods, sending them to the Kingdome directed to the Treasurer of the Receit of the Captives, according to the order given in this Case, that from his hand it may bee given to whom it doth appertaine, or to remayne in the House of Receit, having no Heires according to the Decree.

The said chiefe Commissioner shall have a particular care to know when the shippes of this Realme shall come to the Citie of Goa, and also of the other ships, that come to the said Citie from other parts of the Estate of India, and if there dyed in them any persons, and the order that was kept and observed in the making of the Inventory of their goods, causing it all to be set in good safeguard according to his authoritie, and the dutie of his Office.

And likewise in the same manner, he shall have a particular care to send every yeare by Letter of Exchange in the said ships of this Kingdome, all the money of the said deceased men, that is in his Office directed to the

Officers to whom it appertayneth to bee delivered by vertue of my Decrees, that in this Citie it may be given, and delivered to the persons to whom of right it doth appertaine.

And also he shall have a speciall care to make a discharge of the generall Register of India, of the wages that the said men so deceased did receive, because that also there may bee a note set in their Toll, or Register, how they are dead, and of the day wherein they dyed, that they may receive no more wages for them of my goods from that day, and to doe this, hee shall peruse the said Register some dayes, that he shall thinke convenient for to doe the said diligences, because they doe import very much to my service, and for this cause I command the Scriveners or Clerkes of the said generall Check-roll of India, to bee very diligent, and to make all these Discharges, and to set Notes in the Check-rolls of the said men deceased, as by the order of the said Register it is commanded them.

The said chiefe Commissioner shall take no notice of the Appeales that doe come from the Judges of the Orphans of the Citie of Goa, and of the other Fortresses of the Estate of India, and from the other Commissioners, but they shall goe directly to the Court of Relation, to the Judges of Appeales, where they shall be dispatched according to the order of the said Judges of Appeales. Neither shall he take notice of the Appeales, which by Bils, or Letters of Testimoniall shall come from the Fortresses of India, but they shall goe directly to the Judges of Appeales, to whom the Judgement doth appertaine, as in their Title is declared.

Of the Interlocutorie Sentences, whereof by my Ordinances may bee appealed by Petition, or by a Bill of Complaint, the parties may according to the forme of my Ordinances and Decrees appeale to the Court of Relation, and the Appeales that doe passe before the Judges of the Orphans of the Citie of Goa, and five leagues round about the same, shall goe directly to the Court of Relation, according to the Commandement that I commanded in the

new reformation of Justice, and the said Commissioner shall every three yeares give and yeeld an account for the importance that belongeth to the knowing how they doe serve and proceed in their Offices, and charges according to Equitie and Justice.

[II.ix.1518.] *A note of the Keeper, Receiver, and Distributers charges belonging to the Court of Relation.*

And because it is convenient that there be a man that have care of the Deeds, Petitions, & of the other writings, that do remain in the said house where the said Court is kept, and also of the Tables, and order of the said house; I think it meet, and do command that from henceforward a man of trust, and confidence be Keeper of the said house, such as the Vice-Roy shal think meet for that purpose, the which also shal be Distributor of all Deeds, aswel Criminal as Civil, that shall come to the said house of Relation, according to that order which by mine Ordinances and Decrees I have given to the Distributor of the Court of Requests, and he shall use that order which I have given to the Porter of the said house, and the said Keeper shall also serve for Receiver of money for condemnations, for the expences of the said house, for the which Receit he shall give account every yeare, the which account shall be taken of him by one particular Judge, whom the Vice-Roy shall nominate for that purpose, and the Vice-Roy shall nominate the person that shall serve in this Office, that I may confirme the same, and command a Patent to be made to the said person during his life.

And it is my wil and pleasure, and I do command that all that which is contayned in this Decree, be fully and wholy executed, as in it is contayned, and that no other be used, whatsoever Lawes, Decrees, Warrants, Patents, Uses, and Customes to the contrarie notwithstanding, the which shall be written in a Booke, the which shall bee alwayes upon the Table in the said house of Relation, and the same shall be put in a Chest, which shall bee in the said house in very good keeping.

A note of the authoritie belonging to the Judge of the Citie of Goa.

The Judge of the Citie of Goa, shall take notice in the said Citie, and within the libertie thereof, by Ausaon nova,

Or in matters of late time. of Cases Civill and Criminall, which especially doth not appertaine to any other Judgement, and he shall grant an Appeale in those Cases, that are not contayned within his authoritie directly to the house or Court of Relation.

And he shall take no notice of the Appeales and Complaints that doe passe before the ordinary Judges of the said Citie, and the bounds thereof, forasmuch as I have provided that the said Appeales should goe directly to the house or Court of Relation.

Which is five pound sterling. Which is seven pound ten shillings sterling. The said Judge shall have authoritie in Landed goods, to the summe of eight thousand Reys, and in moveable goods, to the summe of twelve thousand Reys.

And in all the rest, which in this provision is not declared, hee shall use the authoritie that the Justices of Criminall and Civill Cases of the Citie of Lisbon, doe use according to the Decree and Law of the Reformation of Justice.

And he shall only use this order, and not that which is given to the Licentiate, George Monteyro, nor of any other.

*A note of the authoritie belonging to the Judge of the Orphans in the Citie of Goa. *To wit of Portugall.* The Judge of the Orphans of the Citie of Goa, shall be a learned man, and hee shall use in all matters that order and rule, which by my Ordinances is given in the Title of the Judges of the Orphans, and hee shall beare a white Rodde, as the Judges of the Orphans of the *Kingdome doe beare.

And of the Sentences that the said Judge doth give, which are not contayned within his authoritie, there shall be an Appeale to the Judges of the Court of Relation, and of the complaints which doe passe before the said Judge of the Orphans, the parties may appeale to the Court of Relation, according to the order of the new Law made for the reformation of Justice.

Which is sixe pound five shillings sterling. Which is three pound fifteene shillings sterling. And the said Judge of the Orphans of the Citie of Goa, shall have authoritie to judge in matters touching moveable goods to the summe of tenne thousand Reys, and in landed goods sixe thousand Reys.

The Copie of the rule or authoritie of the Learned Judges of Mazambique, Ormus, Dyo, Malaqua, Damaon, Bazam and Chaul. Or in matter of later time.

The said Judges shall take notice in the places of their Jurisdiction by Ausaon nova, of all the Causes, Civill and Criminall, and the Civill Causes which are processed in their Court or Office, they shall judge definitively by themselves alone, giving Appeales in those Cases which are not contayned in their authoritie to the Court of Relation, and the Bils of complaint, or Bils of testimonie that shall passe before them, of the Interlocutorie Sentences, whereof by authoritie of my Ordinances may bee appealed, shall bee past in the Court of Relation, and not before any chiefe Judge as hitherto it hath beene used.

And the said Judges shall processe the Criminall Cases, till they doe conclude them by themselves alone, and when they are concluded, they shall give knowledge to the Captaines, for to appoint a day or houre certaine, wherein they may meete in the Chamber-house of the Citie, that they may give a dispatch in them, and in those places where there is no such Chamber, the Judges shall meete the Captaines in the Fortresses, or Castles, and the said Captaine being agreed with the Judge, the Sentence shall be written by the Judge, whereunto both shall set their hands, in the which shall be used due execution, if it be contayned within his authoritie, and being of sundry opinions, the sentence shall not passe, and they shal take a third man unto them, the which shall be the Over-seer of the Kings goods, and if hee be not in place, then the Factor of the said Fortresse. And if it chance that the Over-seer of the goods, nor the Factor for some hinderance cannot be present, then shall serve in their place, the eldest ordinary Judge that doth serve that yeare, and according to that which two persons shall agree upon, the Sentence shall be written, whereat all three shall set their hands, that due execution shall bee used according to the Order above rehearsed.

And the Criminall Cases that are not contayned within the compasse of the authoritie of the said ordinary Judges, they shall dispatch them by themselves alone, giving an [II.ix.1519.]

Appeale, according to the tenour of my Ordinances to the Court of Relation, where the chiefe Judge of Criminall Cases shall dispatch them according to Justice.

And the said Judges shall take notice of the Appeales that doe passe before the ordinary Judges, of Cities and Fortresses where they are Judges, and shall dispatch them by themselves alone, whereof they shall give an Appeale to the Court of Relation, in such Cases as doe not contayne within their authoritie.

And the said Judges shall take knowledge of the Appeales of the ordinary Judges, as the Justices of the Borders may doe, and they may also plead such Cases, as the said Justices by the authoritie of their Offices may plead, and in all the rest, they shall use the Orders that the Justices of the Borders doe use, in Cases wherein they may be applyed.

Also they may passe Letters of Protection, in such cases, as the Justices of the Borders may passe them, and the Captaines of the Fortresses may not passe or grant them, neither may they intermeddle in the same by no manner of meanes, and the said Judges shall not grant any Letter of Protection in cases of death, nor in other cases which are reserved for the chiefe Judge of Criminall cases, which useth the authoritie of the Corrigidor of the Court, except the Judges of Masambique, Ormus, Malaca, Moluco, and Macao, for these may passe Schedules, or Bils of Securitie, a Protection in all cases, and in those wherein the Corrigidor of the Court doth passe, or grant them in the Court of Relation according to his authoritie, the said Judges shall passe them with the opinion of the Captayne, and the Over-seer of the Kings goods together, and if there be no Over-seer of the goods, they shall dispatch them with the Factor, and if it chanceth so that neither the Over-seer nor the Factor can be there, by some let or hinderance, then the most ancient ordinary Judge that doth serve that yeare, shall be in their stead, and it shall be sufficient that two of them doe agree in the granting or denying the said Letters of Protection, and the Bils of

Controversie, of those persons to whom they doe passe or grant the said Letters of Protection shall passe before the said Judges, the which thus to bee done, I thinke it meete and convenient, having a respect to the distance, that is, from these parts, to the Citie of Goa, where the Court of Relation is, and the great vexation that the parties would receive in going to demand Justice to places so distant and farre.

The said Judges shall have authoritie in Criminall cases to the quantitie of fortie thousand Reys in moveable goods, and in Landed goods to the quantitie of thirtie thousand Reys, and the Judges of the Fortresses of Mosambique, Ormus, Malaca, Moluco, and Macao, shall have authoritie in the said Cases to the quantitie of eightie thousand Reys in moveable goods, and Landed goods, seventie thousand Reys, and of those cases which shall surmount the said summe, they shall appeale to the Court of Relation, because they are not contayned within their authoritie.

Which is twentie five pound sterling. Which is sixteen pound fifteen shillings sterling. Which is fiftie pound sterling. Which is forty three pound fifteene shillings sterling.

And the said Judges with the Captaines shall have that authoritie in Criminall cases, which the Captaynes of my Townes or Castles, on the other side the Sea have, as is declared in the order of the twentieth Booke tituled 27. aswell over the Portugals, as over the men of that Countrey, and the Sentences that they shall give in those cases which are contayned within their authoritie, according to this Decree, and the said Ordinance shall bee executed effectually according to Justice.

And if any case contayned in the said Ordinance do happen or chance, so that by the authority of the same, the said Judges have commission to prosecute it unto death, they shall not execute those Sentences, which in any of the said cases they do pronounce, if the parties so condemned be Esquires, or Gentlemen of my houshold, or of greater qualitie: for before they doe execute the said Sentences, they shall make it knowne to the Vice-Roy, that with his opinion execution may be given to the said Sentences.

And the said Judges shall not apprehend any person for any complaints of whatsoever qualitie they be of, without Information of Witnesses, according to the new Law of Reformation of Justice, the which Law they shall in this and in all other matters accomplish according to the tenure thereof.

They shall keepe the Court dayes that the Justices of the Borders are bound to keepe, and this in the publike accustomed places, where the Justices are wont to keepe them, and they shall not keepe them in their houses.

And the said Judges shall examine all such matters, as the Justices of the Borders are bound to examine, by the authoritie of my Ordinances, Lawes, and Decrees of these Kingdomes under the penalties in them declared, in such cases as they may be applyed unto.

They may also provide the places for the Officers belonging to the Justices which are void, according to the order of the Decree, untill the Vice-Royes doe provide them, and the Captaynes may in no wise provide them, the which Services or Places shall bee provided to my Servants, or to other well deserving persons, and their deserts beeing equall, my Servants shall be preferred.

[II.ix.1520.] And the said Judges shall bee bound to command every one of the Scriveners, or Clerkes of their Court to make a Booke wherein they may write all the cases as well Civill as Criminall, and other Bils of Appeale or Complaint, and all other Matters whereof the said Judges doth take notice, and every one of them setting downe that which is committed to his charge only, as well of those things which they shall write in processe for the observing of Justice, as of these Matters that are betweene partie and partie.

And every one of the said Judges shall have a Booke noted and signed by them, wherein they may cause all the forfeitures of money that are applyed to the expences of Justice, or to any other place according to the order of the Decree in that case provided.

And the said Judges may set penalties, and condemne

in them to the quantitié of two thousand Reys, for the charges of the said Justice, without any Appeale or Complaint of the said Sentence. The which expences shall bee made by the commandement of the said Judges, and not of the Captaines, and in the Accounts or Residencies that the Judges doe give, there shall an Account bee taken of them of the said money, and of the expences of the said Forfeitures, that notice may be had, if they have commanded the said Forfeitures to be delivered to those places or parties whereunto they were applyed, and the expences which by their commandement were made, if they were well and lawfully commanded.

And the said Judges may not bee imprisoned nor arrested during the time of their charges, for any Matter whatsoever, Criminall or Civill, except it bee by the commandement of the Vice-Roy, or the Court of Relation.

And because it importeth much to the keeping of good Justice, and the Administration thereof, that the said Judges have the Authoritie, that belongeth to the charges whereof wee have given them Commission, and because that they beeing subject to the Captaynes, did arise many inconveniences, and they were oppressed in such manner, that they could not performe their Duties with that Integritie, and libertie that belongeth to the Service of God, and mine; And I beeing willing to provide in this Case, doe thinke it meete, and doe command that the said Captaynes may have no Jurisdiction, nor any Superioritie over the said Judges, and that they doe not intermeddle with any thing pertayning to their Offices or charges, any thing to the contrarie notwithstanding.

And if the said Judges doe commit any crimes or excesses, so that it seemes to the Captaynes that they ought to advertize the Vice-roy thereof, they shall doe it by their Letters, the which the Vice-Roy shall command to be perused in the Court of Relation, that they may proceed against them according to Justice.

And the said Judges shall take such Fees for their Assignements as the Justices of the Borders may take, by

the Authoritie of their Offices, and according to my Ordinances.

And when the said Judges shall bee absent, or hindered, so that by themselves they cannot serve, they may nominate a person to serve in their place, and if hee chance to dye, after hee hath nominated, the person so nominated shall serve untill the Vice-Roy doe provide another, and if hee dyeth without nominating any person to serve in his place, the Factour of the Kings Revenues shall serve the place, the which persons shall serve the same place, all the time that the Vice-Roy doth not nominate or provide, as it is alreadie declared, and the Vice-Roy shall provide a man of Learning and Qualitie, in whom the said charge may well bee employed, the which persons in all things shall use the Order of this Decree.

And it is my will and pleasure that touching the Suspitions that shall bee layd to the said Judges in such Cases as by reason of their Offices they may take notice of, they shall keepe this Order following, to wit, when any Suspition shall bee intended against them by any partie of what Degree or Qualitie soever he be, the Judge not yeelding himselfe guiltie of the Suspition, the Acts thereof shall be committed to the ancientest ordinary Judge that served the yeare before, the which Judge shall determine of the same, according to Justice, and the said Judge shall proceed alwayes in the cause wherein the said Suspition was layd against him, untill it be finally determined, taking to himselfe for an Adjunct, one of the Justices of that present yeare, which doe serve in the said Fortresse or Garrison where hee is Judge, not beeing suspected, but if hee bee, hee shall take another Justice, and beeing both suspected, hee shall take the ancientest Alderman, and the same beeing so, hee shall take the second, and if hee bee suspected, hee shall take the third, to the which no suspition can bee layd, and the Acts that they two shall make, It is my will and pleasure that they bee in force and power, as if the suspition had not beene layd unto the said Judge, and beeing judged that hee is not suspective, hee alone

shall proceed in the Case, as hee should have done it, if the suspition had not beene intended against him. And being judged to bee suspective, in such a Case hee shall proceed no further, and there shall be a Judge set in his place, that may take notice of the said Case according to the forme of my Ordinances.

And it is also my will and pleasure, that when a suspition is thus laid to the said Judges, in whatsoever cases, as well Criminall as Civill; and the partie that doth lay the said suspition, is not contented with his owne deposition, but is willing to give other proofe; hee shall deposite foure Cruzados before any hearing be given to the proofe, the which he shall forfeit to the poore Prisoners of the Jayle of that Garrison where he serveth, if it be judged that the said Judge is not guiltie of the said suspition. [II.ix.1521.] *Which is one pound sterling.*

The said Judges shall have 200000. Reys ordinarie every yeare paid, in the Factorships of the Garrisons where they doe serve by the Factors thereof, at every quarter of the yeare, the which the Factors shall pay them of the first Money they receive, in such sort, that they alwaies bee well paid, and this with a Certificate of the Scrivener or Clerke of his charge, how he hath served the time of the quarter, and with the said Certificate, and the Acquittance of every one of the Judges, the Money for the said quarteredges, shall be received in account of the said Factors that shall pay it them, and the Copy of this Chapter shall be registred in the Office of the said Factors, by the Clerke of the said Office, the which Ordinarie the learned Judges shall onely receive. *Which is 125. pounds sterling.*

And the said Judges shall receive allowance of victuals for two men that doth accompany them, and doth serve with them in matters of Justice, the which shall bee paid unto them at their quarters, at the charges of my revenues, as hitherto it hath beene done by a Certificate of the said Clerkes of the Factorshippes, wherein they shall declare how the said Judges have the said men, and how they doe serve with them in the manner above rehearsed. There

follow like Rules for the Judge of Macaó, and the Kingdome of China, which for brevitie I have omitted.

Here followed a Collection of the Warrants made in the Viceroyes name to the Captaines of all the severall Forts and Places of command in all the Portugall Indies, whereby they had commission to execute their charges, and to receive their Wages, Priviledges and Rights, in manner there by severall Warrants for each particular, to each Captaine expressed: but it is a pretie large Volume, and here for the length omitted, there being no lesse then three and twentie severall Warrants to George Meneses, Captaine of Mosambique and Sofala, touching his charge, power, and priviledges; and likewise for the rest.

§. III.

The Receipt of the Revenues of the State of India: as also the Expenses publike therein.

THis Citie of Goa yeeldeth to his Majesties revenues 235102. Pardoas, foure Tangas, thirteene Reys, which make 70530853. Reys, which makes in English money fortie foure thousand and eightie one pounds, fifteene shillings seven pence halfe peny farthing, two tenth parts of a penie: in this manner,

To wit, 30000000. of Reys, for 100000. Xerafins of the rent of the Custome-house, one yeare with another, which is eighteene thousand seven hundred and fiftie pounds sterling.

Ansiaon is an Herbe that maketh drunk.

3000000. Reys for 10000. Xerafins, of the rent of the provisions and Ansiaon, which is applyed to the expenses of the Hospitall, and is one thousand eight hundred seventie five pounds sterling.

**Which is a kind of Herbe they use to eat.*

1950000. Reys for 6500. Xerafins, of the rent of the * Betre, which is one thousand two hundred and eighteene pounds fifteene shillings sterling.

1920000. Reys for 6400. Xerafins, for the rent of the Spices, which is one thousand and two hundred pounds sterling.

900000. Reys, for 3000. Xerafins, of the rent of the Norasquas, which is five hundred sixtie two pounds ten shillings sterling. *Certain Ilands so called.*

1920000. Reys, for 6400. Xerafins, for the rent of the Pagades de Salcete, and Bardes, which is one thousand and two hundred pounds sterling. *Which are certaine Lands belonging to Salcete and Bardes.*

675000. Reys, for 2250. Xerafins, for the rent of the cloathes made of Cotton-wooll, which is foure hundred twentie one pounds seventeene shillings sixe pence sterling.

204000. Reys, for 680. Xerafins, for the rent of the * Catualia, which is one hundred twentie seven pounds ten shillings sterling. **Or Cattell.*

153000. Reys, for 510. Xerafins, for the rent of the Oyle Mils, which is ninetie five pounds twelve shillings sixe pence sterling.

1860000. Reys, for 6200. Xerafins, for the rent of the Chancery, which is one thousand one hundred sixtie two pounds ten shillings sterling.

1500000. Reys, for 5000. Xerafins, for the Shops that sell Silke and Chamblet, which is ninetie three pounds ten shillings sterling.

2319289. Reys, for 7730. Xerafins, foure Tangas, fortie nine Reys, for the duties of this Iland, which is one thousand foure hundred fortie nine pounds, eleven shillings, one penie, and two twentieth parts of a penie sterling.

304500. Reys, for 1015. Xerafins, for the rent of the Silke, which is one hundred and ninetie pounds sixe shillings three pence sterling. [II.ix.1522.]

20225064. Reys, for 67416. foure Tangas, foure and twentie Reys, for the duties of Salcete Xerafins, and Bardes, which is twelve thousand sixe hundred fortie one pounds, five shillings, nine pence halfe penie, and two twentie parts of a penie sterling.

Here is no mention made of the Customes of Horses: for after that Biznaga was lost there come few from Ormus, and the most part of them goe to Chaul, where declaration is made of what they may yeeld, and those that doe come

to Goa, now Biznaga is lost, may import 10000. Pardaos of Gold, for 36000000. Reys sterling, twentie two thousand two hundred and fiftie pounds.

Sofala Fortresse hath no rent for his Majestie, but some Ivory which is ransomed there, which now is verie little; and when it is ransomed, it is spent in the said Fortresse, having ransomed in times past much Gold and Ivorie in it, whereof the said Fortresse was provided, and also the Fortresse of Mosambique: This Fortresse is separated, and is a governance by it selfe.

Mosambique Fortresse hath no rent for his Majestie, and some ransome of Ivorie from Dio, is also spent in the said Fortresse, without any comming thereof to India for the Kings revenue, as before it did, it was sustained with the provision that went to it from India; the which now is not done, because these yeares past, it is separated from the government of India.

Ormus Fortresse yeeldeth to the King every yeare 170000. Pardaos de Tangas, which is 51000000. of Reys, at 300. Reys the Pardao, and is thirtie one thousand eight hundred seventie five pounds sterling, counting one yeare with another, which is the rent of the Custome-house that was given to his Majestie, with some other duties that are paid to him, as in this Title is declared, &c.

Dio Fortresse yeeldeth to his Majesties revenues 100000. Pardaos of Gold, which 36000000. of Reys, at 360. Reys the Pardao, & is twentie two thousand five hundred pounds sterling, withall the rents of Bazar, and the great Custome-house, and of Gogola, and the Storehouse of Damaon, which also entreth in this summe.

Damaon Fortresse, with the Countries annexed to it, doe yeeld to the King my Master every yeare 42933. Pardaos of Gold, which is 15455880. Reys, and is nine thousand sixe hundred ninetie nine pounds eighteene shillings sixe pence sterling.

Baçaim Fortresse, with the Lands annexed to it, yeeldeth to his Majestie every yeare 115334. Pardaos of Gold, every Pardao containing foure Larins, of ninetie Reys per

Larin, being so currant in the Countrey, which makes 41520240. Reys, which is twentie five thousand nine hundred and fiftie pounds three shillings sterling.

Pragana is Towne.

The Pragana of Manora and Aceri, yeeldeth to the King every yeare 3898. Pardaos of Gold, 69. Reys, which makes 1403349. Reys, which is eight hundred seventie seven pounds one shilling ten pence farthing, and two twentie parts of a penie sterling.

Chaul Fortresse yeeldeth to his Majestie 30629. Pardaos, one Tanga, which is 9188760. Reys, and is five thousand seven hundred fortie two pounds nineteen shillings six pence sterling every yeare. To wit, 7000. Pardaos of tribute, and 16000. Pardaos custome of Horses, one yeare with another going to the said Fortresse, and 7629. Pardaos, and one Tanga for rents, and this besides other rent of the Catunias and Neale of Cambaya; and of some goods from Ormus, the which because it is a new thing, it is not yet knowne what it may be worth.

Which are a kind of Pantados.

Onor in the contract of peace, which the Vice-roy Don Luiz de Taide, made with the Queen of Garsopa, whose the said Fortresse was, she bound her selfe to give to this Estate every yeare, five hundred Candil of Pepper, containing three hundred and three quarters weight every Candill, which is 187500. pounds waight, at the rate of five and twentie Pardaos of Gold, and foure Tangas the Candill, which is 9240. Reys, and makes in all 4620000. Reys, which is, two thousand eight hundred eightie seven pounds ten shillings sterling every yeare, the which heretofore was not paid, because of the warre that hath beene with this Estate and them.

Or Horse loads.

Vargeas are plaine Earable grounds by the Water side.

This Fortresse yeeldeth also twentie Fardaos of Rice, of some Lands and Vargeas, which went away or did rebell with the said duties.

Chatins are Merchants.

The Chatins of Barcelor doe pay to his Majestie for tribute, five hundred Fardaos of Rice every yeare, the which his Majesties Factor doth recover, and are worth 120000. Reys, which is seventie five pounds sterling.

The Custome-house of Mangalor Fortresse, yeeldeth one

yeare with others, foure hundred Pagodes, and also one hundred sixtie two Fardaos of Rice, which the King of Banguell doth pay, and are recovered of Vargeas, or Earable grounds, which were and are saved, all the which is worth 218880. Reyes, which is one hundred thirtie sixe pounds sixteene shillings sterling.

Pagodes, a piece of that Mony among them, with an Image of the Devill upon it.

Cananor Fortresse yeeldeth nothing to his Majestie: they gather in it a little Ginger for the ships of the Realme, although now it is very little, because of the warres of Malavar; notwithstanding, it is gathered for such persons, as doe send to have it gathered.

The Custome-house of the Citie Cochin which now is erected, may yeeld to his Majestie one yeare with another 50000. Pardaos Xerafins, which maketh 15000000. of Reys, which is nine thousand three hundred seventie five pounds sterling.

[II.ix.1523.] The rent of the Fortresse Manar, is worth 133460. Fanoes, which are 4003800. Reys, the which his Majestie hath in the said Iland, and in other Ports neighbouring there-about, and of tribute which the King of Jasanapatan, and other Lords do pay, which is 2502 l. 7 s. 6 d. sterling.

Which are 30. Reys every one.

Seylan the Madune, doth pay every yeare for tribute to his Majestie, 300. Bares of Cynamon, containing 300. weight the Bare, which is 90000. weight, at the rate of ten Pardaos the Bare, which is 900000. Reys, and it is 562 l. 10 s. sterling.

Malaca Fortresse yeeldeth to his Majestie every yeare, 60000. Pardaos of Gold, which is 21600000. Reys, and 13500 l. sterling: and this is understood one yeare with another.

A piece of Mony so called.

Fardo, a horse load.

Maluco, it was shewen by the esteeme or valuation of the rent, that this Fortresse did pay for the thirds of all the Cloves that is brought to India; and for tribute, that it was 10000. Ollas, and 500. Fardos of Sagun, which is worth 300000. Reys, which is 187 l. 10 s. sterling.

Maluco is now possessed by the Spanish and Dutch.

The inclosing of all the Rent of the Estate of India.

THe rent of the State of India, amounteth to 271861762. Reys, as by the receipts appeareth, which is 169913 l. 12 s. 10 d. q ; $\cdot\frac{1}{20}\cdot$ of a peny, whereof is abated 24000000. of Reys, which is 15000. l. sterling, that may bee short in this account, of all the Fortresses of the State, being among Heathen people, and for whatsoever occasion there be, there are breaches and losses for want of resorting to the Custome-houses, and thereby the said rents are not fully recovered.

And there remaines cleere all charges borne, 247861762. Reys, which makes in Pardaos Xerafins, which is the Money that is currant in this Citie of Goa, after the rate of 300. Reys, per Xerafin 826205. Pardaos, foure Tangas, twentie two Reys, which is 154913 l. 12 s. 00 d. q. ; $\cdot\frac{1}{20}\cdot$ part of a penie sterling.

And besides the rent that the State doth yeeld to the King my Master, there is another rent arising of one in the hundred, and of Imposition, of provisions of the Fortresses, which are towards the North: the which applyed for the fortification of the Fortresses where it is gathered, which may amount one yeare with another, to 80260. Pardaos, which 24078000. Reys, which is 15048 l. 15 s. sterling.

To wit, 18000. Pardaos for one presentment in the Custome-house of Ormus, which is 5400000. Reys, and makes 3375 l. sterling.

Item, 9700. Pardaos, which is 2910000. Reys, arising of $\frac{1}{2}$ in the hundred of the Custome-house of Dio, which is 1818. l. 15 s. sterling.

Item, 13000. Pardaos of one in the hundred, and Imposition of the provision of the Fortresse of Damaon, which is 3900000. Reys, and makes 2437 l. 10 s. sterling.

Item, 1000. Pardaos, of one in the hundred, and the Imposition of the provision of the Fortresse of Baçaim, with 3000000. and makes 187 l. 10 s. sterling.

Item, 16560. Pardaos, of one in the hundred, and of the Imposition of the provisions of the Fortresse of Chaul, which is 4968000. Reys, and makes 3105 l.

With the 13000. Pardaos, of the one in the hundred of the Custome-house of this Citie of Goa; which is 3900000. Reys, as it did appeare by the accounts of the Officers, and other informations thereunto belonging, which is 2437 l. 10 s. sterling.

A Copie of all the ordinarie expences that are made in the Citie of Goa, at his Majesties charges.

Every Cruzado is 5s. sterl. Which is 100 l. weight every Kintall.

THe Vice-roy of India, hath for his Ordinarie by Warrants from his Majestie, 7339550. Reys, for 18348. Cruzados, 350. Reys, which is 4587 l. 4 s. 4 d. ob. at the rate of 400. Reys, per Cruzado; to wit, 8000. Cruzados, which 2000 l. of his Ordinary in ready Mony, and the 10348. Cruzados, 350. Reys, that the 600. Kintals of Pepper free, and without waste, being sold for ready Money, are worth after the rate of 40. Cruzados every Kintall, as they do give for it in the Realme; and they doe amount to 12000. Cruzados, whereof there is abated 660450. Reys, which the said 600. Kintals of Pepper are worth, which must bee bought for his owne Money, and being abated after the rate of 1000. Reys, ¾. of a Rey the Kintall, which is the price that is set downe in the Factorship of Cochin, there remaines cleere 10348. Cruzados, 350. Reys for the said Pepper, the which do make with the said Ordinary in readie Money 18348. Cruzados, 350. Reys, which doe amount to the said 7339550. Reys, otherwise hee shall have that which by his Warrants is granted unto him, &c.

Viz. of Portugal. Which is 13s. 9d. nine sixtieth parts of a peny sterling.

Which is 3000 pounds sterl.

There is also given to the said Vice-roy 12000. Cruzados every yeare, towards the Table of Gentlemen, and Pensions of old Souldiers which have served, which is worth 4800000. Reys, as the Earle Don Lewis, Don Francisco Mascarennas, and the other Vice-royes and Governours heretofore have had, &c.

The Secretary of India that goeth with the Vice-roy,

hath by Warrant from his Majestie 400000. Reys Ordinarie, which is 250 l. sterling, by warrant from his Majestie: also hee hath 300000. Reys for the dispatch of the Chests, which is 187 l. 10 s. sterling, and 30000. Reys for his lodgings, which is 18. l. 15 s. and is in all 456 l. 5 s. sterling a yeare. [II.ix.1524.] *To wit, of Merchanzie.*

The Ensigne Generall of the Kings Standard, which also goeth with the said Vice-roy, hath ordinary 40000. Reys, which is 25 l. sterling.

The Captain of the Guard of the said Vice-roy, hath 84000. Reys ordinary, which is 52 l. 10 s.

And also 144000. Reys for his lodging, which is 9 l. which is in all 61 l. 10 s. sterling.

The chiefe Physician which goeth with the said Vice-roy, hath 44800. Reys ordinary, which is 28 l. sterling.

The Apothecarie that goeth with the said Vice-roy, and doth serve in his Army by Sea and by Land, and is bound to make and provide the Armies and Fortresses of things necessary for Phisicke, hath 24000. Reys, which is 15 l. sterling.

The Barber that goeth with the said Vice-roy, and serveth in the Army by Sea, and by Land, hath ordinary 19800. Reys, which is 12 l. 7 s. 6 d.

Two Chaplains that doe serve the said Vice-roy, have each 24000. Reys, which is 30 l. betweene them.

The Sergeant of the Court which goeth with the said Vice-roy, and serveth before him, hath 30000. Reys, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling.

The Interpreter of the State, hath 50000. Reys in this manner 36000. which he had before, and 14000. which were granted him by the Earle Don Lewis, in the duties belonging to the Custome-house for an Arabian Horse, which is 31 l. 5 s. sterling.

Also, he hath by another Warrant of the said Earle every yeare 17280. Reys, for a Clerke that serveth him, which is 10 l. 16 s. and is in all 42 l. 1 s. sterling.

The said Vice-roy hath for to serve and accompany him in his Guard, 60. men Portugals, to the which are payed

every moneth 1200. Reys a man, which is 15 s. sterling: to wit, 60. Reys for wages, like a man of Armes, and 600. Reys for their provision, which in all do amount unto 864000. Reys, which is 45 l. every moneth among them all, and makes 540 l. ster. every yeare.

The said Vice-roy hath ten Trumpetters for to serve with him, of the which every one is to have for his provision and wages 21600. Reys per Annum, to 1200. for his wages, and 600. for his provision every moneth, which is 13 l. 10 s. sterling; and is in all 135 l. sterling.

Or Kettle or Dumb-players.

The said Vice-roy hath foure Musicians; to wit, one Master Portugues, and three Servants of his, which have every moneth as followeth; the Master 500. Reys wages, or whatsoever else, and 600. Reys for his provision and his Servants, 600. Reys every moneth, which is in all 34800. Reys, and makes 21 l. 15 s. sterling.

There is moreover given for allowance of the said men of Armes for his Guard, Trumpetters and Musicians 756820. Reys every yeare, after the rate of 28. Reys a day to every one, wherein is reckoned the Captaine of the Guard, at 84. Reys by the day; and the Sergeant and the Appointer at 56. Reys by the day, which is in all 473 l. 3 d. sterling, besides the Captaine Sergeant and Appointer, which amounteth to 70560 Reys, which is 44 l. 2 s. sterling.

There is also given every yeare for the apparelling of the said men of the Guard, Trumpetters and Musicians, 240000. Reys, which is 150 l. sterling.

The chiefe Ensigne-maker which now is in this State, hath by a Warrant from his Majestie 320000. Reys ordinary every yeare, which is 200 l. sterling.

There is given by Warrant from his Majestie, to Augustin de Soto Maior, that was sent to these parts for chiefe Master of the Mynes 360000. Reys ordinarie every yeare, which is 225 l. sterling.

There serveth in this Court at this present, by a Warrant of the Vice-roy, a Harbenger of the Court, which hath every yeare ordinary 30000. Reys, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling.

And hee serveth also for a Receiver of the house of Lodgings of the said Vice-roy, for the which he hath 20000 Reys ordinary every yeare, which is 12 l. 10 s. and in all is 31 l. 5 s. ster.

The ordinary of the Vice-roy and Officers, before rehearsed, amounteth to 16083450. Reys, which is 10052 l. 3 s. 1 d. ob. sterling.

Officers belonging to Justice.

THe Chancellor of India hath 300000. Reys ordinary, and 100000. that were granted him by a Warrant from his Majestie, and 18000. Reys for his lodging, which amounteth in all to 418000. Reys, which is 261 l. 5 s. sterling.

The chiefe Judge of Criminall Causes, hath 300000. Reys ordinary, and 100000. Reys granted him by his Majesties Letter, and 30000 Reys for his lodging, which in all amounteth to 430000. Reys, which is 268 l. 15 s. sterling.

The chiefe Judge of Civill Causes hath 300000. Reys ordinary, and 100000. Reys that were granted him by his Majesties warrant, and 18000. Reys for his lodging, which amounteth in all to 418000. Reys, which is 261 l. 5 s. sterling.

The Judge of the Crowne matters, and of matters touching the Kings revenues, hath 300000. Reys ordinarie, [II.ix.1525.] and 100000. reys that were granted him, by his Majesties warrant, and 18000. reys for his Lodging, which is in all 418000. reys, and is 261 l. 5 s. ster.

The chiefe Judge of Wills and Testaments of India; hath ordinarie every yeere of his Majesties Revenues 150000. reys, and 100000. reys that were granted him by his Majesties warrant, and also 18000. reys for his Lodgings, and the other 150000. reys that want for the 300000. reys, he is to have them of the Goods of them that are deceased, and if it doth not amount to so much, it shall be accomplished at his Majesties charge, shewing how he is not satisfied, and it amounteth in all to 261 li. 5 s. ster.

The Kings Atturney hath 300000. reys ordinarie, and 100000. augmented by his Majesties warrant, and 18000. for his Lodgings, which is 261 l. 5 s. ster.

There serveth at this present in the Court of Releases three Judges, to wit, the Bachelor, Andres Fernandes; the Doctor, Luiz de Gois de la çerda; and the Bachelor, Simon Pereira; to the which is given every yeere 1104000. reys, after the rate of 368000. reys to every one, which is 690 l. sterling in all, 100000. reys augmented by his Majesties warrant, entring in this account.

The Judge of the Citie of Goa hath 100000. reys ordinarie, which is 62 l. 10 s. ster.

The Bayliffe of this Citie hath 20000. reys ordinarie, which is 12 l. 10 s. ster.

The Serjeant hath 20000. reys ordinarie, which is 12 l. 10 s. ster.

The Clerke or Notarie of the Chancerie hath 30000. reys ordinarie, which is 18 l. 15 s. ster.

The Kings Sollicitor hath 30000. reys ordinarie, which is 18 l. 15 s. ster.

The Jayler hath 19200. reys ordinarie, which is 12 l. ster.

The Porter of the Chancerie hath 10800. reys for his wages and provision, which he receiveth, as a man of Armes, and is 6 l. 15 s. ster.

The Porter and Keeper of the Court of Relation, and Distributer of the Bills of Appeales, hath 100000. reys ordinarie, which is 62 l. ster.

The Bayliffe of the Suburbs without the Citie, hath 20000. reys, which is 12 l. 10 s. ster.

The wages of the Officers above written, amounteth to 3824000. reyes, which is 2390 l. ster.

Officers belonging to the Citie of Goa; her Fortresses and Pases, or Ports.

Viz. of merchandise. Which are gifts or presents.

THe Captayne of this Citie hath 600000. reys ordinarie every yeere, and also 86400. reys for his Lodgings, and also 622260. reys, in satisfaction of the Bares, which

before they had by Warrants of the Vice-royes and Governours of this Estate: and moreover, there is given him 150000. reys for the Chitos, which they gave to the Mares, strangers, which summe amounteth all to 1458660. reys by the yeere, which amounteth to 911 l. 13 s. 3 d. sterling every yeere.

The chiefe Baylife of this citie hath 100000. reys ordinarie every yeer, which makes 62 l. 10 s.

The Master of the Ports of the Iland of Goa, hath 100000. reys ordinarie, which makes 62 l. 10 s. sterling.

Note that those places are certayne passages where men pay a certayne tribute or toll, also it is a drie Port. Or drie Pace or Port.

The Captayne of the Castle of Pangin, hath 50000. reys ordinarie, which is 31 l. 5 s. ster.

The Captayne of the Castle of Maroa, hath 40000. reys ordinarie, which is 25 l. ster.

The Captayne of the Castle of the Paso sequo, hath 40000. reys ordinarie, which is 25 l. sterling.

The Captayne of the Castle of Benestarin, hath 60000. reys ordinarie, which is 37 l. 10 s. ster.

The Portugal Notarie of the Iland of this Citie, hath 18000. reys ordinarie, which is 11 l. 5 s. sterling.

The Constable of this Citie, and of the Powder house of the same, hath 30200. reys ordinarie, which is 18 l. 17 s. 6 d. ster.

In the said Powder house there be three Constables which have their wages paid them, which doth amount to 43200. reys, at the rate of 14400. reys to every one, by a warrant of the Earle Don Francisco Mascarennas, which is to every one 9 l. sterling, and is in all 27 l. ster.

The Armourer which is bound to keepe shop in this Citie, and to goe in the Armie with the Vice-roy when he goeth abroad, hath his wages and provision as a man of Armes, or a Gunner, which is 14400. reys, and it is 9 l. ster.

The foure Castles of Pangin, Maroa, Paso sequo, and Benestarin, hath every one a Constable, which shall continue, and watch in the said Castles, and they have their wages and provision, as the Gunners have, and 400. reys more by the moneth to every one after this rate, every one

hath 1600. reys every moneth, which is 19200. reys to every one a yeere, and is 48 l. sterling in all, after the rate of 12 l. sterling every one.

Ports or Passages. Note that he maketh here mention but of six, and in the summe is allowed for ten.

There bee in this Iland of Goa ten Tandares and Clerkes, for to keepe the passage thereof, to whom is paid the wages and provision of a man at Armes, serving the said Offices, and also their dwellings, to wit, such as are allowed to have them, the which are these that follow.

The Keeper of the pace of Pangin, and the Clerke thereof. The Keeper of the pace of Rebandar, and the Clerke thereof. The Keeper of the pace of Dangin, and the Clerke thereof.

The Keeper of the pace of Benestarin, and the Clerke [II.ix.1526.] thereof. The Keeper of the Pace of Carambolim, and the Clerke thereof. The Keeper of the Pace of Gaçarim, and the Clerke of the same pace.

The which doth amount to 120000. reys, making account to every one at the rate of 12000. reys by the yeere, which is in all 15 l. sterling. Note that the Clerkes are contained within the said wages.

All the expences that is made with the Officers of the Citie of Goa; her Fortresses and Paces, or Ports, as are above set downe, amounteth to 2151260. reys, which is 1345 l. 3 s. 5 d. sterling.

**The particular Officers, Clerkes, Factors, Receivers, &c. are for brevitie omitted, as also in those that follow.*

The expences laid out with the Officers * above named, belonging to the Kings Rents and Revenues, is 2530200. reys, which is in all 1581 l. 7 s. 6 d. sterling.

All the expences made with the Officers belonging to the River above-rehearsed, 1436960. reys, which makes 898 l. 2 s. ster.

All the expences disbursed on the Officers of Accounts above-rehearsed, amounteth to 2581720. reys, which is 1594 l. 10 s. 6 d. ster.

All the expences disbursed in the custome House, commeth to 970240. reys, which is 606 l. 8 s. sterling.

All the wages and dwellings, which are paid to the men in ordinarie to the Vice-roy, and other Officers of this Estate, with the Kinsmen of the Captayne, Commissioner

of the holy [b] Mercy, and one Alderman, which are Gentlemen, and in the provision of the Secretaries and Clerkes, amount to 4127880. reys, at the rate of 60000. reys every Gentleman, and 12000. reys to the other Souldiers, and the provision for the Secretaries Clerkes, at thirteene Tangas every moneth, and to the Sobralda of the Pace of the Castle of Naroa, is given 7200. reys by the yeere, which enters into the said account, and is in all 2579 l. 18 s. 6 d. ster.

[b] *Note that the holy monie is a kind of brotherhood which serveth to buy such as are slaine, hanged, or drowned, and not knowne or have no friends. It is also an Hospitall for the poore. Or gentlemen of the round.*

Servants allowed for the service of the Vice-roy of India his house, and for the other Officers of this State, amount in all to 95 l. 3 s. 6 d. ster.

Servants allowed to the Over-seer of his Majesties goods, arise to 54540 reys, which makes 34 l. 1 s. 9 d. sterling every yeere.

Servants allowed for the chiefe Commissioner of the accounts, amounteth to 54540. reys, which makes 34 l. 1 s. 9 d. sterling every yeere.

Servants allowed to the Captayne of this Citie of Goa, amount to 12960. reys every yeere, which makes 8 l. 2 s. sterling, the which expences altogether amounteth to 68160. reys, which is 42 l. 12 s. sterling every yeere.

Other servants allowed to the chiefe Port, to the Factor of Goa, to the Treasurer, &c. particularly mentioned in the Booke, here for brevitie omitted, amount to 918 l. and 5 s. in Goa, in Bardas to the Officers 623 l. 18 s. 9 d. in Salcette to 2016 l. 16 s. ster.

The Generals that are allowed in this State of India, and are paid at his Majesties charges, which is, of the Captaynes of his Ships, Barkes, and other Officers that serve in these parts.

The Captayne of the Indian Sea hath 1200000. reys ordinarie, which makes 750 l. sterling a yeere.

The chiefe Captaine of the Sea of Malaca; when there is any provided by the Vice-roy of this State, hath 200000. reys ordinarie, without any hindrance of the Decree, which is 125 l. sterling a yeere.

The Captaines of the Carvels, and high board Ships of

this burden, hath 84000. reys a yeere, which is 7000. a moneth 52 l. 10 s.

The Captaynes of the Galleys Royall, of twentie and five, and twentie Oares of a side, have 120000. which is 75 l. sterling.

The Captaynes of the Galliottes of Chase, which are from twentie, twentie two Oares upward of a side, have 84000. reys a yeere, which is 52 l. 10 s. sterling.

The Captaynes of the Malavare Galliotes, bearing twentie Oares or more of a side, and standing Decks, that beareth aforehead a Falcon or a demy Sacre, and of the other like of this burden, have 60000. reys a yeere, which is 5000. reys a moneth, and amounts to 31 l. 10 s. ster.

The Captaynes of the Foysts, and Catures of his Majestie, have 1000. reys ordinarie every moneth, besides his wages, and provision, which he hath as a man of armes, which may amount in all to 24000. reys every yeere, which makes 15 l. sterling.

The Factors of the Armies which the Vice-roy commandeth to goe out in such Armies, as is necessarie to have a Factor provided by the said Vice-roy, hath 50000. reys ordinarie, which is 31 l. 5 s. sterling.

The Clerke of the said Armies, hath 30000. reys ordinarie, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling a yeere.

The Masters of the Gallions of the said burden, of 100. Tun upward, and of his Majesties Ships, have 40320. reys ordinarie a yeere, which is 3360. reys a moneth, and makes 25 l. 4 s. sterling.

[II.ix.1527.] The Masters of the Carvels and Ships of this burthen, have 34320. reys a yeere, which is 2860. reys a moneth, and makes in all 21 l. 9 s. 6 d. ster.

The Commitres of the Galleys Royall, have 42460. reys a yeere, which is 26 l. 10 s. 6 d. ster.

Which are swift Galleys. The Commitres of the Galliotas de Aspelaçaon, and of the other Malavare Galliotas of standing decks of twentie Oares of a side or upward, and beareth a Falcon, or demy Sacre afore, have 34380 reys every yeere, which is 2865.

reys every moneth, and it amounts to 21 l. 9 s. 9 d. sterling.

The Pilots of the Carvels and great Ships of the same burthen, have 34380. reys every yeere, which is 21 l. 9 s. 9 d. ster.

The Clerkes of the Voyages, that goe with charge of the Factorship, of his Majesties goods, as are those of Banda, Malucco, and others of this qualitie, have 50000. reys ordinarie every yeere, because they serve also for Clerkes of the said Factorship, which is 31 l. 5 s. ster. *Pursers.*

The Clerkes or Pursers of the Galleons and Ships of his Majestie, have 18000. reys ordinarie every one, which is 11 l. 5 s. ster.

The Clerkes or Pursers of the Carvels, when they are provided of the same, have 15000. reys ordinarie every yeere, which is 9 l. 7 s. 6 d. ster.

The Stewards of the Galleons, Ships and Carvels, have 12000. reys ordinarie every yeere, wherein is contayned the provision that they have.

The Boatsones of the Galleons and Ships of his Majesties, and under Comitters of the Galleys Royall, have 20568. reys ordinarie every yeere, which is 1714. reys every moneth, which is in all 12 l. 17 s. 1 d. $\frac{4}{20}$. part of a peny.

The Constables of the Galleons, Galleys, Ships, Carvels, small Ships and Galliots, have the wages of a Gunner, and their provision, and 400. reys every moneth besides, which is 19200. reys a yeere, which comes to 12 l. ster.

The said Captaynes and Factors of the Armies, Pursers, Stewards and Constables, have the said ordinaries, at such times as they doe serve at Sea, and by the warrants that they have of their providing, with a Certificate of the time that they have served, the said Ordinaries are allowed them, else not.

The chiefe Captaynes of the other Armies, which doe goe to the Straight and to the North coast, have for their ordinarie, that which the Vice-roy doth set downe for them.

There is no summe set downe of these Offices, because they have them not but when they are needfull, and it is a thing uncertaine.

The Galleon of the Traffick and Voyage of Ceilaon, hath the Officers and Men as followeth.

THe Captayne of the said Voyage, hath by Warrant of his Majestie 400000. reys, which is 250 l. sterling every yeere.

The Purser of the said Voyage, hath 50000. reys ordinarie, which is 31 l. 5 s. ster.

The Master hath 40300. reys, which is 25 l. 3 s. 9 d. sterling every yeere.

The Pilot hath 40300. reys, which is 25 l. 3 s. 9 d. sterling every yeere.

The Boatsone hath 20568. reys, which is 12 l. 7 s. 1 d. $\frac{4}{20}$. part of a peny sterling every yeere.

The Steward hath 12000. reys ordinarie, which is 7 l. 10 s. sterling every yeere.

The said Galleon hath foure Portugal Mariners, which have their wages and provision, at the rate of 12000. reys every yeere apiece, which is 48000 reys every yeere, and amounts to 30 l. sterling in all yeerly.

One Constable which hath wages and provision, as a Gunner, which is 14400. reys, and he hath besides 400. reys every moneth, which is 19200. reys a yeere, which amounts to 12 l. ster.

The Gunners, which have for wages and provision 14400. reys, which amounts to 18 l. sterling in all, and makes 28800. reys a yeere.

The said Galleon carrieth twentie Souldiers, for the safeguard and defence of it, which have 1000. reys every moneth a man, which is in all 120000. reys, which makes 75 l. sterling in all for the six moneths.

The said Galleon carrieth fortie Mariners with the * Sarangue, to whom is paid their [a] Muxaras, at the rate of one Pardao of gold to every one a moneth, and two Medidas or measures of Rice every day, and fiftie reys a

*Sarangue is a Ruler.

[a] Or wages.

moneth for fish to every one, which amounts to 114727. reys, and the Rice is reckoned at six Xerafins, and the fish at fiftie reys, all this for five moneths while the Galleon stayeth in the Voyage, and is 71 l. 14 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{20}$. part of a peny sterling.

To the which 20. Souldiers and Officers is given their provision of Bisquet, Rice, Conduto, and Butter, according to the order of the House, for all the time of the said Voyage, which amounteth to 93067. reys, the Bisquet is taken at 400. reys the Maon, and the Rice at seven Xerafins, which is 58 l. 3 s. 4 d. $\frac{1}{20}$. part of a peny sterling. *All manner of Pulse, as Pease, Beanes, also Bacon, or any other meate.*

All the expences of the Galleon of traffick to Ceilaon, amounteth to 986962. reys, accounting to the Captayne and Pursers their ordinaries for the Voyage, and the Officers and Souldiers, for halfe a yeere, and their allowance as is before rehearsed, which is 616 l. 17 s. q.; $\frac{1}{20}$. part of a peny sterling.

All the provision * for the Gallion of the Voyage of Maluco, amounteth to 3292998. Reys going and comming, which commeth to 2058 l. 2 s. 5 d. ob. $\frac{1}{20}$. part of a peny sterling. [II.ix.1528.] **The particulars are omitted, and may be proportioned by the former, as also those which follow.*

All the expences of the Gallion of Traffique for Mosambique, amounteth to 1022834. Reys, which is 639 l. 5 s. 5 d. $\frac{2}{20}$. parts of a peny sterling.

The Gallies which at this present are in this Estate, and the Officers that serve in them, the Galley Royall hath (not accounting the provision for the Galley slaves) 339048. Reys, which amount to 211 l. 18 s. 1 d. $\frac{4}{20}$. part of a peny sterling.

The Captayne Galley that is at Malavar, hath 315048. Reys (not accounting the provision of the Galley slaves) which amounteth to 196 l. 18 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{5}$. part of a peny sterling.

Another Galley that goeth in company with the Captayn Galley to Malavar, hath 315048. Reys, which amounteth to 196 l. 18 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{5}$. part of a peny, not counting the provision of the Galley slaves in it.

Another Galley that was sent of succour to Seylaon, amounts to 315048 Reys, which is 196 l. 18 s. 1 d. ½. of a peny sterling, not accounting the provision of the Galley slaves in it, and all the other Gallies that are in this estate, beeing in his Majesties service, have the same Officers, with whom the said expence is made.

Ordinaries or Pensions that are given in this Citie of Goa, at his Majesties charge, are as follow: First, with all the Clergie, the Archbishop of this Estate Don Freyre Vincent, having ordinary every one a yeare 6000. Cruzados, in this manner, 1000. of Dowrie, 4000. ordinarie, and the 1000. that his Majestie granted unto him every yeare, for the space of five yeares, which do amount to 2400000. Reys, which is 1500 l. sterling.

The expences that the Clergie of the said Church, or Sea doth make yearely, amounteth to 4696200. Reys, which doth make, 2935 l. 2 s. 6 d. sterling.

Parishes within the Citie of Goa.

THe Parish of our Ladie of the Light of this Citie of Goa, hath every yeare 147680. Reys, which is 92 l. 6 s. sterling.

The Parish of our Ladie of the Rosarie, of the said Citie hath also 147680. Reys, as is given to our Ladie of the Light, and in the same manner distributed, as is before rehearsed, which amounts in all to 92 l. 6 s. sterling.

Saint Peters Parish hath every yeare 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling, to wit, to the Vicar 30000. Reys every yeare, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint Lucie hath 46320. Reys, bestowed in the manner above rehearsed, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Saint Thomas Parish hath also 46320. Reys, bestowed in the order above rehearsed, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Parishes that are in this Iland of Goa.

THe Parish of our Ladie of Helpe, hath every yeare 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. ster.

The Parish of our Ladie of Conception, which is Paingin hath other 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint Michael, which is in the Towne of Taleigaon, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of the holy Crosse, which is in the Towne of Calapar, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint Barbara, which is in the Towne of Morabin, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Saint Mary Magdalens Parish, which is in the Towne of Sirdaon, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling. *Which is a paire of Beads, fayned that our Ladie brought from Heaven.*

Saint Annes Parish, which is in the Towne of Talawlin, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of our Lady Gaadalupe, which is in the Towne of Bati, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Saint Lawrence his Parish, which is the passage of Gacaim, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint John Evangelist, which is in the Towne of Nevra the great, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Saint Matthews Parish which is in the Towne of Ajosin, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint John Baptist, which is in the Towne of Carambolim, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint James, which is in the Towne of Orar, in the passage of Saint James, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling. *Passo sequo.*

The Parish of Saint Blas, which is in the dry passage hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling. [II.ix.1529.]

Saint Joseph his Parish, which is in the passage of Davgin, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint Stephen, which is in the Iland of Juan, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Holy Ghost Parish, which is in the passage of Naroa, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of our Lady of Pitie, which is in the Iland of Divar, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Saint Bartholomew Parish, which is in the Iland of Choran, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

That is of the five wounds of Christ.

The Parish of the Wounds, which is by the Kings River, hath every yeare 30000. Reys for the Vicar, expences of the Vestrie, and because they are bound to say Masse every Sunday and Holy-day, because of the Officers, that doe serve in the said River, and to administer the Sacraments to his Majesties Bragas, entring in the said account, 12000. Reys which it had before, when it was but a Chappell for the Masses, that of dutie it was bound to say gratis, which is 18 l. 11 s. sterling.

Which are Bond-men or Slaves.

All the expences, that is made with the Churches and Parishes of this Citie and Iland of Goa, amounteth to 1390720. Reys, which makes 869 l. 4 s. sterling every yeare.

The three Kings of Cullen.

Parishes which at this present are in the Territories of Bardes. The Parish of the three Wisemen of the East, which is in the Fortresse of the said Territories of Saint Thomas. The Parish of Saint Anthonie, Trinitie Parish, the Parish of our Ladie of Remedies, the Parish of Saint Saviour, and the Parish of our Ladie of Hope. With the Churches there is spent every yeare, 974720. Reys, which is 609 l. 4 s. sterling.

The Parishes which at this present are in the Territories of Salcete. Our Ladie of the Snow, a Parish which is in the Fortresse of Rachol. Saint Michaels Parish, which is in the Towne of Orlin. The Parish of the Holy Ghost, which is in the Towne Margaon. The holy Crosse Parish, which is in the Towne of Vernan. Saint Andrewes Parish, which is in the Towne of Murmugao. Saint Philip and James Parish, which is in the Towne of Cortalim. Saint Saviours Parish, which is in the Towne of Lotolim. Saint John Baptists Parish, which is in the Towne of Colva. Saint Thomas Parish, which is in the Towne of

Velsaon. The Parish which now is a making in the Fortresse of Cuculim. All the which Churches, the Jesuits doe minister, and to them their Vicars, and Ministers of the same, is given 476880. Reys, which amounts to 298 l. 1 s. sterling every yeare.

Jesuits Parishes 298l. a yeare. Their Colledges at Goa and Cordini richly endowed.

It pleased his Majestie by his Warrant, to endue the Colledge, which the Jesuites did erect in the Territories of Salcete, with that which should seeme sufficient for the Expences of the said Colledge, and the Ministers thereof, of the Rents that were of the Pagodes,* of the said Territories of Bardes and Salcete, for the benefit of the which, there was ordayned for the said Expences, 400000. Reys, for 1000. Cruzados, which is 250 l. sterling every yeare, which at that time seemed to be sufficient; there was also given certayne Rice grounds, which were of the said Pagodes, in the which there was made Masa of the Rents of three yeares, the which grounds are dismembred from the Lands and Rents of the said Pagodes, because they were given to the Jesuites for the said Colledge.

**Or Idoll Temples.*

Which is an authorized sale.

There is also given the building of the said Churches of Salcete, 100000. Reys a yeare, at the rate of 10000. Reys every one, which amounts to 62 l. 10 s. sterling amongst them all.

There is also given to the Catecumenos,* of the Territories of Salcete, 180000. Reys, for 500. Pardaos of Gold, which amounteth to 112 l. 10 s. sterling, which is delivered to the Jesuits.

**Or such as are catechized and instructed in the grounds of Christian Religion, so to prepare them (being of Ethnike Parentage) to holy Christian Baptisme.*

There is also given for the Catecumenos of this Citie of Goa, 180000. Reys, which is 112 l. 10 s. sterling, and it is delivered to him that the Archbishop doth appoint for that purpose.

There is given to every one of these Churches, by the information of the Jesuites, one Interpretor for the necessitie that they have of one, for to declare to the Neophytes, or newly converted, the Doctrine, and that which is convenient, for the remedie of their soules, and other things necessary, to the which is given one Pardao of Gold every moneth to every one, which amounts to

43200. Reys, every yeare which makes 27 l. sterling in all.

There was given for the expences of the Hospitall of the Christians of this Countrey, which the Jesuites did administer unto in this Citie of Goa; every yeare by Warrant from his Majestie 300. Pardaos, which make 90000. Reys, and is 56 l. 5 s. sterling, at his Majesties owne charges, and because in this Citie there was an Hospitall for the said poore, of the which the holy Mercie hath the care and administration, the said Jesuits did passe the said Hospitall to the Territories of Salcete, because there was more need of the same there, for the many sicke and poore Christians, that are there without any remedie.

There is given to the Jesuits of this Citie of Goa, everie yeare 2000. Cruzados, 100. Candils of Rice, five Pipes of Wine for Masses, and one quarter of Oyle of the [II.ix.1530.] Realme of Portugall, which in all amounteth to 1145000. Reys, which are assigned for them in certayne Townes of the Territories of Basaim, and in the Iland of Choram, of the libertie of this Citie of Goa, which were given to them, and disjoyned, or separated from his Majesties goods, because it was his pleasure, as appeared by the Warrants that he passed to the said Jesuites, which is 715 l. 12 s. 6 d. sterling.

Savagates are Gifts.

Also there is given them 600000. for their Presents, and Savagates which come to the Vice-Royes of this Estate, which amounts to 375 l. sterling, but the King commanded that they should not have the said 600000. Reys, but the Savagates, as they had them by Warrant.

There is given to the Company of Jesuits, that are resident in the Citie of Couchin, by Warrant from his Majestie 1500. Pardaos of Gold, for the helpe of their maintenance, the which are assigned them in this manner, 1377. Pardaos of Gold, ⅓. which is 309 l. 18 s. sterling, of the Rents of the Iland of Divar, libertie of this Citie of Goa; and the 122. Pardaos, ⅔. which is 27 l. 10 s. sterling, in the duties of the Territories of Bacaim, which

in all ariseth to 540000. Reys, which amounteth to 337 l. 10 s. sterling.

There is given to the Monastery of Saint Francis, of this Citie of Goa; every yeare, at the comming of the ships from Portugall, 32. Pipes ½. of Wine, whereof the 5. are Muskadine for Masses, and 42. Cantaros of Oyle of Portugall, for the provision of the said Monasterie, and others of the said Order, Ceylaon excepted, which may amount at the price which now it is worth, to 981600. Reys, and it was received in account of the Factor Belchior Rois Dandrade, fol. 45. of the recovery of his account which is 613 l. 10 s. sterling. *Monasteries of Franciscans.* *A kind of Measure so called.*

There is also given to the Friers of the said Covent every yeare, 10. Candis of Wheate, 12. Candis of Rice, 40. Fardos of Giresall Rice, 2. Candis of Oyle of Coconuts, 2. Candis of Waxe, 10. Corias of Cotunias, 3. Fardos of Sugar, one Candill of Butter, 4. Maons of Almonds, and 6. Boxes of Marmelade, which things may all amount to 229800. Reys, which is 143 l. 12 s. 6 d. sterling. *Or Course Rice.*

To the Covent and Monastery of Saint Dominicke, of this Citie of Goa, is given every yeare 800000. Reys for the sustenance, and Expences of the Friers of the said Order, by a Letter that his Majestie did write to the Vice-Roy Don Anthonie de Neyra, Anno 1567. if he did thinke it meet, and finding nothing to the contrary, which is 500 l. sterling. *Of Dominicans.*

There is given also to the said Monastery of the said Citie, 7. Pipes of Wine, one of Muskadine, the other as they are to be found, and one quarter of Oyle of Portugall, which amounteth in all to 145500. Reys, accounting the Pipe of Muskadine at 80. Pardaos, and the other at 60. Pardaos, and the Oyle at 5. Xerafins the Cantaro, the which Expences amounteth to 90 l. 18 s. 9 d. sterling, and it was received in account of Belchior Rois Dandrade, Factor of Goa, by Warrants of the Vice-Royes of this Estate, and this is besides the 800000. Reys for their provision. *Which is nine Cantares.*

There is given to the Friers of Saint Augustine, which *Of Austen Fryars.*

are in the Church of our Ladie of Grace, every yeare 129000. Reys for their provision, which were granted to them by a Warrant of his Majestie, when they came from Portugall; which summe doth amount to 80 l. 12 s. 6 d. sterling.

There is in this Citie a Father of the Christians, which hath 60000. Reys ordinary, which is 37 l. 10 s. sterling, for to have care to looke unto them, and know how they live, and to make them separate themselves from the conversation of the Gentils, and to deale with or for them in all matters touching the good of their soules and lives, and to visit them in their Townes and Parishes, and to take their parts in all their differences, and to direct and favour them, in such sort that they may perceive, that they have a Defender in their adversities and needs.

The Father of the Christians hath also a Sollicitor, which doth sollicit their Cases, and hath 50. Pardaos ordinary, which amounts to 15000. Reys, and it is 9 l. 7 s. 6 d. sterling every yeere.

There is given to the Kings Hospitall of this City, at this present every yeare 3000000. of Reys, which is 10000. Xerafins, because the rent of the provision, Anfion, Bagne, and Sope are farmed for so much, the which is seperated for the said Hospitall, that it may have all the Rent it yeeldeth, for the provision of the sicke men, payment of Apothecary, Physician, Chirurgian, and the other Officers, and Servants of the said House, and for the Clothes that every yeare are bought for the comming of the ships from Portugall, for the releeving of the sicke men, that come in them, and also for Wine, Oyle, and Vinegar of Portugall, all the which is delivered to the Purveyor, and Brethren of the holy Mercie, of the same City, as administers of the said Hospitall; and the expences doe runne in his Majesties Treasury, and if it chance that the said Money doth not suffice for all the yeare, the said Purveyor, and Brethren shall request the Vice-Roy, or the over-seer of his Majesties goods to command to give them so much, as necessitie shall require,

Anfion is a kind of herbe that makes drunke.

Bagne a kind of Merchandize.

shewing the causes, whereby the said Money was not sufficient, in the which quantity entreth the wages of the Clarke, Over-seer, he that tends the sicke men, the Cater, and Porter of the said Hospitall, the which summe amounteth to 1875 l. sterling every yeare.

There is also paid to the Mercy House of the said Citie every yeare 400000. Reys of wages, that the said House hath of Almes, that are left unto it because his Majesty doth command it so by his Patents, for the necessities and charitable workes of the said House, the which is abated out of the generall Check-roll upon their Titles, and is 250 l. sterling. [II.ix.1531.]

There is also given to the said Mercy House 165600. Reys every yeare, which is 552. Pardaos de Tangas for the reliefe, which the said house doth give to the poore Widdowes, Orphans, and incurable people, at the rate of 11. Pardaos of Tangas, and ½. every weeke of the yeare, which amounts to 103 l. 10 s. sterling.

All the expences of the Churches of Salcete, and all the other that are here nominated from the beginning of this Title, amounteth to 11447020. Reys, which is 7154 l. 7 s. 9 d. sterling.

Officers belonging to the holy * Inquisition.

As they terme it.

THe Inquisitor of the Table, hath 400000. Reys, ordinary, which amounts to 250 l. sterling every yeare. **Or chiefe Inquisitor.*

The other Inquisitor which is a Fryar of Saint Dominicke, hath also 250 l. sterling, as the other.

The Notarie of the Inquisition hath 50000. Reys, which is 31 l. 5 s. sterling every yeare.

The Sergeant of the Prison-house of the Inquisition hath 100000. Reys, which is 62 l. 10 s. sterling.

One Keeper that doth helpe him in the said Prison, hath 30000. Reys, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling.

The Penitentiarie Sergeant of the Inquisition, and Over-seer of the Prisoners, which doth give them meate, hath 60000. Reys, which is 37 l. 10 s. sterling.

The Sollicitor of the Inquisition hath 30000. Reys, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling.

The Treasuror of the Inquisition hath 150000. Reys, which were allowed him by the Vice-Roy, Don Antonio de Neyra; and is 93 l. 15 s. sterling.

The Clarke of the said Treasurer hath 20000. Reys, which is 12 l. 10 s. sterling.

Or Fiscale. The Judge, accuser hath 50000. Reys, which is 31 l. 5 s. sterling.

Or Attourney Generall. The Attourney accuser hath 50000. Reys, which is 31 l. 5 s. sterling.

All the expences that the Inquisition doth make with her Officers, is 1340000. Reys, which amounteth to 837 l. 10 s. sterling every yeare.

Expences made with the Fortresses of Sofala, Mosambique, and Sena.

THe Captayne of the said Fortresse hath 418000. Reys ordinary, which is 261 l. 5 s. sterling every yeare.

The chiefe Bayliffe and Factor, hath 120000. Reys ordinary, which is 75 l. sterling every yeare, and 18000. Reys for his provision, which is 11 l. 5 s. sterling.

The Clarke of the said Office hath 82000. Reys, which is 51 l. 5 s. sterling every yeare.

The Bayliffe and Keeper of the said Fortresse hath 29000. Reys, which also serveth for Sergeant, and hath a man allowed for that purpose, whose expence is declared hereafter, his ordinary is 18 l. 2 s. 6 d. sterling.

The Constable of the said Fortresse hath 38000. Reys, which is 23 l. 15 s. sterling every yeare.

The Factor hath eight men, which have for their wages and provision 96000. Reys, which is 60 l. sterling a yeare.

The Clarke of the said Fortresse hath his mans wages and provision as a man of Armes, that is 12000. Reys, which is 7 l. 10 s. sterling.

The Bayliffe and Keeper of the said Fortresse, which serveth for a Sergeant of the same, hath 10800. Reys for

his mans wages and provision at the rate of 900. Reys a moneth, which is 6 l. 15 s. sterling every yeare.

There is allowed one Gunner for the said Fortresse, which hath 29000. Reys, which is 18 l. 2 s. 6 d. sterling a yeare.

There is allowed to the said Fortresse six Inhabitants, which have for wages and provision 12000. Reys every one, and amounteth to 72000. Reys every yeare, which is 45 l. sterling in all.

There is spent in the said Fortresse, in Presents that are given to the Lords of the Countrey 120000. Reys, which expences shall be made by the advice of the said Captayne, which is 75 l. sterling every yeare, and being necessary there is more spent, according to the Captaynes direction.

To the which Officers and persons ordayned for the said Fortresse, besides the ordinary wages that they have, there is allowed to every one of them halfe a Fardo of Millet every moneth, which makes 161208. Reys every yeare, at 400. Reys to every one a moneth, and the men are 34. which is 92 l. sterling. *Which is halfe a horse-loade.*

There is spent in the repaying, and covering of the said Fortresse, and about the Churches, and in other things of the like qualitie 60000. Reys, which is 37 l. 10 s. sterling every yeare.

The Vicar of the said Fortresse hath 34000. reys ordinary, which is 21 l. 5 s. sterling every yeare. [II.ix.1532.] *Expences that are made with the Church of the said Fortresse.*

There is given also to the said Vicar, 20000. Reys, for the Exempts of the Vestry, Wine, Oyle, Waxe, Flowre to make Wafers of, which is that, that was accustomed to bee given, which amounts to 12 l. 10 s. sterling every yeare.

There is also given to the said Vicar for the Masses, which he sayth for the Prince Don Henry, 2400. Reys every yeare, which is 1 l. 10 s. sterling.

There is ordayned one Chaplain to serve with the said Vicar, which hath 27400. Reys, which is 17 l. 12 s. 6 d. sterling every yeare.

The expences of Sofala comes to 1351800. Reys, which is 844 l. 17 s. 6 d. sterling.

All the expences made with the Fortresse of Mosambique, the Church and the Friars, amounts to 2619661. reys, which makes 1637 l. 5 s. 9 d. $\frac{8}{10}$ part of a peny.

All the expences of the Fortresse of Sena, amounteth to 611600. reys, which is 382 l. 5 s. sterling every yeere.

Ordinarie expences that are made in the Fortresse of Ormus.

THe Captayne of the said Fortresse of Ormus, hath 600000. reys ordinarie, which is 375 l. sterling every yeere. He hath also 1000. Cruzados for a reward of old stipends, which is 250 l. sterling. He hath also 700 Xerafins, in the customes of his goods, by warrants of the Vice-Royes, with 210000. reys, which is 131 l. 5 s. which is in all 1210000. reys, that is 756 l. 5 s. sterling: and he hath also the duties of ten Horses, free every yeere.

**The particulars are mentioned, but here for brevitie omitted.*

These and all other expences* of the Fortresse, Hospital and Ecclesiastikes of Ormus, amounts to 20323213. reys, which is 12702 l. 1 d. ob. q ; $\frac{1}{10}$ part of a peny sterling every yeere.

All the expences of the Fortresse of Dio, amount to 13818520. reys, which is 8636 l. 11 s. 6 d. sterling.

All the expences that are made with the Citie of Damaon, and her Territories, with the works that are in hand, amounts to 17251868 reys, which is 10782 l. 8 s. 4 d. $\frac{8}{10}$ parts of a peny sterling every yeere. Whereof the Jesuites, be they many or few, have 236 l. 5 s. revenue, the Dominicans 54 l. 15 s. 7 d. the Franciscans 18 l. 15 s.

Jesuites and Friars.

All the expences of Bazaim, amount to 9084960. reys, which is 5678 l. 2 s. sterling every yeere: of which the Jesuites and Franciscans for themselves and the Christians of that Countrey, receive 682 l. 4 s. ster.

All the expences of Aseri, to 2795600. reys, which makes 1747 l. 5 s. ster.

The expences of Manora, come to 4759712. reys, or 1099 l. 16 s. 4 d. ob. q. ; $\frac{1}{10}$ peny ster.

The expences of Chaul, are 5993240. reys, that is, 3745 l. 15 s. 6 d. ster.

The expences of Onor, are 1411000. reys, 882 l. 5 s. ster.

Barcelor the Fortresse and Church expend 1119 l. 17 s. 6 d. ster.

Mangalor 832 l. 17 s. 6 d. Cananor 965 l. 11 s. 3 d. ster.

Cochin hath a Bishop with 500 l. revenue, with many Church Officers, Priests, Friars, the Hospitall which with the Secular expences added, amount to 6953204. reys, which is 4345 l. 15 s. ob. $\frac{1}{10}$. pen. ster.

Cranganor the Secular and Ecclesiastikes receive 782 l. 1 s. 6 d. ob. $\frac{1}{10}$. peny ster.

Coulan receiveth annually in expences 570 l. 17 s. ob. $\frac{1}{10}$. peny sterling: whereof the Jesuites receive 125 l. ster.

Manai expences Ecclesiasticall and Secular, are 4597 l. 5 s. ster.

Ceylan expendeth in Church and lay Offices 7402 l. 14 s. 7 d.

Malaca hath a Bishop 500 reven. the Jesuites receive 112 l. 10 s. besides spent on the Jesuites in Japan 218 l. 15 s. yeerly. 40 l. to the Jesuites in Amboina. 90 l. to the Jesuites in Maluco, and for their passage to Japan 112 l. 10 s. the Dominicans, the Church Officers and the Vestrie, and all the Secular expences in Malacca, are 12248 l. 9 s. 6 d.

The expences of Maluco amount to 2200 l. 14 s. 6d, Of Amboyno 1535 l. 4 s. 6 d.

The Bishop appointed for China, hath 500 l. reven. The Jesuites 67 l. 10 s. These with the Judge and other Officers, receive annually 733 l. 6 s.

Idalxa, Itecamana, and Maomet Caon, and the Portugal stipendaries, in annuall rewards given by the Kings bountie, Cocket free for the Moguls ship (which custome comes to 7500 l.) in all 10671 l. 19 s. ob. q; $\frac{3}{20}$. peny ster.

All the ordinarie annuall expences of the state of India, are 214718878. reys, which is 134199 l. 5 s. 11 d. ob. ½. peny ster.

Other Warrants, Interrogatories to be ministred upon Oathes to all Officers, Contracts of peace with Neighbour Princes, &c. contayned in that Booke are here omitted.

And now I might easily have obtayned this Vice-royes Warrant to the Captaine of the Forts of Mosambique and Sofala, running after their manner, It is my Will and Pleasure, that &c. for my entertainment: but it is my will and pleasure rather (as like will to like) to take a Preacher and Priest along with me, that though we agree not otherwise in Doctrine, yet as Travellers we wil restraine our zeale, and without feare of Inquisition, march like good Fellowes together: yea, with Jesuites after, without feare of Treason. Onely first I will present unto you a Letter of a Spanish Embassador, relating the Antiquities of Persepolis, and some things by him observed in Persia.

[II.ix.1533.]

Chap. XI.

A Letter from Don Garcia Silva Figueroa Embassador from Philip the Third King of Spaine to the Persian, written at Spahan, or Hispahan, Anno 1619. to the Marquesse of Bedmar, touching matters of Persia.

Earied with travelling both by Sea and Land, but otherwise well, I came at length from Ormuz into Persia. Which having wandred over; at the Kings appointment, I went to Hispahan: where I endure a tedious irkesome delay, being even tyred with so unpleasant a life, as I here leade. For whatsoever Writers report of that great and ancient Monarchie of the Achæmenides, this is mine opinion; That there is nothing in all this Countrey to be found so good, but that it comes short of the least commoditie in our Europe. And besides that every thing here is so

crosse to our fashions, that I am without all converse with men; here are not so much as any bookes (the reading whereof might somewhat refresh a mans minde in so great solitarinesse) except a few Pamphlets intreating of holy Confession, and Navarr's Summes, which the Monkes of Saint Augustine use.

Hispahan.

Hispahan is the noblest Citie of this Kingdome: and, though it lye but in one and thirtie degrees and a halfe of Northerly latitude; yet, by reason of the subtile piercing ayre, the cold is sharper, then by the climate or situation one would imagine. Now, in all this Kingdome you can scarse see any print of Antiquitie: all the houses being built of unburned bricke, or earth rammed up betweene two boards; too slight stuffe to last many dayes, much lesse many yeeres.

No antiquities.

Notwithstanding, there are yet remayning most of those huge wilde buildings of the Castle and Palace of Persepolis, so much celebrated in the monuments of ancient Writers. These frames doe the Arabians and Persians in their owne language, call Chilminara: which is as much as if you should say in Spanish, Quarenta columnas, or Alcoranes: for so they call those high narrow round steeples, which the Arabians have in their Mesquites. This rare, yea and onely monument of the World (which farre exceedeth all the rest of the Worlds miracles, that we have seene or heard off) sheweth it selfe to them that come to this Citie from the Towne of Xiria, and standeth about a league from the River Bradamir, in times past called Araxis (not that, that parteth Media from the greater Armenia) whereof often mention is made by Quintus Curtius, Diodorus and Plutarch: which Authors doe point us out the situation of Persepolis, and doe almost leade us unto it by the hand. The largenesse, fairnesse, and long-lasting Matter of those Pillars, appeareth by the twentie which are yet left, of alike fashion; which with other remaynders of those stately Piles, doe move admiration in the minde of beholders, and cannot, but with much labour, and at leisure, be layed

Persepolis and her remaynes.

open. But since it is your Lordships hap to live now at Venice, where you may see some resemblance of the things, which I am about to write of, I will briefly tell you, that most of the Pictures of men, that, ingraven in marble, doe seele the front, the sides, and statelier parts of this building, are deckt with a very comely cloathing, and clad in the same fashion, which the Venetian Magnifico's goe in; that is, in Gownes downe to the heeles, with wide sleeves; with round flat caps, their haire spred to the shoulders, and notable long beards. Yee may see in these Tables some men sitting, with great majestie, in certayne loftier chayres, such as use to bee with us in the Quires and Chapter-houses of Cathedrall Churches, appointed for the seates of the chiefe Prelates: the feete being supported with a little foote-stoole neatly made, about a hand high. And, which is very worthy of wonder, in so divers dresses of so many men; as are ingraven in these Tables, none commeth neere the fashion which is at this day, or hath beene these many Ages past in use through all Asia. For though out of all Antiquitie we can gather no such Arguments of the cloathing of Assyrians, Medes and Persians, as we finde many of the Greekes and Romanes: yet it appeareth sufficiently, that they used garments of a middle size for length, like the Punike vest, used by the Turkes and Persians at this day, which they call Aljuba, and these Cavaja: and Shashes wound about their heads, distinguished yet both by fashion and colour from the Cidaris, which is the Royall Diademe. Yet verily in all this sculpture (which though it be ancient, yet shineth as neatly, as if it were but new-done) you can see no picture, that is like or in the workmanship resembleth any other, which the memorie of man could yet attayne to the knowledge of, from any part of the World: so that this worke may seeme to exceede all Antiquitie. Now, nothing more confirmeth this, then one notable inscription cut in a Jasper-table, with Characters still so fresh and faire, that one would wonder, how it could scape so many Ages without touch of the least blemish. The

Inscription of unknowne letters, in fashion of a Delta.

Letters themselves are neither Chaldæan, nor Hebrew, nor Greeke, nor Arabike, nor of any other Nation, which was ever found of old, or at this day, to be extant. They are all three-cornered, but somewhat long, of the forme of a [II.ix.1534.] Pyramide, or such a little Obeliske, as I have set in the margine: so that in nothing doe they differ one from another, but in their placing and situation, yet so conformed that they are wondrous plaine distinct and perspicuous. What kinde of building the whole was (whether Corinthian, Ionick, Dorick, or mixt) cannot bee gathered from the remaynder of these ruines: which is otherwise in the old broken walls at Rome, by which that may easily be discerned. Notwithstanding the wondrous and artificiall exactnesse of the worke, the beautie and elegancy of it, shining out of the proportion and symmetrie, doth dazle the eyes of the beholders. But nothing amazed me more, then the hardnesse and durablenesse of these Marbles and Jaspers: for in many places there are Tables so solide, and so curiously wrought and polished, that yee may see your face in them, as in a glasse. Besides the Authors, by me alreadie commended; Arrianus and Justine make speciall mention of this Palace: and they report, that Alexander the Great (at the instigation of Thais, a famous Whore of Athens) did burne it downe. But most delicately of all doth Diodorus deliver this storie.

Castle. The whole Castle was encompassed with a threefold circle of walls, the greater part whereof hath yeelded to the violence of time and weather. There stand also the *Sepulcher.* Sepulchres of their Kings, placed on the side of that Hill, at the foote whereof the Castle it selfe is built: and the monuments stand just so farre one from another, as Diodorus reporteth. In a word, all doth so agree with his discourse of it, that he that hath seene this, and read that, cannot possibly be deceived. More then this, there remayne not any markes of so huge a Citie: but that nigh about halfe a league from the Castle, there stands up another Pillar, as bigge as the rest: and two other shorter ones too, set a

little farther off: and in them did my Servants see some horses of Marble, large like a Colossus, and some men also of Giantly stature. To tell you true (as neere as it was, and easily done, yet) I was loath to goe thither; both, because all that Plaine was cut full of little Brookes, Ditches, and Sluses drawne out of the River Araxis: and also, because I would be held there no longer, having alreadie spent two dayes in beholding the things which I have described. Now, though that Plaine be very fruitfull, and (as I said) all watered with Water-courses; though it lye open every way above ten leagues, that it might well maintayne so great a Citie, as Persepolis sometime was: yet now it is taken up onely with one small Towne of some foure hundreth houses; compassed about with fat pastures, fruitfull Fields, and most fertile and pleasant Orchards and Closes, and furnished with all manner of foode, and such pure wholsome water to drinke, that I doe not remember that ever I tasted the like

Margatean. any where else. This Towne is called Margatean, and is a little distant from the Castle. As for the King himselfe, I had beene with him at Casbin, before I came hither.

Casbin. Casbin is a towne some three hundred leagues distant from Ormuz; and from hence one hundreth long ones. There had the King levied a mightie armie of Horse and Foot to meete the Turkes forces, who, as enemies, invaded the frontiers of the Persian Empire. There I abode therefore but fortie daies, being by the King royally entertained, with cheerefull expressions of a loving minde. But when

Soltania. he was to goe to Soltania (some fifteene leagues from thence) to muster his companies, which were there met; he let me plainely understand, that before his departure he would dispatch mee for my returne to Ormuz. Soone after, having suddenly changed his mind, hee commanded mee to retire my selfe hither: whither he promised, so soone as the warre was over, to come himselfe, and to send me away. But when the warre was quickly ended (which I foresaw by undoubted signes at Casbin) the King with-

drew himselfe to Farabat: which is a Towne of Hercania, by the Caspian Sea, which hee loves and delights in much. Hee presently sent me a messenger to signifie that he would certainly come hither in the spring, to celebrate his birth-day. This unwelcome newes troubled mee more then all the toyle and trouble of the whole voyage. I resolved therefore to dispatch to him one of my Gentlemen, with the Abbot of Saint Augustines: who if they should perceive that his comming were likely to be delayed long, might procure my dispatch; though at a most unseasonable time for sailing, and at my great perill to venter upon the heate at Ormuz, in summer insupportable. *Farabat.*

Concerning the peace or truce agreed upon by these Princes, after a bloudy field fought betweene Tauris and Ardeuill, it is to no purpose to report, since it is publike and divulged, though their covenants and conditions be yet kept close. If the State were at more quiet in Moscovie, I would (goe by Astracan and) make a journey through that Countrey, in my returne. But it is strange, what miseries and calamities afflict that Nation: which in ancient time hath so flourished and prevailed, that it scattered and put downe the Tartarians of the East, who were dreadfull to the whole world. Of which miseries and destructions the ground and author was that counterfeit Demetrius, who having by plaine cousenage usurped once the empire of the Russians, left it in a continued line to six other false tyrants of his name after him.

Two Comets seene also here 1618.

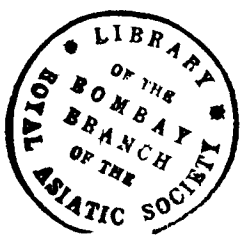
The conclusion of these my letters shall be the relation of two Comets, which during this time wee beheld, the one, on the tenth of November, began to shine two houres before Sunne-rising; whose appearing was observed betweene East and South. The colour was like to the fume which ariseth from the flame of the finest Gunpowder. The head of it seemed to me to be in Scorpio: the bignesse, as much as would containe a sixt part of the Zodiake: the forme (as some imagined) like a Cimiter; which sort the Grecians call Xiphias, boding *horrible events. This Comet (me thought) resembled rather a

**As we have seene since in Turkie, Poland, Bohemia, Germanie, Grisons, France, &c. and still see.*

yeere-old spring of Palme, which being not yet spred is a little bowed at the top: it moved toward the South.

Twelve or thirteene daies after the rising of this Comet, [II.ix.1535.] another appeared with hayrie rayes, of an ordinarie fashion, coloured like the Planet Venus, and much about that bignesse, or a little bigger. It arose directly East. And though at first it were farre lesse then the former, yet increasing daily more and more, it grew almost as big as the other. By the proper motion it moved it selfe with the Primum Mobile, not farre from the verticall Line. Moreover, three or foure daies after the arising of this, that other vanished. Sure they had both of them a very short period, insomuch as the latter scarce shewed it selfe above ten daies. It was observed, that toward the end, it looked more red. Howsoever it be, if these Comets portend mischiefe, the mischiefe (sure) cannot be long-lasting, like others, whereof wee may see store in the world.

Would God he had beene or may be a true presage.



Chap. XII.

Collections out of the Voyage and Historie of Friar Joaõ dos Sanctos his Æthiopiâ Orientalis, & Varia Historia, and out of other Portugals, for the better knowledge of Africa and the Christianitie therein.

§. I.

The Authors Voyage and Acts in those parts; Sea accidents, Moorish fooleries, English Ships: Of Sofala, the Fort; the Fruits and Plants of those parts.

THe said Friar went with a Fleet from Lisbon in Aprill 1586. July the first, they came before the Cape of good hope, and had such faire weather, that they tooke great store of Fish, till a faire gale set them onwards for Mozambique. Being against Terra do Natal (which trends betwixt thirtie two and thirtie foure degrees South) they were encountred with a great storme, the Windes and Waves bellowing and billowing (in a seeming) conspiracie to their ruine. The second night of this tempest, the ninth of July, they saw on their maine tops a Corpo santo in figure of a flame* of fire bright and shining, from thence remooving to the Mizen-mast; and the Pilot saluted it, saying, Salve Corpo santo, salve; Boa viagem, boa viagem: Haile Corpo sancto, haile, a good voyage, a good voyage. And most of the people with many teares of joy made the same answer, Boa viagem, boa viagem: the light having there long continued, vanished. The Mariners beleeve that this light is S. Pero Gonçalves Telmo Naturall of Palencia a Citie in Castile, a Dominican, upon whom they ordinarily call being

Jo. dos Sanctos l. 2. de Var. hist. c. 18.

**Faisca.*

A Corpo Santo saluted, and fond opinions thereof. How-truly is it said of such, Jo. 4. Yee worship yee know not what?

**Oupor.*

endangered in tempests, and either call it Saint Peter Gonçalves, or S. Telmo, or Corpo Santo. Many times it appeareth, and so long they hold themselves secure, and ordinarily the stormes are moderated when it commeth, as it happened to us in this voyage; and therefore they held it in much devotion, albee it be but naturall, caused by exhalations: which the Mariners denie, saying, that somtimes in the place where that light appeares, they have found greene Wax, like that of a Wax-candle. And in the life of that Saint is rehearsed, that hee sometimes appeares visible to Mariners when they call upon him in tempests, and delivers them from Sea dangers. Whiles this light appeared, a Souldier kneeling downe in the ship before it, smote his breast, saying, with many teares. Adorovos meu Sñor S. Pero Gonçalvez, vos me salvay neste perigo por vossa misericordia; repeating it many times. I adore thee my Lord Saint Peter Gonçalvez, O save me in this danger for thy mercie. I and an other father told him, this adoration was due only to God, and that the Saints should be prayed to in another manner. He answered worse to the purpose. My God shall he be now which shall deliver me from this danger. We then left him, but the next day the storme being past he confessed his fault.

Profit of Legends of lies of Saints.

Adoration to an exhalation, supposed a Saint: and to a Saint as to God: a double Idolatrie in the Popish opinion, which yet lay this stumbling blocke before the blind in worship of creatures.

On the seven and twentieth they came to Baixos da Judia in two and twentie South, and the thirteenth of August came to Mozambique: from thence by the Vicar Generals appointment, I and another Dominican were sent for Sofala, one hundred and sixtie leagues distant, for the service of Christianitie in those parts in November following. In the yeere 1588. the Saint Thomas having passed the Cape, was wracked neere Terra do Natal, and some of the companie escaping, went on shoare in Terra dos Fumos, & hapned on more humane Cafres then the most are in those parts, which had never seene white man before, called them Children of the Sunne, and gave them to eate and drinke. Stephen Veyga the Captaine, and some others adventured on a journey thence by land (above

Terra dos Fumos.

Children of the Sunne.

eightie leagues) to Sofala, where they gave great thankes to God and our Ladie for their deliverie.

Over against the Fortresse of Sofala, is an Iland on the other side of the River called Inhanzato, of which in former times was Lord a Moore, called Muynhe Mafamede, so friendly to the Portugals, and so luke-warme in his Religion, that with them he would both eate Swines flesh and drinke Wine. Yet was hee so honoured, that after his death, the Moores of Sofala erected a Mesquit in the place of his buriall, and before the Mariners made their voyage, would make prayers to him (as a Saint) for their successe. I set this Mesquit on fire, to the discontent of those Moores. Fryar John Madeira and I, remained foure yeeres in Sofala, labouring the conversion of the Moores and Gentiles, of which we baptized 1694. persons. After that time the Vicar Generall caused us to returne to Mosambique. In the way the Cafers sent us victuals and Musicians with their unmusicall voices and Tabers all night, entertaining us with a feast worse then a fast. Having thus passed the Lordship of an Encosse under the Quiteves dominion, we came into the Countrey of Manamotapa, where in the night passing a desart, wee heard terrible voices, like as if they had beene of men, which we supposed to be Cafar theeves, and durst not speake one to the other, lest we might so betray our lives. The next Cafars told us they were birds bigger then Cocks, which in the day time hide themselves, and in the night flie, chase and prey on other fowles, which terrified with their voices, leave their roosts and so become a prey.

Inhanzato.

[II.ix.1536.]

Quiteve King of the Countrey about Sofala.

Monomotapa.

Strange birds.

They came to the River of Luabo after eighteene daies. In this River are many great Ilands, where we lay in the nights, and sayled by day because of the Currents and Shelves. The two and twentieth of August we came to the Fort of Sena, where the two Churches of those Rivers had never a Priest, and therefore wee spent two and thirtie dayes in confessing, baptizing, massing: and thence were invited to Tete, for like cause, sixtie leagues distant. I

Luabo.

Sena.

Tete.

went and baptized there one hundred and seventeene. Madeira at Sena baptized above two hundred persons: and from the first entrie of Dominicans, they had in that River Cuama baptized above twentie thousand. In the Port of Quilimane were foure Pangayas of the Captayne of Mozambique, then Don Jorge de Menezes, in one of which wee embarked, in which was a Chest with 100000. Cruzados of gold, of powder, and peeces, which hee had made in those Rivers with Souso Coutinho the Governour of India: which gold is ordinarily gathered every six moneths by the Portugals and Captayne. In the yeere 1592. I was sent to Quirimba. There I staid two yeeres, and made six hundred nintie foure Christians, and untill that yeere 1593. the Dominicans had baptized above sixteene thousand in those Iles. After which I was recalled to Sofala, and in 1595. to Mozambique. In the yeere 1597, two English ships came in sight of Mosambique; as also two others had done in the yeere 1591. The two and twentieth of August 1597. he embarked himselfe for India, and on the twentieth of September entred the Barre of Goa. But let us take view of Sofala, and the parts adjoyning, as he hath described them in the first part of his workes.

Two English ships. Two other. These of C. Raymond and Lancaster: the other of B. Wood. See sup. p. 110.

Sofala.

The Fortresse of Sofala stands in 20. 30 Southerne degrees, situate on the Coast of Easterne Ethiopia, neere the Sea, and just by a River a league in the mouth, little more or lesse, which riseth higher above one hundred leagues, arising in the Countrey called Mocarangua, and passing by the Citie Zimbaoe where the Quiteve resides, who is King of those parts, and of all the River of Sofala. Up that River the Portugals trade to Manica, a land of much gold, seated within the land above sixtie leagues. Within the Fort of Sofala is a Church, to which belong six hundred Communicants. The Inhabitants usually are Merchants, some to Manica for gold, which they barter for Stuffes and Beades, both to the Captayne and themselves; others to the River of Sabia, and the Iles das Bocicas, and other neere Rivers, for Ivorie, Gergelim-spice,

Mocarangue.

Pulse, Amber, and many Slaves. There is another habitation of Moores two Caliver shot from the Castle, poore and miserable, which live by serving the Portugals. The women performe there the offices of Tillage and Husbandry; as also doe the Moores. They pay their Tithes to the Dominicans Church. The Fortresse was built An. 1505. by Pero da Nhaya, with consent of the Moorish King Zufe, a man blinde of both his eyes (in both senses, externall and internall, religious and politike) who too late repenting, thought to supplant it with trecherie, which they returned upon himselfe and slew him. In old times they had many such petty Moorish Kings on the Coast, few of which now remaine by reason of the Portugall Captaynes succeeding in their places, and in their amitie and commerce with the Quiteve King of those Countries.

In those Countries of Sofala are many fruits, as Pomegranat trees which beare all the yeere, some greene, some ripe, some in flowers; they have also Fig-trees, which yeeld blacke Figs all the yeere most excellent; Oranges, Limes, Vines which beare twice a yeere, in Januarie and July; Ananas, Indian Figs, which yeeld great branches of Figs as great as Cucumbers, yellow when they are ripe, and sweet of sent, sometimes seventie Figges are seene on one cluster, like a bunch of Grapes, and a man can scarcely lift them from the ground. They have great grounds of Sugar-canes alongst the River, husbanded by the Cafres, not for Sugar, but to eate (for they want Ingenios) and are a great part of their sustenance. They have many and great Palme-trees which yeeld infinite Cocos and Wine. They have store of Guinnie Wheat, and Rice; many Inhames (a very great roote yeelding broade leaves, and better in taste then Potatoes) Fitches, and other Pulse in much varietie. In the fields and wild untilled places grow store of Jasmins, and Mangericones (very sweet plants) and they make oyle of Gergelim, which they beate in woodden Morters, as big as will reach to a mans girdle, and then

straine out the Oyles, and eate the rest with their Wheate in stead of Butter. Innumerable Hens very good and
[II.ix.1537.] cheape; Hogs, Goats, Kine, wild Beasts, Deere, and wild Swine are there. Ten Hens are sold for two Testons (2s. 6d.) and up in the Countrey eighteene at the price. They make Oile of Cocos which burnes cleerer then that of the Olive. In the Realtie of Manica grow little Trees on the tops of Hills and Rocks, which the most part of the yeere are drie, without leafe and greennesse, but have this propertie, that if one cut off a bough & put it into
A strange tree. water, in the space of ten houres it springs and flourisheth with greene leaves; but draw it out of the water, as soone as it is drie, it remaynes again as it was before. The Cafres say, that though this wood bee gathered ten yeeres, yet after all that time put into water, it will flourish and continue greene. This wood being ground, and given to drinke in water, is good to stanch fluxes of bloud. The
Another. Cafres call it Mungodao. Another wood they call Matuui, which signifieth the Dung of a Man, having the name of that sent, so noysome that none can endure it. The same is in India, the Tree like a Thorne tree. They say, it hath vertues against the Ayre (or Blastings) and therefore many persons weare it in strings like Beades, tyed to the arme next the skin, specially children. Alongst the River of Sofala in two places wilde and desart, grow Oranges and Limons, which every one may gather that will: wherewith they lade Boats and sell them for almost nothing to the Inhabitants of the Fortresse, which fill Barrels and Pots with the juyce, and the same Limons salted, and send them for India, where they are much
Bread of Mais, or Guinny, Turkie, Virginia Wheat, &c. esteemed, and eaten with Rice. The bread ordinarily in Sofala is of their Wheate and Rice mixt together, whereof they make Cakes which they call Mocates: tollerable whiles they are hot, but cold, insufferable. The Portugals drinke commonly Palme-wine, the Cafres Wine of their
Wine. Wheate (or Mays) which they make strong and tipsie.

§. II.

Of Quiteve King of that Countrey, with the strange customes observed in those parts, in Court, Citie and Countrey.

THe King of these parts is of curled haire, a Gentile, which worships nothing, nor hath any knowledge of God; yea, rather hee carries himselfe as God of his Countries, and so is holden and reverenced of his Vassals. Hee is called Quiteve, a title royall and no proper name, which they exchange for this so soone as they become Kings. The Quiteve hath more then one hundred women all within doores, amongst which one or two are as his Queenes, the rest as Concubines: many of them are his owne Aunts, Cousins, Sisters and Daughters, which he no lesse useth, saying, that his sonnes by them are true heires of the Kingdome without mixture of other bloud. When the Quiteve dyeth, his Queenes must die with him to doe him service in the other world, who accordingly at the instant of his death take a poyson (which they call Lucasse) and die therewith. The successor succeedeth as well to the women as the state. None else but the King may upon paine of death marry his Sister or Daughter. This Successor is commonly one of the eldest Sonnes of the decessed King, and of his great Women or Queenes; and if the eldest be not sufficient, then the next, or if none of them be fit, his Brother of whole bloud. The King commonly whiles hee liveth maketh the choise, and traines up him to affaires of State, to whom he destines the succession. Whiles I lived there, saith Sanctos, the King had above thirtie Sonnes, and yet shewed more respect to his Brother a wise man, then to any of them, all honoring him as apparent heire.

The Quiteve Manner of succession and coronation.

The same day the King dies, he is carried to a Hill where all the Kings are interred, and early the next morning, hee whom the decessed had named his Successor, goeth to the Kings house where the Kings Women abide

See after of breaking the Bowe.

in expectation, and by their consent hee enters the house, and seates himselfe with the principall of them in a publike Hall, where the King was wont to sit to heare Causes, in a place drawne with curtens or covered with a cloth, that none may see the King nor the Women with him. And thence he sends his Officers, which goe thorow the Citie and proclayme Festivals to the New King, who is now quietly possessed of the Kings House, with the Women of the King decessed, and that all should goe and acknowledge him for their King: which is done by all the great Men then in Court, and the Nobles of the Citie, who goe to the Palace now solemnely guarded, and enter into the Hall by licence of the Officers, where the new King abides with his Women; entring some, and some, creeping on the ground till they come to the middle of the Hall, and thence speake to the New King, giving him due obeysance, without seeing him or his Women. The King makes answere from within, and accepts their service: and after that drawes the Curtens, and shewes himselfe to them; whereat all of them clap their hands, and then turne behind the Curtens, and goe forth creeping on the ground as they came in; and when they are gone, others enter and doe in like sort. In this ceremonie the greatest part of the day is spent with feasting, musick and dancing thorow the Citie. The next day, the King sends his Officers thorow the Kingdome to declare this his succession, and that all should come to the Court to see him breake the Bowe. Sometimes there are many Competitors, and then Hee succeeds whom the Women admit into the Kings House: for none may enter by Law without their leave, nor can bee King without peaceable entrance; forceable entrie forfeiting his Right and Title. By bribes therefore and other wayes, they seeke to make the Women on their side.

[II.ix.1538.] *Women-Electors.*

The Sedandas like customes.

Neere the Kingdome of Quiteve is another of Lawes and Customes like thereto, where the Sedanda raignes: both which were sometimes but one Kingdome. Whiles I was in Sofala, the Sedanda being incurably sick of a

leprosie, declared his Successor, and poysoned himselfe: which also is the custome there, if any King have any deformitie in his person. The named Successor sought admittance of the Women, but they much distasting him, had secretly sent by night for another Prince whom they better liked, as more valiant and better beloved; whom they admitted, and assembled themselves with him in the publike Hall, and caused Proclamation to bee made to the people of his succession. The other, whom they had rejected, fled for feare of his life, and being mightie assembled a great power, and by force entred the Kings House. But this was strange to all, who therefore forsooke him, and stuck to him whom the Women had chosen; whereupon the other fled, and no more lifted up his head.

Ceremonie of breaking the Bowe.

Before the New King begins to governe, he sends for all the chiefe in the Kingdome, to come to the Court and see him breake the Kings Bowe, which is all one with taking possession of the Kingdome. In those Courts is a custome then also to kill some of those Lords or great Men, saying, that they are necessarie for the service of the decessed King: whereupon they kill those of whom they stand in feare or doubt, or whom they hate, in stead of whom they make and erect new Lords. This custome causeth such as feare themselves to flee the Land. Anciently the Kings were wont to drinke poyson in any grievous disasters, as in a contagious disease, or naturall impotencie, lamenesse, the losse of their fore-teeth, or other deformitie; saying, that Kings ought to have no defect; which if it happened, it was honour for him to die, and goe to better himselfe in that better life, in which he should be wholly perfect. But the Quiteve which raigned whiles I was there, would not follow his predecessors herein; but having lost one of his fore-teeth, sent to proclaime thorow his whole Kingdome that one of his teeth were fallen out, and that if (that they might not be ignorant when they saw him want it) his predecessors were such fooles, for such causes to kill

Cruell service.

Ill custom well broken.

themselves, he would not doe so, but awaite his naturall death, holding his life necessary to conserve his estate against his enemies, which example hee would commend to posteritie.

Great observance: the like is used in Japan, to lye prostrate and not looke on him.

If the Cafars have a suit, and seeke to speake with the King, they creepe to the place where hee is, having prostrated themselves at the entrance, and looke not on him all the while they speake, but lying on one side clap their hands all the time (a rite of obsequiousnesse in those parts) and then having finished, they creepe out of the doores as they came in. For no Cafar may enter on foot to speake to the King, nor eye him in speaking, except the familiars and particular friends of the King. The Portugals enter on their feet, but unshod, and being neere the King, prostrate themselves lying on one side almost sitting, and without looking on him speake to him, at every fourth word clapping their hands according to the custome. Both Cafres and Portugals are entertained by him with wine of Mays, or their wheate, called Pombe, which they must drinke, although against stomacke, not to contemne the Kings bountie; whence the Portugals have had some trouble, and are forced to stay in the Towne without leave to returne home, with great expence of time and charges.

Exequies to the dead Kings.

Every September the Quiteve at the change of the Moone, goeth from Zimbache his Citie to a high Hill to performe Obits or Exequies to his predecessors there buried, with great troops both of the Citie and other parts of the Kingdomes called up therefore. As soone as they are ascended, they eate and drinke their Pombe, the King beginning, till they be all drunke; continuing that eating and drinking eight dayes, one of which they call Pemberar of a kind of Tilting exercise then used. In this feast the King and his Nobles clothe themselves in their best Silkes and Cotten clothes, which they have with many thrummes, like Carpet fringes, wrought therein, hanging downe on the eyes and face as a horses foretop; they tie about the head a large Ribband; and divided into two parts, they runne one against another on foot with Bowes and Arrowes

Pemberer, somewhat resembling that which Æneas performed to Anchises.

in their hands, which they shoote upwards that none be hurt; and thus make a thousand careeres and feates till they be tyred and cannot stirre, and they which hold out longest are accounted the properest valiantest men, and are therefore rewarded with the prize propounded. Gaspar de Mello Captayne of Sofala in my time, caused to make a large Ribband with great fringes of silke and gold, and sent it with other pieces of price to the Quiteve, who most esteemed that Ribband for this pembering purpose.

Devils tyranny and Oracles.

After this eight dayes festivall, they spend two dayes or three in mourning; and then the Devill enters into one of the company, saying, he is the soule of the deceased King, father of the present, to whom those Exequies are performed; and that he comes to speake to his sonne. The Cafar thus possessed falls downe on the ground in an ill plight and is distracted, the Devill speaking by his mouth all the strange tongues of all the Cafar Nations about them, many of which some of the men present understand. And after this hee beginneth to behave himselfe, and to speake like the King pretended, by which [II.ix.1539.] signes the Cafars acknowledge the comming of the deceased Kings soule. The King is now made acquainted herewith, and comes with his Grandes to the place where the Demoniake is, and doe him great reverence. Then all the rest goe aside, and the King remaynes with him alone, speaking friendly as with his father departed, and enquireth if hee be to make warres, whether hee shall overcome his enemies, touching dearth, or troubles in his kingdom, and whatsoever else he desireth to know: And the Devil answereth his questions, and adviseth him what to doe, not without lies altogether, as he which is the enemie of mankind, and thinks it enough to hold his credit with them, and yeerely to be consulted. After all this the Devill departeth from that bodie, leaving it weary, and ever after ill apayd. The King returneth home with great applause, so graced with the conference of the deceased Kings, whom they hold to be mighty in the other World, and able to grant him whatsoever hee

desireth. Some Portugals have beene eye-witnesses hereof. The like manner the Devill useth with other Gentiles in China, and the Philippinas, as some report.

No forme of Religion.

I beleeve for certaine that this Caphar Nation is the most brutish and barbarous in the world, neither worshipping God, nor any Idoll, nor have Image, Church, or Sacrifice, or persons dedicated to Religion, and are hard to be converted, either to Christians or Moores. They hold the immortalitie of the soule, and have a confused knowledge that there is a Great God, whom they call Molungo, but they pray not to him, nor doe commend themselves to him. When they suffer any necessitie or sterilitie, they have recourse to their King, strongly beleeving that hee is able to give them all things which they desire, and that he can obtaine all things of the dead, his predecessors with whom he seemeth to have conference. Whereupon they sue to the King for raine, if they want it, and for seasonable harvest times: and alway when they thus petition him, they bring him great Presents, which he receiveth, and bids them returne home in a good houre; for hee will have care of their request to satisfie the same. And though they see themselves often frustrated, yet continue they to spend time and costs in such petitions, till raine or other their suits happen, thinking that though he granted not at first, yet by their importunitie (as he also for gaine tells them) that he hath done it at last.

The King in divine reputation.

Musimos holy dayes strictly kept.

They observe certaine festivals, resting from labour (except dances) appointed by the King, they not knowing when, or why. They call such dayes Musimos, that is, Soules of Saints departed, in whose honour they keepe them. On one of these dayes a Portugall in that Citie Zimbaohe (which was passing to Manicas where the gold Mines are) caused a Cow to bee killed at his house for food to his slaves, and the people which hee had with him; whereof the Quiteve hearing by one of his Officers (many of which are dispersed in the Citie, and thorow the Kingdome) he commanded the Portugall to suffer it to abide,

and not meddle any more withall, for violating his Musimos. And the Portugall had no remedie, but must either suffer the beast to stinke and putrifie there, or pay Empofia, that is, The Fine, which was no lesse then fiftie Clothes, after he had in stead of eating, endured much stinke many dayes; which to avoide, hee would have gone forth of his house, and have taken another, but the Quiteve would not suffer him to enforce him to his Empofia.

These Cafars know nothing of the Creation of the World, of Man, nor of Hell for the bad, or Heaven for the good: onely they beleeve the soules immortalitie in another World, and that they shall live with their women a better life then this, but they cannot tell where, in some earthly Paradises of pleasure. They confesse that there is a Devill, which they call, Musuca, and that he doth much harme to men. Every new Moone is a Festivall day: they say the Sunne when he can, goeth to sleepe. They neither write nor reade, nor have bookes, but all their historie is Tradition. They hold that Monkies in times past were men and women, and call them in their language, The old people.

Opinions of the Devill.

Aborigines.

The Quiteve hath two or three hundred men for his Guard, which are his Officers and Executioners, called Inficis, and goe crying, Inhama, Inhama, that is, Flesh, Flesh. Hee hath another sort, called Marombes, Jesters, which have their Songs and Prose in praise of the King, whom they call, Lord of the Sunne and Moone, King of the Land and of Rivers, Conqueror of his Enemies, in every thing Great, great Theefe, great Witch, great Lion; and all other names of greatnesse which they can invent, whether they signifie good or bad, they attribute to him. When the King goeth out of doores, these Marombes goe round about him with great cries of this argument. Hee hath others which are Musicians in his Hall, and at the Court gates, with divers Instruments resounding his praises. Their best Musicall Instrument is called Ambira, much like to our Organs, made of Pompions, some bigge,

Marombes. Bards or barbarous Poets. Strange Titles of greatnesse.

Musicians.

some slender, for difference of sounds, with a mouth in the side nigh the bottome, which hath a hole bigger then a shilling, with a glasse in the bottome, made of certaine Copwebs slender and strong. On the mouthes (which are equall, set in a rew) is a rew of keyes of wood, slender, sustained with cords, on the tops whereof they play with stickes like drum stickes, which have buttons or balls as big as a nut in the points, which moving the Keyes, make a sweet sound, which may be heard as farre as Virginals. Another Instrument they have, called also Ambira, all of Iron wedges, flat and narrow, a span long, tempered in the fire to differing sounds. They are but nine set in a rew, with the ends in a piece of wood as in the necke of a viole, and hollow, on which they play with their thumbe nailes, which they weare long therefore, as lightly as men with us on the Virginals, and is better Musicke then the former. They have Cornets of a wilde beasts horne, called Paraparas, having a terrible sound, and Drummes diversified in sounds. When the Quiteve sends Embassadours, hee sends these three sorts of men, crying, playing, dancing, which receive, or else take their provision by force.

See after, c. 13.

[II.ix.1540.]

Oathes dreadfull and terrible. See before in A. Battell, l. 7. v. 3. of the like in Loango, &c.

They use three kinds of Oathes in Judgement most terrible, in accusations wanting just evidence. The first is called, Lucasse, which is a vessell full of poison, which they give the suspected, with words importing his destruction, and present death if he be guilty; his escape, if innocent: the terrour whereof makes the conscious confesse the crime: but the innocent drinke it confidently without harme, and thereby are acquitted of the crime; and the plaintiffe is condemned to him whom he falsly had accused; his wife, children, and goods being forfeited, one moitie to the King, and the other to the defendant. The second Oath they call, Xoqua, which is made by iron heated red hot in the fire, causing the accused to lick it being so hot with his tongue, saying, that the fire shall not hurt him if hee bee innocent; otherwise it shall burne his tongue and his mouth. This is more common, and

is used by the Cafres and the Moores in those parts; yea, (which worse is) some Christians give the same Oath to their slaves suspected of stealth; which one in Sofala caused, on suspicion of a stollen garment, a slave to doe three times without hurt. The third Oath they call, Calano, which is a vessell of water made bitter with certaine herbs, which they put into it, whereof they give the accused to drinke, saying, that if he be innocent, he shall drinke it all off at one gulp without any stay, and cast it all up againe at once without any harme: if guilty, he shall not be able to get downe one drop without gargling and choaking. There have beene seene many experiments of all these, the guilty suffering death by the poison, or burning, &c. the innocent freed; having some resemblance by Devillish apish imitation to the cursed water of jealousie mentioned in Moses. Once, they are notorious and well knowne in Sofala. *Num.* 5.

Haire-fashion in hornes.

The Cafres are blacke as Pitch, curled, and weare their head full of hornes made of the same haire, which stand up like a Distaffe, wearing slender pieces of wood within their lockes to uphold them without bending: without, they tye them with a ribband made of the barke of an herbe, which whiles it is fresh sticketh like glue, and dried is like a sticke: with this they binde their haire in bundles from the bottome to the top; of each bundle making a horne, holding herein great pride and gallantrie; striving to excell each others; and mocking them which want them, saying, they are like women. For, as the male wilde beasts have hornes which the females want; so doe these savage beasts also.

The Quiteve hath herein a fashion which none may imitate, of foure hornes, one of a spanne long on the mould of the head, like an Unicorne, and three of halfe a spanne, one on the necke, at each eare another, all upright to the top. For their hornes sakes they have no hats, nor head-coverings amongst them. The apparell of the King and chiefe men is fine Cotton, or Silke, girt to them, and hanging almost to the knees, and another greater, called

Machiras, which the Cafres weave, cast over the shoulders like a Cloke, wherewith they goe muffled, letting it hang on the left hand to the ground, esteeming great Gravitie and Majestie in a long traine. The rest of the bodie is naked; they goe all bare-foot: and the vulgar goe naked both men and women without shame; the better sort of them wearing a Monkies skinne, hanging downe from the girdle like a Smiths Apron; and the women likewise. But the Cafres which trade with the Portugals weare a covering to the knees. They have no Occupations but Smiths, which make Azagays, Spades, Hatchets, Halfe-swords: Weavers which make Cotton clothes for Machiras. The women make them, but improperly, their office being ordinarily to digge, and weed, and sowe, men more loving their lubberly ease, few helping their wives: a Spade being as usuall with their women, as a Rocke with our Spinsters; the men now and then hunting for wilde beasts, other whiles dancing and singing, and therefore poore.

Occupations.

The Tartars do the like: and the Scots also, as I have heard, in the furthest North of this Iland.

The Quiteve makes some Royall huntings, with three or foure thousand men, in the Desarts neere the Citie; encircling all the beasts in that compasse, Tigres, Lions, Ounces, Elephants, Buffals, Deere, wilde Swine, and the rest, driving them together, and then setting on their Dogs, with cries, Arrowes, and Azagayes, pursue and kill what they can. Then may they kill the Lion, which at other times by the Quiteves prohibition is a deadly offence, because hee is entituled, great Lion. After this they eat in the same place with great jollitie; but the most they carrie home, and *hang it for the King, and for themselves.

**As Bacon & Martinmas Beefe in England.*

Houses of Casars, houshold and food.

Their houses are round, of unhewne timber covered with straw, like a thatched Countrey house, which they remove at pleasure. Their goods is a Panne in which they boyle their Wheat, two Spades to digge, one Bowe and Arrowes, a Mat whereon they lie, which they make of Rushes, and commonly they sleepe on the ground: if it be cold, they make a fire in the midst of the house, lying

all about it like Cats. So beggarly and brutish is the life (if that be life) of the Cafres. Their food is commonly Mais, Pulse, Fruits, Sugar-canes, Fish, and all kinds of Beasts which they kill in the Desarts, as Monkies, Dogs, Cats, Rats, Snakes, Lizards, Crocodiles, all flesh; Rice they sowe rather to sell the Portugals then to eate, preferring their Mais. They steepe two dayes in water a pecke or thereabouts, which in that space growes forth: and then the water being put out, they let it drie two or three houres, and being well dried they stampe it till it settle into a masse: which they doe in a great Morter as high as a mans middle, called Cuni, by them, by the Portugals, Pilano. After this they set a great earthen vessell on the fire halfe full of water, whereon when it seeths, they put in above halfe the pecke of Mais-meale by little and little, still stirring it, as when men make pottage: and after it seeths a little, they take the vessell off the fire, and put in the rest of the said masse, stirring them together till their Pombe be made; which is let stand two dayes, and then they drinke it, many of them neither eating nor drinking ought else, but living onely hereof. If it stand foure or five dayes it becomes Vinegar; and the sowrer, the more tipsie; they say that it makes them strong. [II.ix.1541.]

Mais Wine how made.

In some places grow certaine Reeds, which every second or third yeere have great eares like Rie, of which they gather store, and is good sustenance.

In all Cafraria there growes a certaine herbe which they sowe, called Bangue, the straw and leaves whereof they cut, and being well dried, stampe them to powder. And hereof they eate a handfull, and then drinke water, and so sustaine themselves many dayes; and if they eate much, it makes them drunken, like to Wine.

All these Cafres before they goe about any businesse of import, as journeying, merchandise, or sowing, they cast lots to divine of the successe; a thing used likewise to enquire of things stolne or lost, and in all doubtfull cases, and thereto give credit as we doe to the Gospell. These lots are little round stickes, flat, and bored thorow the

Lots and divinations.

midst, lesse then Table-men, called Charatas, alway carried about them, filed on a string, to use upon any occasion of doubt, casting them like Dice so many times. For want of them, they divine by strokes or lines which they draw on the ground. Some are great Witches, and consult with the Devill; so prone to it, that they are prohibited by the King, that none should use this witch-craft without his licence, in paine of death, and confiscation of wife, children, and goods, halfe to the King, and halfe to the Informer: and yet many are such secretly, and all would be if they could. The same penaltie is to theeves and to adulterers: it being lawfull for any man to slay any of these three sorts taken in the fact: or if any list not to kill him which by witch-craft, adulterie, or robberie hath wronged him, he may sell him, or doe with him what he pleaseth as his owne chattels, and they call the condemned, such a mans Witch, Theefe, or Adulterer. The losse of goods to the King is common for any fault amongst them.

Witches.

Punishments.

Marriages. The Cafres buy of the parents their wives, for Kine, Clothes, or otherwise according to their abilitie. And therefore they which have many daughters are rich. If any mislike his wife, hee may returne her to him that sold her, but with losse of the price payde; and the parent may sell her againe to another husband. The wife hath no libertie to forsake her husband. The ceremonies of marriage are dances, and feastings of the neighbours; every invited guest bringing his present of Meale, Mais, Inhames, Fitches, or other victuall for that dayes expenses. Hee which is able, may have two wives, but few are able to maintayne them, except the great men which have many, but one is principall, the rest as hand-maids. Some of them live like wilde beasts, and when they are neere time of travell, they goe to the wildernesse or untilled places, and there goe up and downe receiving the savour of that wilde place, which causeth to them quicker delivery. They after their delivery wash themselves and their children in a Lake or River, and then returne to their houses with

Brutish travell.

them in their armes without swadling them. Neither have they there wherewithall to doe it, or such custome: nor have any Bed to lie on, but a Mat, or locke of straw.

When any of them die, the kindred, friends, and neighbours assemble, and bewaile him all that day in which he dieth, and the same day lay him on a Mat, or Seat where hee died; and if he had any cloth or garment, bury him therein, otherwise, naked. They make a hole in the Desart (or wilde untilled place) and set by him a vessell of water and a little Mais, to eate and drinke (they say) in his journey to the other life; and without more ceremonies cover him with earth, and lay on the hole the Mat, or the Chaire in which he was brought to buriall, where they consume without any more respect, although they be new. For they hold it ominous to touch that Mat or Seat in which one died, as boding death or some ill. The kindred and friends lament him eight dayes from morning to noone, and an houre at Sunne-set: which mourning they performe with dances and drerie songs, and speeches, all together on foot in a round circle; and now and then one of the standers by enters into the middle of the circle, and makes a turne or two, and then takes his place againe: and after the mourning finished, they all sit in a round and eate and drinke for the soule of the deceased whom they mourne for, and then returne home. The next kindred are at this cost. *Funerals.* *Lamentations.*

These Cafars are cruell and inhumane to one another. If any of them bee sicke, and have no wife, kindred, or friends to looke to him, no other Cafar will give him any thing, but let him starve; and die forlorne without taking on him any compassion, although he see him readie to perish with hunger; of which sicknesse most of them die, through miserable povertie and improvident and prodigality. And when they doe the most, some friend takes the forlorne man, carries him to the wilde uncultivated place, and layes him at some bush, or at the foot of a tree, with a little Vessell of water to drinke and a little Mais to eate if he can; and so leaves him till he dyes *Inhumanitie, famine, and beggarie.* [II.ix.1542.]

without more care of him: And although some Cafar passe by, and see him groane or lament, yet will hee give him no helpe. And this brutishnesse is so naturall to them, that some, when they feele themselves deadly sicke, take order to bee so carryed to the Wildernesse, and laid at the foote of a Bush, and there dye like beasts.

White Cafres. In Mocaranga some Parents as blacke as Pitch, have white Goldi-locked children like Flemmings. Whiles I was in the Countrey, the Quiteve nourished one white childe in the Court, as a strange Prodigie. The Manamotapa kept two other white Cafres with like admiration. The Cafres say such are the Children of the Devill, begotten of blacke women by him when they are asleepe. I saw at Goa a white Cafar Wench in Dom. Hieronimo Continho his House, given him by the Vice-Roy Dom. Francisco da Gama, and after (he returning Captayne Major of the ships) at Saint Helena: and although both her Parents were Negroes, shee was so white that her Eyelids were also of that colour.

Numerous issue, & strange Nurses. In the River Inhaguea betwixt Sofala and Luabo, a Negro of sixtie yeares brought forth and suckled a Child. Many Cafres have two or three children at a Birth. One Peter a Christian Cafar at Sofala, his Wife dying after travell of a Daughter, nourished the same with Milke of his owne brests a whole yeare, at the end whereof it dyed of Wormes, and then the Milke dryed up in his brests. He told mee, that pitie of the Motherlesse crying Infant, which his povertie could not otherwise releeve, caused him to seeke to still it with laying it to his brest, and then gave it somewhat to drinke, which having continued two or three dayes his brest began to yeeld Milke. Persons of credit in India told me the like of a poore Jew of Ormus, which nourished his Sonne with his brests, the Mother dying when it was young, in the Castle. A Cafar in the River Quilimane had brests great, and bearing out like a woman which gives suck, but had no Milke therein. After my returne to Portugall, I heard by eye-witnesses of *Moura.* a poore man in Moura, which being sixtie yeares old, had

as much Milke as a woman Nurse, and gave sucke to two children.

King Sebastian sent Francis Barret, with title of Governour and Captayne Generall of a great Armada, to goe to Sofala, to conquer the Golden Mines in the Kingdome of Mocaranga, and particularly those of Manica. In the Conquest whereof he made great Warres with the Quiteve, who reigneth over the Countrey in the way from Sofala to Manica, the Mines beeing in the Neighbour Kingdome of Chicangua. In these passages by Land or River, the Quiteve opposed himselfe with many Battels; who notwithstanding pierced the Countrey to Zimbaohe, and made the Quiteve flie to the Mountaynes, with his women and people. Hee fired the Citie and passed two dayes further without opposition. Then the Chicanga sent him provision (whereof he had great want) intimating his joy to see him in his Kingdome; which hee requited with a Present, and came to his Citie, where he was kindly entertayned, a peace concluded with grant of free Merchandising. The Portugals had conceited themselves of so much Gold, that they thought they might fill sackes, and take as much as they listed; but when they saw the trouble, difficultie and danger of life which the Cafres sustayned to get it forth of the earth and stones, their minds were altered. They get it three wayes, one by making Mines (which sometime fall on them) and following the veines which they know, take thence the Earth, washing the same in bolls. Another, after Raines, searching the Brookes of the fields and hils where they find pieces of Gold: the third, out of certayne stones in particular Mines, which have veines of Gold, which they breake into poulder, and wash the same in bolls, where the rest runneth away with the water, the Gold remayning in the bottome. This third they call Matuca, and is the basest, the other Dahabo.

Barrets invasion.

Chicanga.

Three wayes of getting Gold.

Matuca and Dahabo.

Barret at his returne thought of revenge upon the Quiteve, which he prevented with courtesies and presents: and agreement was made betwixt them, that the Captayne

Tribute to the Quiteve.

of Sofala should yearely give the Quiteve two hundred Clothes for free and secure passage thorow his Countrey to Chicanga, which are worth at Sofala more then one hundred Cruzados, and amongst the Cafres, above one hundred thousand Reys. For this tribute which they call Curua, the Quiteve sends foure Embassadors yearely, called Mutumes; one of which represents his Person, and he alone is holden in like respect and reverence in that Journey; the second is called the Kings Mouth, whose Office is to deliver the Kings Message; the third they call the Kings Eye, who is appointed Over-seer of all hee sees done, to relate the same to him at their returne; the fourth is called the Kings Eare, and is to heare all that is spoken on both parts. They are all Lords, and sometimes the Kings Sonnes, he especially which represents his person; and are presented by the Cafres in the way; and bring above one hundred others with them in company to carrie the Curua and their Gifts. When they are neere Sofala, the Captayne sends principall Moores to conduct them to the Castle. Before them goe Labourers, and Dancers in great bravery, their heads adorned with plumes of Cockes tayles: next follow Cafres, in a ranke or file, and after them the Mutumes in their order, he being last which represents the Quiteves person, and with him the Xeque or Principall Moore. The Captayne entertaynes them in the Hall, accompanied with all the Portugals in the Towne, and after lodgeth them in the Moores houses, and furnisheth them with provision seven or eight dayes. The Captayne sometimes dischargeth the Ordnance of the Castle to honour them; but they desired the Quiteve, being afraid of that Thunder, to send to the Portugalls to hide their Inhuates or Gunnes, when they came to demand the Curua; which he did accordingly. The Cafres pay their Tribute to the Quiteve, in every Village or Towne making one great heape of Mais for the King; and every Inhabitant being further bound to labour in the Kings Workes certayne dayes of the yeare, in digging, sowing, &c. The Merchants pay besides three of twentie of their

Strange Embassage.

[II.ix.1543.]

Quiteves Tribute of the Cafres.

Merchandise. The Portugals which trade to Manica pay one cloth of twentie, and so of other wares.

Moores of Sofala their customes.

The Moores of Sofala have customes no lesse barbarous. If one of them marrie, he seekes out another lustie Moore which may carrie him on his backe on the Marriage day from his owne house to the Brides, albeit it bee halfe a league off, without resting by the way: for if hee rests, that day is held unluckie, and hee must seeke a stronger to performe it without resting on another day, or else the Marriage is marred and broken off. They are also very poore, yet will have a fine cloth to be buried in; which buriall is like that before of the Cafres, in the wild untilled fields or woods; and in the Grave they set Rice, Mais, and Water. Upon the Grave they set two stones one at the head, the other at the feet, which they anoynt with Sanders ground and smelling: the kindred after continuing to anoynt the stones and set Rice on the Grave. The Christians there were as scrupulous of the Mats or Chaires of their slaves deceased: but I bestowed them on the fire or water; and they besought me of Charitie to forbeare, lest some evils should befall them from the dead. Both Moores, Cafres, and Christians of Sofala are much addicted to Dreames, and give much credit to them, notwithstanding they often find them false, and are otherwise very superstitious.

An honorable title to be called the Kings Wife.

In the River of Sofala, foure leagues from the Fort is the Iland Maroupe, eight leagues long and a league and halfe broad. The Quiteve gave the better part of it to Roderigo Lobo, and also the title of his Wife, a fashion of courtesie by him used to the Portugals, which he loves, intimating his respect no lesse to them then to his Wife, and the Cafres do much honour to those whom hee honoureth with that Title. That Iland hath excellent game for fishing and hunting of divers beasts which they take divers wayes; by digging pits three yards long, halfe that breadth at the top and straighter at the bottome of a mans height in deepnesse covered with stickes, and on them boughes or straw: another way is with multitudes to

encompasse a place like a halfe Moone; and then put in Dogges which by barking scarre the beasts to the River, where they are provided with Boats and Assagayes for that purpose: a third way is when the River over-floweth, and all the beasts betake them to some higher places of the Iland, where they are easily assailed with Arrowes and Assagaies in Boats. And there stand Elephants, Lions, Tygres, Eunuches, Deere, wild Kine, Swine, and other wild beasts together, without hurting one another, as they did in Noahs Arke, all awed with the feare of the waters. It hapned that the said Lobo once with other beasts killed a Lion, which might have endangered him the losse of the Ile, and of his life, had he beene a Cafar; neither dare or will the Cafres bee silent. Whereupon hee sent the Quiteve a Present of twentie Clothes and the Lion, saying, that he the Kings Wife was sowing for his Husband, and that Lion came and assayled him, whereupon he strucke him with the end of his Spade for his Husbands honor, and hath now sent him dead to take revenge on him for the discourtesie done to his Wife. His Presents and present wit excused him. The Cafres most of them have bad and broken teeth, which (they say) comes by the wet and fennie soile, and of eating parched Pulse hote. Most of them also have Ruptures, some so much that thereby they cannot goe.

§. III.

Of the River Cuama, and the adjacent Countrey; the Beasts, Fowles, Fishes of those parts: the Hils of Lupata; of the Mongas, Rusumba, Sena, Tere, Massapa, and of the Kingdome of Manamotapa; Also of Ophir, and of the Golden Mines of Fura.

Cuama or Zambeze a great river described.

THe River Cuama is by them called Zambeze; the head whereof is so farre within Land that none of them know it, but by tradition of their Progenitors say it comes from a Lake in the midst of the Con-

tinent, which yeelds also other great Rivers, divers wayes visiting the Sea. They call it Zambeze, of a Nation of Cafres dwelling neere that Lake, which are so called. It hath a strong current, and is in divers places more then a league broad. Twentie leagues before it enters the Sea, [II.ix.1544.] it divides it selfe into two armes, each Daughter as great as the Mother, which thirtie leagues distant pay their Tribute to the Father of waters. The principall of them is called Luabo, which also divides it selfe into two branches, one called Old Luabo, the other Old Cuama. The other lesse principall Arme is named Quilimane, (the River Dos Bons Sinaes by Vasco di Gama, when hee discovered India) for the good newes which there he received of Mosambique, and therefore he there set up a stone Pillar with a Crosse, and the Armes of Portugall, and named the Countrey Terra de sancta Raphael.) This River hath also another great arme issuing from it, called the River of Linde: so that Zambeze enters the Sea with five mouthes or Armes very great. *River of good signes.*

Luabo is sailed all the yeere long, but Quilimane only in the Winter. They saile up this River West North-west above two hundred leagues, to the Kingdome of Sacumbe, where it makes a great Fall from Rockes, beyond which they goe up the River twentie leagues to the Kingdome of Chicova, in which are Mines of Silver, which cannot be sailed by reason of the strong current: but from Chicova upwards it is Navigable, but how farre they know not. Luabo hath its name of an Iland so called in the Barre thereof in nineteene degrees, which Iland divides old Luabo on the South from Old Cuama, on the North: and in the East each salutes the other by entercourse of a streame five leagues long, which is the length and breadth of the Iland, peopled with Moores and Cafres. The Pangayos or great Barkes of Mosambique here discharge, being too great to passe higher, and carrie their goods in a Fleet of small Boates to the Fort of Sena, which is sixty leagues. The Land on the North-side is called Bororo, on the South Botonga. In the midst of the River are *Sacumbe Falls.* *Chicova.* *Luaba Iland.*

Chingoma.

many Ilands, some very great; the biggest and best is called Chingoma; at the end whereof Zambeze divides it selfe into Luabo and Quilimane.

The second Ile of Note is Inhangoma, neere the Fort of Sena, tenne leagues long, and in some places a league and a halfe broad. The Portugals saile here by day, and fasten themselves to the Ilands by nights, by reason of the Currents and Shallowes. The Cafres inhabiting by the way, come with their Boats and sell them victuals, whereof the overflowing of the River makes the Countrey plentifull. In March and Aprill the fields are over-flowne and other Rivers filled from hence; and yet have they there in those Moneths no raines, nor melting of any Snowes, whereby it appeares that those Inundations come from farre Countries. In this time the Countrey is sickly, and many Cafres dye of Diseases, then bred by the grosse Ayres, caused by the waters.

It seemes that Cuama and Nilus receives not their waters from the same Lake, their increase being in so differing Times.

In these Rivers are many Zovo or Zoo, so they call the River-horses, greater then two of our Horses together, with thick and short hinder-legs, having five clawes on each fore-foot, and foure on the hinder-foot; the footing large as it were of an Elephant; the mouth wide and ful of teeth, foure of which are remarkable, each above two palmes (or spans) long, the two lower straight up, and those above turned like a Bores tusks, all foure being above a great spanne eminent from the mouth. The head is as big as of three Oxen. I saw a Skull of one of them at a Cafres doore so great that he made his Sonne (a Boy of seven or eight yeares of age) to sit downe in the mouth upon the nether jaw, closing the jawes together. They live commonly in the waters, but feed on the Land on grasse and boughes, and doe much hurt to sowed fields of Mais and Rice, both with feeding and treading. They are like to our Horses only in face, eyes, eares, and after a sort in neighing. They are jealous, and two Males goe not together; if two meete, they fight and sometimes kill each other: A drove or company of the Females have but one Male, as a Cocke amongst Hens, the lesse fleeing

River-horse described.

from the greater: and when the Female hath a Male Colt, she keeps alone with her yongling, lest the Sire should kill it. They bring forth their yong on Land, and having licked them well, returne to the River, and there nourish them with Milke of their teats like our Mares. Their Hides are much thicker then an Oxe-hide, all of one colour, ash-coloured gray, most of them with a white strake on the face all quite downe, and a starre in the fore-head, haire rough; mane little and short. They are much subject to the falling sicknesse, in which they beate their brests with their left fore-feet very strongly bending the same backe, and falling thereon, and in that fit are often seene and sometimes slaine by the Cafres. They are very bold in the water, and very fearefull by Land, as I have seene by experience. The Cafres take them in pits which they digge and cover with boughes and grasse, betwixt the River and the Corne-fields, where being falne they are easily killed: likewise they lay in their Corne grounds, halfe covered with earth, thicke boards of a yard long full of sharpe Harping Irons; whereon the Horse treading cannot free his foot, nor goe away, nor breake the boards, and so are exposed to slaughter. They also strike them in their Boats with Harping Irons fastned to the Boate by a Cord, which he drawes after him, and after with Assagays and Arrowes, being tyred, they dispatch him, and share this their Venison amongst the Hunters. In my Journey up the River Luabo, to Sena, I saw ten or twelve Boats in this Horse-chase. The Cafres report that a Lion pursued a Deere to the River, where he without, and a Crocodile in the water, seased on her, as two Champions of the two Elements, in so equall force that neither prevayled, and at (last) many Cafres came, and with noyse parted the Fray first, and then the prey.

Alongst the Bankes runne many wilde Beasts, Lions, Tygres, Ounces, Rhinocerotes, Elephants, Buffals very [II.ix.1545.] fierce, wilde Kine (like to our tame) wilde Horses, in *Wilde Horses.* Mane and Neighing like ours, of cleere Chesnut colour, somewhat dunne, they have smoothe streight hornes like

a Deare without snags, and cloven hoofes like an Oxe. *Wilde Asses.* The Cafres call it Empophos. They have wilde Asses of Russetish colour, with hornes and cloven feete, which they call Merus, the flesh as good as of Kine. They have great *Zevra, see sup.* 984. varietie of Wormes, and many Zevras made like Mules, and like them holding their heads toward their fore-legs when they runne, cloven footed, with strakes over all their body of white and blacke two fingers broad, the haire soft and smoothe. They have many Nondos which are like Galician Hobbies, of darke Chesnut colour, the haire soft and short, the backe as if it were broken, the hinder legs shorter then the former. They have Deeres, Hares, many Civet Cats; great Apes and Monkeys; the female Monkeys have their monethly purgation like Women. There *Wilde Dogs.* is a kind of Dogs, called Impumpes, which goe a companie of them together to seeke their prey, swift Runners, and sure Biters, a middle kinde of Curre which barke not, red on the backe and white bellied, running away from men. They bite on the Legs and Rumpes, plucking out each morsell, till with weaknesse and wearinesse the prey be *A strange Worme.* their owne. They have a kinde of Worme, called Inhazaras, as great as Hogs and fashioned somewhat like, with thin and blacke haire, five fingers like the fingers of a man on each hinder foot, and foure on the fore-foot, and long nailes thereon. They live in holes under the ground like Conie-berries, with two or three entrances. They live upon Ants, putting their tongues (two spans and a halfe long, like a wax candle) into the Ant-holes (which they scrape with their clawes) whereon the Ants running they pull it in, and so feed and fill themselves. One of our slaves killed one of them and brought it home; opened it and found no dung in the belly but winde, and some have thought that they lived onely on Aire, and they are often found gaping against the winde. The flesh of them is good to eate, tastes like Porke, especially the inwards; but without fat. The snout is very long and slender, long eares like a Mule, without haire, the taile thick and strait of a spanne long, fashioned at the end like a Distaffe.

They have great Lizards, of which I have seene one dead a yard and a halfe long, as bigge as a mans thigh: they have great and sharpe teeth, a blacke tongue, harped in the end. They bite venomously, but their poyson is not deadly. There are Snakes of eighteene or twentie spannes, as bigge as a mans legge; they kill Sheepe, Goats, Swine, Hens, and are very poysonfull. In the Kingdome of Biri neere Manica, are small Snakes, called Ruca Inhanga, so poysonfull that Trees or Herbes which they bite, wither: and if they bite a quick thing, it swels like a Bottle, and in foure and twentie houres, the haires, hoofes, hornes and teeth fall away and it dyeth, except counter-poyson bee applyed. Of these Snakes the King of Biri makes a confection to poyson Arrowes, which drawing bloud cause the effects aforesaid: no Subject is permitted to use the same. A certayne Cafre bitten by one of these Snakes, got it in his hands, and bit it againe so angerly, that they both dyed the same day. Their Lions are dreadfull, of a darke gray or durtie ash-colour, not spotted. The Ounce is spotted, bigger then a Gray-hound and longer, made much like our Cats, and prey on Cats, and Dogs, and Cattell, which they therefore shut up every night. There are innumerable Wormes like Beetles, whose tailes shine in the night like burning coales, and are so many that they enlighten all the ayre. There are Rats whose bite is venomous, and their smell very sweet of Muske. Great Bats they have as bigge as Pigeons, which the Cafers kill, flay, and eate as savourly as Hens. They have in the wilde fields blacke Tortoises, as bigge as Bucklers, fleshy and fat, which they boyle and rost for dainties. They have many Zangaons, Flies of a strange mixture. They make a Ball of Clay, which they fasten on the Walls or Tiles made full of holes like a Bee-hive; in each hole they put a little Worme, such as breed in holes, some white, some blacke, some greene, or gray, of divers kindes, whatsoever they finds; and then stop the mouth of the Ball or Hive with new Clay. These enclosed Wormes beget Zangaons with legs and wings, which eate thorow the Clay, and flie out

Muske Rats venemous.

Zangaons, a kind of Flies of a various kinde.

and breede, so that of divers kindes there is made one kinde very wonderfull. They have divers kindes of Birds, some of faire Colours and Notes, brought up in Cages; Doves, some with golden wings very faire; Geese of three sorts, one greater then those of Portugal, blacke on the backe, and white on the belly, with a red crest on the head, hard and sharpe like a horne; many Cranes; Pelicans as bigge as Turky-cocks, whitish, with feet very thick and short, living in the River on Fish; Ravens as bigge as Peahens, and of that fashion, but the wings blackish, without feathers on the necke and head, covered there with a white ragged skin full of Dandrow; they frequent the Coast and Dung-hill for Carrion, and for mens dung. They have one kinde of Fowles, called Curûanes, as bigge as Cranes, but more beautifull, the back like black Sattin, exceeding white on the belly and breast: the neck two spannes and a halfe long, covered with fine white feathers like silke, which are excellent for plumes: upon the head it hath a Cap of blacke feathers, very faire (as our gold Finches have red) and in the midst thereof a crest or plume almost a span long, of white, fine, strait feathers, equall on the top, and there spreading themselves into a round forme, like a very white Mushrom with a white stalke, and resembling a Sombrero de Sol (or Indian Canopee to keepe off the Sunne.) The Cafars call this the King of Birds, because their Kings have such a Sombreiro, and for the greatnesse and beautie of them.

Curûanes, Birds of great beautie.

[II.ix.1546.] A Portugall in Sofala told mee, that going to traffique for ivorie in the firme Land of Mambone, over against the Iles of Boçicas, hee had a Monkie in a chaine fastened to a Blocke or Clog (which weighed ten or twelve pounds) who one day being abroad, there came a bird of prey of a huge bignesse, and seising on him with his talons, carried him away together with his Clog, and not very farre off did eate him, the Chaine and Clog being after found. In those parts, hee said, are many of them which doe much hurt, carrying away Kids, and Pigs, and Hens. There is a kind of birds like Canarie birds, but with long tailes,

Birds of great force.

Birds of great wit.

which live on wax, and search in the wild untilled places for Bee-hives, whereof, there are many in holes in the ground, and in hollow trees, and finding any, they goe to the waies to shew it to some people which passe by (which they doe by going before them crying and beating their wings from bough to bough, till they finde the Hive or Bee-hole) and the people knowing their fashion follow them, where the one shares the Honie, the other the Wax, and the dead Bees therein. They call these birds Sazu. I have seene them often enter into our Church to eate the Wax, where the boyes have catched some of them. There is another sort which lives on the fruit of their owne labours: for they with their hard bills pecke holes on the tops of trees, where the armes begin to spread, and therein put a stone of a fruit which they eate, which springs within, and glues it selfe like a new grasse of that Tree (so that there are many Trees of two kindes, by reason of this foster-plant of another leafe and fruit) and of the fruit thereof the Birds sustayne themselves: they are of the bignesse and fashion of Jack-dawes, but grayish. There is a Bird, called Minga, greene and yellow very faire, like in forme to Pigeons, which never tread on the ground, their feet being so short that they can scarce be discerned. They settle on Trees of the fruits whereof they live; and when they will flie, they fall downe with their wings closed, which they open in the ayre: when they drinke they flie on the tops of the waters; and if they fall on the ground they cannot rise; they are fat and savourie. There are said to be of those Cinçoes there, which live on Dew, like those in Mexico, of whose fine curious feathers they make pictures.

Birds of great providence.

Birds proper of the ayre.

Oviedo calls them Tomineios.

In the River of Sofala is store of Fish fat and savorie, as Mullets, Needles, Dolphins, &c. One strange fish in qualitie is common in those Rivers, which the Portugals call Tremedor, and the Cafres, Thinta, of such nature that no man can take it in his hand whiles it is alive, for it filleth the hand and arme with paine, as if every joynt would goe asunder; but being dead is as another fish,

Historie of Fishes. The Torpedo see sup. 1183 *& inf. c.* 13. §. 2.

and much esteemed for good meate. The Naturals say, that the skin of this fish is used to sorceries. It is medicinable against the Cholick, rosted and ground to powder and drunke in Wine. The biggest of them is two spannes and halfe long, the skin blackish, rough and thick.

Taile eating Macone. There is another fish bred in Lakes, called Macone, somewhat like a Lamprey with holes in the neck, and in shape spotted like a water Snake. In Summer when the Lakes are drie, he lyes a spanne deepe in the earth with his taile in his mouth, which he sucketh for his sustenance till the raynes come, above three moneths. In this manner he eates most of his taile, which growes againe as before, at the returne of the waters. The Cafres hunt them, digging the earth of the Lakes for them, and there finde them in this sort. I have often eaten of them. The Lakes in Winter are so filled, and stored from the River *Red Herrings.* with one kinde, called Enxavos, that the Hogs feed themselves therewith. The Memune is of so strong a sent that none can endure it, but the Cafres; and they eate it, getting great store in the Winter, and smoke them for the whole yeeres provision.

Five leagues from Sofala are the Iles Boçicas towards *Women fishes.* the South, in which Sea are many Women fishes, which the people take with great hookes and lines, with chaines of Iron made for that purpose; and of the flesh thereof they *Fish-sow bacon.* hang, and smoke it as it were Bacon. The flesh is good and fat, of which we have oft eaten, sodden with Cabbages and dressed with its owne sawce. From the belly to the neck it is very like a Woman; the Female nourisheth her young with her breasts which are like a Womans. From the belly downward it hath a thick and long taile with finnes like a Dolphin; the skin white on the belly, on the backe rougher then a Dolphins. It hath armes ending from the elbowes in finnes, and hath no hands. The face is plaine, round, deformed, bigger then a mans, without humane semblance, wide mouthed, thick hanging lips as a Hound, foure teeth hanging out almost a span, like the tuskes of a Boare (which are accounted very good

for the Piles, and against fluxe of bloud) their Nostrils are like a Calfe. There are many Oysters which breede the Pearle, which they take with diving, fastning a Cord to their middle, and holding stones in their hands (which when they are at the bottome they let goe) and fill a Basket, which is let downe from the Boat with a Cord, having a stone in it to make it sinke, which being full, is drawne up; and then to it againe. They are so used to it that they will continue halfe a quarter of an houre under the water. *Pearle Oysters.*

Ambargrice is said to grow in the bottome of the Sea, and with the moving of the Sea to bee broken and rise to the top; wherefore after great Stormes and Tempests the Cafres goe seeking for it by the Shoares, and find many peeces which they sell to the Moores and Portugals. They have three sorts of Ambar, one very white, called Ambar gris; the second gray, called Mexueyra; the third blacke as pitch, which is often found soft, of ill smell, which Whales and other Fishes eate. The Whales doe not breede it and vomit it, as some say, for peeces have there beene found of twentie pound. And 1596. a piece of excellent white Ambar was found neere to Brava, so great and high that set in the midst they could not see one another, which were on the opposite sides. *Ambargrice.* [II.ix.1547.]

The Crocodile is five and twentie spans long, and thicker then a man; they are cowardly on Land, cruell in the water, greene with darke yellow spots, and gray, and blacke; they have many rewes of Teeth, no Tongue. The Cafres call them Goma. They lay many Egges in a hole in the Sand, which the Sunne hatcheth. The Cafres oft find their Egges. They first drowne and then eate their prey, wetting every bit in water, which otherwise they cannot swallow. Their Livers are Poyson; and the Quiteve prohibits for this cause to kil any under paine of death. Some Cafres say, that one Lobe of the Liver is Poyson, and the other Counterpoyson. They lye Morning and Evening on the Sands, a little out of the water with their mouthes open against the Sunne to catch Flyes, *The Crocodile.*

who invited thither by the ill sent, sucke away the filth, which stickes on their eyes and nostrils, and devoured for their labour at last betweene their teeth. The old ones have mosse on their heads. The Cafres catch them with flesh bayted on a bigge piece of wood two spans long and strait, hidden in the flesh, and cast into the water, where the Crocodile devoures both: the Cafar seing his line stirre, drawes him to the banke with his mouth open, not able by reason of the wood crossing his throat to shut his mouth, or byte asunder the Cord; the water entring into his mouth chokes him; which done, they draw him to Land and eate him. They stinke * most abominably; insomuch, that I and some others passing the River from Maroupe to Sofala, were faine to stop our Noses, the Cafars laughing, and saying it was the ventositie or wind-breaking of the Crocodile which came from forth the waters, and yeelded such unsufferable stinke thorow all that part of the River. Alongst the River of Sofala growes a certayne herbe which they call Miciriri, where-with the Cafres anoynt themselves when they go a fishing, by vertue whereof the Crocodiles cannot hurt them; it taking away from the teeth their power and dulling them as if they were of Waxe. And for proofe before they use it, they put some of it on their owne heads, and if it disables them to chew any thing, they account it good, and use the juyce, not daring otherwise to enter the River for feare of Crocodiles.

**This stinke is a Muskie sent: see Jobson.*

Gabriell Rebello in his Tract of the Maluccos, writes that there are some with foure eies, two in the Front, and two in the Throat.

Miciriri a strange herbe.

Alongst the River grow Cottons and Sugar-canes, which they sow for backe and belly. In the Countrey grow many medicinable Plants, especially on the Hils of Lupata, where grow wild Douradinha, or guilt Wood, wilde Aguila, very sweet, Cannafistola, and another Plant with which the Cafres purge themselves, another to stanch bloud, another to cure wounds very effectually, another to provoke mirth and jollitie.

Lupata Hils. These hils of Lupata are mid-way from Sena, to Tete, which are sixtie leagues distant up the River, ninetie leagues from Sea, very high, craggie, of large extension,

therefore by the Cafres called, The Backe-bone of the World. The River Zambeze forceth their stonie heart to yeeld him passage; in some places as affrighted lifting themselves steepe upright in the Ayre, in others with beetle overhanging browes expressing their frowning indignation, as if they would fall upon that pressing and piercing Enemie, which yet swiftly flyeth and lightly escapeth, ever continuing that breach in which it never continueth. Thus with menacing looks, they face & threaten the waters, and with strait gripes offer in vaine to stay their course; which hereby indangered, haste away ever to avoyde that which they ever haste to obtayne; this mutuall strife causing a dangerous Current-combate, not so much to each other, as the Boates and Merchants which passe this way, often feeling the furie of both till they can feele neither; both men and goods confiscated to their furie. *Zambeze.*

These Hils traverse the Kingdome of a King called Mongas, which hath this River on the South, and reach to the Lands of Manamotapa. These Mongas are the most warlike Cafres, which confine on this River, and have often fought with the Portugals. In one battell they had an old Witch which came before them, and being betwixt both Campes, tooke certayne powders out of a Pompion rinde which shee had brought and threw them into the Ayre against the Portugalls, but in the midst of her Sorceries she was slaine with a Falcon shot, which successe followed the other Cafres which trusted in her, and peace not long after was concluded on both parts. *Mongas.*

Beneath these Hils is a goodly Lake called Rufumba, of three leagues circuit, with an Iland in the midst very high, in which is a great Tamarind or Date * tree, of the bignesse and fashion of a Pine; the leaves whereof open with the rising, and close with the going downe of the Sunne. In it is a Grove called Chipanga, accounted sacred, in which the Neighbour Cafres bury their dead, conceiving that the soules departed enter into the Crocodiles (whereof there are great store) and therefore also often set them meate. There is in this Lake a Spring which swelleth *Rufumba.* **Tamarinheiro.* *Crocodile-Purgatory.*

out in five heads a yard distant from each other, of differing heate, and one unsufferable. The like is in a place above Tete, neere the River called Empongo. A small River neere Tete is of Salt water like the Sea, from which it is one hundred and twentie leagues distant. In Mocaranga are many such Salt Lakes and Rivers. In the great River Mangania, is a Salt Spring two hundred leagues from Sea, which turnes also all the Wood throwne in, into hard stones.

Strange Springs.

In Alenteio a Province of Portugall at Exuedall, is a spring which runs with store of water all Summer, making [II.ix.1548.] a good streame which waters many Gardens, and drives many Mills from Aprill to September; and is dry in Winter; and with another greater wonder, the same water where it stands, turnes into stone like Pumice, which ever so continueth, and puts on a stonie Coate on every piece of wood, which is throwne into the Spring-head or running streame, and makes it like a Cane of stone: as it doth also the grasse; and every yeare they must cleere the passages from stone.

Sena.

Sena is a Fort of Lime and Stone, furnished with Artillery; the Captayne is placed by the Captayne of Mosambique. There were in my time eight hundred Christians, of which, fiftie Portugalls. Seven or eight leagues from hence on the other side of the River, is the high Hill Chiri, which may be seene twentie leagues off, the Hill and Valleys exceeding fertile. To this Factory of Sena, they come from Tete to buy Merchandize with their Gold.

Tete.

Tete is a stone Fort sixtie leagues further up the River in the Kingdome of Inhabaze, under the Manamotapa, the Captayne is placed by the Captayne of Mosambique. In this place were in my time sixe hundred Christians, of them fortie Portugalls. These one hundred and twentie leagues the Portugalls goe up the River, and from thence goe by Land with their Merchandize. The Countrey is very fertile, and Portugall wares are here sold at great prizes. From Tete they goe with their wares

thorow a great part of Manamotapa to three Marts, Massapa, Luanze, Manzovo, in which the Inhabitants of Sena, and Tete have houses and Factories, thence to store all the Countrey.

Massapa.

Massapa is the chiefe, where resides a Portugall Captayne, presented by the Portugalls, and confirmed by the Manamotapa, which cals him his Great Wife, a name of honour, as before is observed. This Captayne holds jurisdiction over all the Cafres without Appeale, as also over the Portugalls in that Kingdome, granted by the Vice-Royes, as all other Captaynes of those parts have. This Captayne of Massapa treats all businesse with the Manamotapa, whose Customer he is also, taking one cloth of twentie, in which respect the Countrey is free to them. But beyond Massapa, neerer the Manamotapa, one may goe without license from the King or the Captayne. The Captayne hath an Azagay of blacke Wood pointed with Gold, for his Ensigne or Rod of Authoritie. The Captayne of Mosambique payes at his entrance to the Manamotapa, three thousand Cruzados in goods for the three yeares of his Captayne-ship, for free Trade in his Countreyes, which they may travell securely laden with Gold; it beeing never knowne that Theeves assaile them, or any without the Kings authoritie. He sends his Mutumes to Sena for his Curua, in the same manner and order that the Quiteve useth at Sofala; but at Sena the Captayne delivers it to a Portugall (whom he sends as Embassador to the Manamotapa, in the name of the Captayne of Mosambique) in the presence of the Mutumes.

The Kingdom of Manamotapa.

This Kingdome of Manamotapa, is scituate in Mocaranga, which in times past was wholly of the Manamotapan Empire, but now is divided into foure Kingdomes, to wit, this of Manamotapa, that of Quiteve, the third of Sedanda and the fourth of Checanga. This division was made by a Manamotapan Emperour, who not willing or not able to governe so remote Countreyes, sent his Sonne Quiteve to governe that part which runnes along the River of Sofala, and Sedanda another Sonne, to that which Sabia washeth,

a River which visits the Sea before the Boçiças: and Chicanga a third Sonne to the Lands of Manica. These three after their Fathers death would never acknowledge their Brother his Successor: and the same not without yeerely warring with each other, continues to their Posteritie. Yet is the Kingdome of the Manamotapa, bigger then the other three together. The Cafres call them all Mocarangas, because they speake the Mocaranga Tongue.

Manamotapa 200. leagues square.

This Kingdome of Manamotapa is above two hundred leagues long, and as much broad. On the North-west he confines with the Kingdome of Abutua (the King and Kingdome have the same name) which they say, stretcheth thorow the Continent to the borders of Angola. I have seene in Sofala a Commoditie bought by a Portugall in Manica, brought thither by the Cafres of Abutua, which had come from Portugall by the way of Angola. In this Kingdome of Abutua is much fine Gold, but the Naturals being farre from the Portugals, doe not much seeke after it, but rather to multiply their cattle of which they have abundance. On the East Manamotapa confineth with the River Zambeze, which the Manamotapans call Empando, which signifieth Rebelling against his King: for say they, were it not for the River, the Manamotapa would bee Lord of the Countrey on the other-side, to which he cannot passe his Armie for want of Boats. On the South-west this Kingdome extendeth to the Ocean, into which it enters with a point of Land of ten or twelve leagues large, from the River Luabo, to that of Tandanculo. The rest of the Lands Southwards to the River Inhanabane, and devided betwixt the three Kings, which rebelled as is said: from Tendanculo to Sofala, the Quiteve reigneth: thence to the South is the Kingdome of Sabia, under the Sedanda, who is Lord also of Botonga to the Region Inhambane: within Land at the head of both these Kingdomes is Manica under the Chicanga, who is on the North-west, some hundreths of leagues remote from the Sea. On the North side of Manica, is Abutua, and on the

Trade from the Atlantike to the East Sea.

Manica, how bounded and rounded.

North-east is the Manamotapa, and to the South is a King called Biri. Those three Kings which rebelled are great, but the Quiteve is the greatest, and richest by trade with the Portugals for Stuffes and Beades (which is the Cafres wealth) and his people are the strongest of the Mocarangas, and the best Archers, and most expert at the Azagay.

Neere to Massapa is a great high Hill, called Fura, whence may bee discerned a great part of the Kingdome of Manamotapa: for which cause he will not suffer the Portugalls to goe thither, that they should not covet his great Countrey and hidden Mines. On the toppe of that Hill are yet standing pieces of old wals, and ancient ruines of lime and stone, which testifie that there have beene strong buildings: a thing not seene in all Cafraria. For the Kings houses are of wood, daubed with clay, and covered with straw. The Natives, and specially the Moores have a Tradition from their Ancestors, that those houses belonged to the Queene of Saba, which carryed much Gold thence downe the Cuama to the Sea, and so along the Coast of Æthiopia to the Red Sea. Others say that those Ruines were Salomons Factorie, and that this Fura or Afura is no other then Ophir, the name not much altered in so long time. This is certayne, that round about that hill, there is much and fine Gold. The Navigation might in those times be longer, for want of so good ships and Pilots as now are to be had, and by reason of much time spent in trucking with the Cafars, wherein even at this time the Merchants alway spend a yeare and more in that businesse, although the Cafars be growne more covetous of our Wares, and the Mines better knowne. They are so lazie to gather the Gold that they will not doe it till necessitie constrayne them. Much time is also spent in the Voyage by the Rivers, and by that Sea which hath differing Monsons, and can be sayled but by two winds, which blow sixe moneths from the East, and as many from the West. Salomons fleet had besides those mentioned, this let, that the Red Sea is not safely Navigable, but in

[II.ix.1549.] *Fura supposed to be Ophir.*

Old buildings of stone.

Q. of Saba.

Salomons Ofir.

the day, by reason of many Iles and shoalds; likewise it was necessary often to put to harbour for fresh water and other [a] provisions, and to take in new Pilots and Mariners, and to make reparations: which considered (with their creeping by shoare for want of the Compasse and experience in those Seas, and their Sabbath rests, and their trucke with the Cafres) might extend the whole Voyage in going, staying, and returning, to three yeares. Further the Ivory, Apes, Gemmes, and precious woods (which grow in the wild places of Tebe, within Sofala) whence they make Almadias or Canoas twentie yards long of one Timber; and much fine blacke wood (Ebonie) growes in that Coast, and is thence carryed to India and Portugall: all these may make the matter probable. As for Peacockes [b] I saw none there, but there must needs be some within Land; for I have seene some Cafers weare their Plumes on their heads. And as there is store of fine Gold, so also is there fine silver in Chicova where are rich Mines.

[a] *This by reason their ships were small, as that infancie of Navigation required: and besides they must carry the timber from one Sea to the other over land to build them: Neither were Hirams men expert in that Sea: and haply two Nations did not well agree to hasten the Voyage.*

In all the Regions of Manamotapa, or the greatest part thereof, are many Mines of Gold; and particularly in Chiroro, where is the most and most fine. They gather it as is said before, of Quiteve. It is paine of death for any Moore which discovers a Mine to take away any, besides his goods forfeited to the King. And if by chance any find a Mine, he is bound to cry out aloud, that some other Cafar may come to testifie that he takes none: and both are then to cover the place with Earth, and set a great bough thereon, to give warning to other Cafares to avoyd the place. For if they should come there, it would cost them their lives, although there be no proofe that he tooke any thing. This severitie is used to keep the Mines from the knowledge of the Portugals, lest covetous desire thereof might cause them to take away their Countrey. It is found in poulder like sand; in graines like beads; in pieces some smooth as they were melted, others branched with snags, others mixed so with Earth, that the Earth being well washed from them, they remayne like Honiecombes; those holes before full of red Earth,

[b] *See sup. pag. 975. store of Peacocks wild and tame, seen by A. Battle, up within the Land.*

Golden fetters.

Riches the cause of povertie.

seeming as though they were also to be turned into Gold. As for that in stone, we have alreadie spoken.

In the Lands confining with Manamotapa, on the North-west is the Kingdome of Chicova, famous for silver Mines. *Chicova.* It runs alongst the River Zambeze. After that Francis Barret was at Sofala to conquer the Mines of Manica, as before is said, he passed thence with his company to Cuama, to conquer the Mines of Chicova, and beneath the hils of Lupata, conquered the Mongas; whereupon other Cafres fled into the Desarts and hid themselves. Thus partly by the River, and partly by Land, he came to Chicova, and set downe his Campe, and much desired to discover some Mines. But no Cafar durst shew him for feare of losing their Countrey, which now they had abandoned to them; neither could they take any whom they might constraine by force, or induce any by promises to that designe. Yet one cheating fellow having gotten two stones out of a Mine, buried them in another place, and *Silver Mines.* came one Evening to the Governour to make shew of this *Barrets Conquest.* Mine, to whom having made that shew, and received a Reward, with promise to returne the next Morning, hee left the Portugals in the lurch, and never came againe. Thus after much triumph, for false hope of a Mine, hee was forced to leave the Countrey for want of Victuals, and returned downe the River to Sena, leaving there Antonio Cardoso d'Almeida, and two hundred men with provisions, fortified in a Trench of wood to procure that Discoverie. The Cafres fained a peace with him (by Treacherie to betray him) and after a League confirmed pretending to discover the Mine, brought them into an Ambush, where the most were slaine, the rest forced to their Fort, and there besieged and slaine every Mothers Sonne. The Governour melted those two stones, and found them to hold three parts silver, and but one of drosse. They have also Mines of Copper, and of very good Iron, of this making Instruments of Warre and Husbandry; of that Bracelets and Braveries for their armes and legs.

[II.ix.1550.] I will adde out of Barrius, Dec. 1. l. 10. this of the buildings above-said. There are in the Province Toroa (called also Butua) the oldest Mines in those parts. In the midst is a square stone Fort well wrought of great stones; the wall is five and twentie spannes large, the height not answerable. Over the Gate are seene strange Letters which some Learned Moores saw; but could not tell what Letters they were. And about the same building are some others somewhat like it. The Natives call them Simbaoni, that is, the Court: of which Palace all other the Kings Houses tooke name: within it is the Simbacaio, a great man which there keepes some of the Manamotapas women. The people are barbarous and know not who was the Author of those Buildings, saying, it was the worke of the Devill; for (judging other men by themselves) they thinke them impossible to Men. The Moores said that our Fort of Sofala was no way comparable. It is from Sofala five hundred and ten miles, betwixt twentie and one and twentie degrees of South latitude. In all that Countrey is no such building, and it seemed to the Moores very ancient. We may conjecture (saith Barrius) that this is Ptolemeys Agysimba, as the names Simbaoni and Simbacaio, seeme to import, &c.

§. IIII.

Of the Manamotapa his customes and of his Vassals; and of the adjoyning Kingdomes, (wherein other Authours have erred) Of Mosambique, Quiloa, Mombaza, Melinde, Magadoxo: of the Mombos and Zimbas cruelties. Of Quilimane, the Ilands on the Coast; the Macuas, and other African Observations.

ALthough the Manamotapa be greater then these three mentioned, yet hath he not other Kings Vassals or Tributaries to him: only some of his subjects called Encosses or Fumos, are great Lords, and

have Tenants subject to them. Botero therefore in his Relations, Gusman, and Osorius, were deceived by false information, giving to the Manamotapa, so large a Sea-coast with tributary Kings; which, I doubt, whether ever there was any such thing; at lest there is now no memory thereof. Philip Pigafetta * also from the Relations of Lopez, hath falsly described these Coasts and Kingdomes, and hath told a long Tale of Amazons in these parts, where neither are such, nor any memoriall of them. They tell also of the Royall Ensignes, a Spade of Gold with an Ivorie head to intimate his Husbandry; and two Arrowes, the notes of his Justice; and that he alwayes is accompanyed with Souldiers; but in all they deceive and are deceived. As for Bow and Arrowes, it is as ordinary with the Cafres as with the Portugalls, to weare a Sword in their Cities; none of them going out of doores without them. And in like manner when the Manamotapa goeth forth, hee carries in his hand his Bow and Arrowes, as likewise doe the Cafres which accompany him, as a custome and not as Warriours. Before him goeth a Cafre beating with his hand on a * great Cushion, to give notice that the King is at hand. When the Manamotapa will not carry his Bow, an Officer called Mascorira (which is as a Page of the Chamber) carries it; and the King carrieth in his hand an Azagay, or Javelin of blacke wood with the point of pure Gold, like the Iron head of a Lance, or three pieces of wood, called Fimbos, of two spannes and a halfe, wrought and slender. And when hee speakes with a Cafre, whom he will have dye, he lets fall one of these Fimbos, and his infices (Executioners) take and kill him with an Azagay; and so dye condemned persons.

*See sup. pag. 1022. in Lopez, the description of those Coasts after his forme. Let the Reader take this generall rule to beleeve our Authors in that which they saw; in other things received by Relations (as this of Lopez) to examine them with eye-witnesses, as here. For this cause, and sometime for want of eye-witnesses, we have briefly inserted such Relations. *Coixa.

He hath many women, and the principall, which is most respected, called Mazarira, is his entire sister a great friend of the Portugals, to whom when they give the King his Curua, they give a Present of Clothes. No man speakes with the King or with this Wife, but hee brings a Present; the Portugals give Beades, the Cafres Kine, or Goats, or Clothes: and when they are able to give nothing else, they

The Mazarira or Queene.

bring a Sacke of Earth to acknowledge subjection, or a bundle of straw to thatch the Kings Houses; for all the Houses in Cafraria are thatched. The Manamotapa which now reignes, is called Mambo, and his subjects use to sweare by his life, saying, Xè Mambo; and when they speake with him, they say Xè dico, as we, Please your Majestie. The Kings Children are called Manambo. Hee hath given leave to our Religious men in his Kingdomes, to convert and to build Churches; of which they have built three, to wit, at Massapa, Luanze, Bucutu, where live many Portugals.

As Joseph by the life of Pharao.

They speake the Mocaranga Tongue, the best Language of all the Cafres; and whereas the Moores of Africa and Arabia, draw their words out of the throat as if they would vomite; these pronounce their words with the end of the tongue and the lips, that they speake many words in a whistling accent, wherein they place great Elegance, as I have heard the Courtiers of Quiteve, and Manamotapa speake. Their stile of speaking is by Metaphors: and Similitudes very proper, and fitted to their purpose. The Manamotapa and his subjects, weare a white Periwinkle in the fore-head for a Jewell, fastned in the haire, and the King hath another great one on the brest. They call them Andoros, and they are odious to the Quiteve, as a device of the Manamotapan distinction. None of them cut the haire of the head or beard; yet are there very few long beards, for their haire growes little, neither doth it turne white till they are very old. They live commonly ninetie or an hundred yeares. They use Auguries and Divinations by lots, and have often conference with the Devill, who after his wont, lyeth often, and yet holds his credit with them. They say that the Manamotapa hath a house, wherein are hanged condemned persons, from whom the moysture drops downe in a Vessell, till they cease dropping, and then they are buried. Herewith they say is made an Oyntment, which he useth against Witchcrafts and for long life. They have many other Superstitions. Dom. George Meneses, sent to the Manamotapa a faire Grey-hound;

Their speech and phrase.

[II.ix.1551.]

Grey-hound greatly esteemed.

which he much loved and kept about him, and when hee dyed, (as it were by Testament) he commanded that as soone as they saw his breath departed, they should kill the Grey-hound, and a Cosset Ramme which he had brought up by hand, to doe him service in the other World: which was done accordingly, his Queene also drinking poyson (after the custome) for like purpose. The most of the Manamotapan customes are the same that are mentioned before of the Quiteve, and therefore need no further Repetition.

Tete Jurisdiction.

About Tete are eleven Townes of Cafres which have each their Encosse, or Cafar Captayne, all Vassals, and subject to the Jurisdiction of the Captayne of Tete. The Manamotapa having conquered those parts, distributed to diverse divers governments, and these to the Captayne of Tete and his Successors, to whom they are subject as to their King, asking his license when they will sow their grounds; the Encosse comming accompanied with some of his Cafres, and a Present, when they petition him. Before Tete, on the otherside of the River within Land to the East and North-east, are two kinds of Man-eating Cafres, the Mumbos and Zimbas or Muzimbas, who eate those they take in warre, and their slaves also when they are past labour, and sell it as Beefe or Mutton. The Captayne of Tete with his eleven Encosses, and their Companies slue sixe hundred of the Mumbos in a Battell, not leaving one alive, and carried away their Wives and Children Captives. This was at Chicoronga a Mumbos Towne, in which was a slaughter-house, where every day they butchered their Captives; neere which the Portugals found many Negroes, men and women, bound hand and foot, destined to the slaughter for the next dayes food, whom with many others they freed. They undertooke this Expedition in behalfe of a friend of theirs, against whom these Mumbos led by their Captayne Quizura made warre. All the ground before Quizuras Gate was paved with mens Skuls, which he had killed in that war, upon which they must passe which went in or out; a thing in

Mumbos and Zimbas, Man-eaters. Quære, whether these Zimbæ bee not the Agisimbæ.

Butcheries of mans flesh.

Skull-paving.

his conceit of great Majestie. But now he lost himselfe and all his. These Cafres about Tete are prone to warres, saying, If they dye their troubles are ended; if they live, they shall enjoy spoyles. Whiles I was there, the Captayne Pero Fernandez de Chaves, wanting Timber for a Church Doores and Porch, pretended warre, and summoned these eleven Encosses, which came willingly, but were diverted to this Timber businesse.

Sena. Muzimbus. Whiles I was at Sena, the Muzimbas warred on some of the Portugals friends, and did eate many of them, who besought helpe of Andre de Santiago Captayne of Sena; who went and set upon them in their Fort, which they had fortified round with a wall of Wood, with wings (revezes) and port-holes, and a deepe wide ditch, insomuch, that he was forced to send to Chaves for his best helpe, who came with above one hundred Portugals and Misticos, and those eleven Encosses. The Muzimbas by their Espials had Intelligence of their comming on the other-side the River without order, and therefore stole out of the Fort by night, and Embuscadoed themselves, and set upon the Portugals (which marched halfe a league before the Cafres) suddenly and furiously; killed them every one, and cut off their armes and legges, which with their armes they carried privily to their Fortresse. The Cafres arriving at the Wood, and seeing the slaughter returned home to Tete, and related the late Tragedie. These Zimbas worship no God, nor Idol, but their King, who (they say) is God of the Earth: and if it raines when hee would not, they shoot their Arrowes at the Skie for not obeying him; and he only eates not mans flesh. These are tall, bigge, strong; and have for Armes, small Hatchets, Arrowes, Azagaies, great Bucklers, with which they cover their whole bodies of light wood, lined with wild beasts skinnes. They eate those which they kill in warre and drink, in their skuls. If any of their owne Cafres be sicke or wounded, to save labour of cure they kill and eate them.

Zimbas-stratagem and crueltie.

Religion.

They feasted with great jollitie that day of their Victory,

and the night following; and the next morning early sallied out of their Fortresse, the Captayne arrayed in a Dominicans Casula, or Massing Vestment (Nicolas de Rosario, whom they had taken with the Portugals, and carried with them, and put to a cruell death) with a gilt Chalice in his left hand, and an Azagay in his right; and all the other Zimbas with the quarters of the Portugals at their backes, and the Captaynes head on the point of a long Lance; and drumming on the Drumme which they had taken, they presented themselves with great cryes to Santiago, and the Portugals, and after this muster returned to their Fort, saying, they must goe eate their Tete friends, Santiago and his Portugals (which stayed wayting for Chaves, and knew nothing) now terrified with this Spectacle, resolved (if feare be capable of that word) to haste away assoone as night came, and passing over the River was perceived by the Muzimbas, who issued out upon them with great force and slue many on the banke, and amongst others Santiago. Thus of Tete and Sena were one hundred and thirtie Portugals and Mistiços, with their two valiant Captaines slayne, with little losse on their part, comming on them with sudden advantage: this was done An. 1592. Don Pedro de Sousa Captaine of Mozambique the next yeere, with two hundred Portugals, and fifteene hundred Cafres passed the River Zambeze, pitched his Tents where Santiago had done, battered the walls of their Fort with his Artillery; but to no purpose, because they were of grosse wood, having on the inside much earth of that which was taken out of the ditch. Whereupon he resolved to stop up part of the ditch, which with much labour and perill, and some losse, he effected; some passed with hatchets to the foot of the trench, and began to cut; but the Zimbas from the walls scalded them with hot water and Oyle, specially the naked Cafres, so that none durst approch againe, as well for scalding, as for long Iron hookes which they put out of the port-holes, wherewith they wounded the assaylants, and held them fast, pulling them to the holes, and killing

The Portugals flye, and are slaine. [II.ix.1552.]

Ridiculous revenge.

them: so that they were forced to retire to their Tents. The next day hee caused rods to be gathered, and great baskets thereof to be made as high as their trenches, which were carried thither, and filled with earth, for the Souldiours to stand and fight upon them, that the Zimbas might not issue with their scalding liquors. Two moneths were spent in this warre, when some of the Inhabitants of that River (which liked their living by wares better then to endanger dying by warres) fained Letters from Sena, written from their wives, pretending great danger from a Cafer, which came to robbe them in the Portugals absence; which Sousa beleeving to bee true, brake up the siege, and passing the River by night was perceived by the Zimbas; who sallied forth with a great crie, assayled the Campe, killed some which were behind, tooke the most of the spoiles with the Artillerie. Thus returned the Portugals with disgrace, and the Zimbas grew prouder, and after made peace with them notwithstanding.

The Zimbas like the Jagges, sup. l. 7. c. 3. §. 3. which some unjustly confound.

One of these Zimbas ambitious of that honour, which they place in killing and eating of men, to get himselfe a name, adjoyned others of his Nation to him, and went Eastward, killing and eating every living thing, Men, Women, Children, Dogs, Cats, Rats, Snakes, Lizards, sparing nothing but such Cafres as adjoyned themselves to their companie in that designe. And thus five thousand of them were assembled, and went before the Ile of Quiloa; where the Sea prohibiting their passage, a traiterous Moore came and offered his service to guide them over at the low ebbes of spring tides, upon condition to spare his kindred, and to divide the spoyles with him. The Zimba accepted it, and effected his cruell purpose, slaying and taking (for future dainties to eate at leasure) three thousand Moores, and tooke the Citie Quiloa, with great riches, the people escaping by hiding themselves in the wildernesse till the Zimbas were gone; then returning to their Citie (antiently the royall Seat of the Kings of that Coast) and to this day are seene the ruines of their sumptuous Mezquites and Houses. Now, for reward of

Quiloa taken.

the Traytor, he sentenced him with all his kindred to be cast into the Sea, bound hand and foot, to bee food for the fishes; saying, it was not meet that one should remayne of so wicked a generation, nor would he eate their flesh, which could not but be venomous. *Reward of Traitors, Treason loved, the Traitor hated.*

After this he passed along the Coast, till he came against the Ile of Mombaza; which foure Turkish Galleyes of the Red Sea defended, and slue many of them with their Artillery: but Thome de Sousa arriving with a fleet from India tooke the Turkes, and withall destroyed Mombaza in the sight of the Muzimbas. The Captaine said that the Portugals were Gods of the Sea, and hee of the Land; and sent an Embassadour to Sousa, professing friendship to them, and requesting that seeing they had honourably ended their enterprise, he might beginne his, namely, to kill and eate every living thing in the Iland, which by their consent he did accordingly, burning the Palme-trees and Woods where many men were hidden, whom hee tooke and eate with all hee could get. *Mombaza destroyed.*

Thence he returned to the Coast, and went to Melinde, where Matthew Mendez with thirty Portugals ayded the King, and three thousand warlike Cafres, called Mossegueios, came also to his succour, which came suddenly on their backes when they had gotten up the wall, and were almost possessed of the Bulwarke, and chased them with such a furie, that only the Captaine with above one hundred others escaped; having found none in three hundred leagues march, which durst encounter them. And thus much of the Zimbas (of whom wee have written more in our Pilgrimage out of the Jesuites.) *Melinde.* *The Mossegueios.* *The Jesuites call them Imbii, see my Pilg. l. 7. c. 7.*

Quilimane is an arme of Zambeze, shallow, a league wide in the mouth, but three fathomes deep in the barre, which was the reason of the losse of the great ship, Saint Luis. The Land adjoyning is playne without any hill. Within the barre above two leagues is a Port of good refreshing, where they rest themselves from the heats which are in those parts extreme. Neere it is a Towne of Cafres, and poore Moores, subject to the Portugals *Tres Braças.* *Port of Quilimane.*

which dwell at the Port. All the Countrey within is inhabited by Macûas, Cafres subject to King Gallo, a poore Prince, whose brother becomming a Moore, was therefore odious to the Cafres, which thinke basely of the Moores, and more easily turne Christians, holding of them a more honourable conceit. They are blacke and curled, and worship not Idols. Next neighbours to these are the Inhabitants on the River Loranga, the mouth of which is five leagues from Quilimane Eastward; a pleasant River with a turning in, and a good barre, stored with fish. Many of these Cafres paint or rase their bodies with Iron, and bore holes in their cheekes for a gallantry, as doe those of Moçambique. Bano a Cafre is Lord of these parts. They worship onely one God in Heaven, beleeve the immortalitie of the Soule, the Divine providence, that all good comes of God, that there are Devils, and that they are evill; and all this notwithstanding are great blasphemers, speaking evill of God when things crosse them. They have two wives (and some of them have also Concubines, but their children doe not inherite) on the Marriage day two or three women in the morning come and drumme, sing, dance before the Brides doore, and others follow, till all the guests come with their offerings of Mais, Panike, Meale, &c. which they offer to the Bride, first giving a handfull to the dancers, and lay Meale on one cheeke and the left eye. Thus they spend the day, and at night the Bridegroome takes home his Bride, and this is the Wedding ceremonie.

Macûas Cafres.

[II.ix.1553.]

Loranga River.

Gallants fashion.

Marriages.

They have Fasts, all day eating nothing, but drinke all the next day and night of their Mais-wine, and of the Wine of a fruit called Puto, very sweet, like Bacchus servitors. They are much addicted to sorcerie, and when they will enquire of things lost, they meet and dance, using certaine Charmes till some of the companie seeme mad and possessed, the Devill entring into them and revealing the thing lost. They are exceeding full of complements, in which they spend much time before they will talke of the businesse they come about to their neigh-

Divination.

bour. They use pitifull lamentation for the dead, who is wound (almost after our fashion) in a blacke cloth, tyed with many lists of the same, and buried with his Armes and Victuals: his Mat or Bed, and Stoole set over the Grave, and his House burned with all his movables (no great losse) for if any but touch any thing which belonged to the dead, he may not enter into his house till he have first purified or washed himselfe in the River. The ashes and brands left of that burning they lay on the Grave. They mourne eight dayes, beginning at midnight for an houre or two, one beginning, and the rest following. In the day they goe to the Grave, and lay Meale on one cheeke and eye, and set Mais and Victuals thereon, saying certaine words, till the Meale be quite gone, never washing their face; so commending their tillage (forsooth) to the dead, which they thinke can send them good harvests. *Funerals.*

From Cuama to Moçambique (which are one hundred and thirtie leagues) there is in all the Coast no King potent, howsoever so stiled (as are also some poore Moores) in and of the places where they dwell. But within Land are great Kings of curled Cafres, most of them Macûas by Nation. One of these not farre from Moçambique is the Maurûca. These Macûas are theeves, the most barbarous and ill disposed Cafres of all that Coast. Their speech is rough and high, as if they fought. They file their teeth above and below as sharpe as Needles. They cut and rase their flesh, bore holes in both their cheekes, from the tips of their eares almost to the mouth, with three or foure holes on each side, each bigge enough to hold a finger, thorow which their gummes are seene with their teeth, the spitle slavering forth. For which, and for the more gallantry they weare bungs of Wood, one in each hole; and he which can have them of Lead is a complete Gallant, for that metall is much esteemed. They have also two holes in the lips; in the upper of which they put little pegs of wood as big as a Hens quill, of a finger long, sticking right out like a Naile; in the lower lip they weare a Leaden bung, so close and heavy that the lip falls

Maurûca King of Barbarous people. Lothsome bravery; the fittest Glasse for our Gallants to view themselves in; whose mindes are more deformed then these Blackes in bodie.

to the beard, shewing the gummes and filed teeth, that they seeme Devils. They weare their eares also bored round with many holes, in which they have pegs of wood, slender like knitting needles, a finger long, which makes them looke like Hedge-hogs. This their gallantry; for if they are sad, or crossed with any disaster, they leave all these holes open.

They are strong, and able to indure labour. They goe naked both men and women; and when they are apparelled, it is with a Monkies skinne, or of some other beast, from the waste to the knees. Their customes are like those Cafres of Loranga. Of the Macûas of the River Quizungo, when a Maide is to be married, shee goeth into the wildernesse* a whole Moone to bewayle her virginitie, visited of her friends, and returning home every night: betimes in the morning going to her wilde taske againe. As soone as the new Moone appeares, a great feast is made, and the next day shee is delivered to her husband without any more ceremonie.

Quizungo. R.

**Matos which wee translate Wildernesse, is the untilled wilde ground neere their dwellings, as well as the maine Desarts.*

This Maurûca used such cruelty in warring upon, and eating those they killed or tooke in those parts, that they easily chased away the antient Macûas, and enjoyed their Countrey: and giving themselves onely to rob, and not to till the grounds (for they were lazie lubbers though strong robbers) about An. 1585. they grew injurious to the Portugals, cutting downe their Palme trees, stealing, begging, burning, killing, eating, as they saw occasion. Insomuch that Nuno Velho Pereira sent from the Ile fortie Portugals and others to the number of foure hundred, which came suddenly on the Towne of Maurûca three or foure leagues distant, destroyed and burnt it. But the Macûas, which escaped, joyned head, and lay in ambush for the Portugals in their returne, which was secure and disordered, and slue them all, two or three Portugals, and a few Cafres excepted, which hiding themselves, two or three dayes after escaped to Moçambique, and told of their fellowes disastre, whom the Macûas had slaine and eaten. Many such chances betide the Portugals

[II.ix.1554.]

Note.

in those parts, through their selfe-confidence, and little accompt of the Cafres. The warres continued long, till Maurûca seeing the necessitie, made peace with the Portugals, forbad eating of mans flesh, and enjoyned his people to till the ground; which rather for feare of him they observed, then any wayes thereto enclined, still in secret using that forbidden food, as I have knowne particular instances, of some, which when they had stollen, and could not sell at their price, they have killed and eaten.

Moçambique. Of the Hollanders besieging it, see sup. pag. 716.

The Ile of Moçambique is in fifteene degrees to the South; above halfe a league long, and but a quarter broad. At the point and entrie of the Barre is the Fort with a Portugall Captaine and Garrison. It hath foure Bulwarkes, two to the Sea, and two to the Ile, with faire Peeces of Artillery. Within is a Cisterne which holds two thousand Pipes of water, into which the raine runneth from the tiles and walls by Conduit-pipes. In the midst is a Church. This is one of the chiefe Forts of India; built by a good Architect, An. 1558. There is also an Hospitall, two Hermitages, a Covent of Dominicans, a poore Towne of Moores. The Iland is drye, and without wood: the water they fetch three miles without the Barre from a Spring in a Bay called Titangone, which serves to water all the Indian ships. Their wood they fetch from the Mayne-land, in which they have Gardens of variety of fruits. It was at first sickly, but now by Gods goodnesse is proved healthfull.

Two Elements wanting.

Quirimba, and other Ilands.

The Ile of Quirimba is sixty leagues distant along the Coast on the Indian side. It is halfe a league wide, and a league long, plaine, without hill, all sowed with Mais and other grayne, whereof the Iland is fertile. It hath a walled Fort, and a faire Church of the Dominicans, which serves for a Parish Church to the Ile, and all the Coast as farre as Cape Del gado, who are bound there to confesse and communicate. In this Coast are the Iles of Cabras, Fumbo, Quirimba, Ibo, Matemo, which still sheweth the ruines of the former Moore-Inhabitants. Foure leagues

thence is Macaloe, and from hence as farre is Xanga, and above two leagues from it is Malinde, betwixt which and that of Cabo del gado are two little ones. Others there *Rolas.* are, but not so inhabited, one of which is called, Rolas, for the store of those birds which yeerely breed therein, very hurtfull to the Corne-grounds; and therefore the Ilanders of other Iles goe thither to destroy their egges and young. These Ilands are very wholsome and of subtile aire, and therfore subject to the disease, called The aire, which they cure with Elephants dung, Mustard, Garleeke, and a seed called Ingo, fuming him therewith *Bunched Kine.* three or foure times a day, &c. Their Kine have a bunch on the shoulder as a great Pumpion, which falls on the necke, the flesh whereof eats like a Cowes udder, very fat. There are store of Swine, Goats which have young twice a yeere, two or three at each burthen, Palme trees for Wine and Cocos, with other fruits, fowles, and pro- *Indico.* visions. There growes also Anil or Indico, which the Moores use to dye their clothes, of which they weave store in these Ilands. In the wildernesses of the Ile Cabo *Manna: this was a Miracle in Moses time, as their waters, Quailes, Garments, &c. not by procreation of new kinds, but by miraculous disposition; that it should follow them; breed wormes, and yet in the Tabernacle be everlasting, not fall on the Sabbath, &c.* de gado is store of Manna, procreated of the deaw of Heaven falling on certaine trees, on which it hardens as it were Sugar candide, sticking to the wood like Rozin, and hanging on the leaves, gathered and sold in jarres by the Inhabitants. It tasts sweet as Sugar; in India they use to purge with it. I have often been in the place, and gathered it with my hand. It growes only on one kind, although there be many other trees in the Iland. In that Coast also blacke Corrall growes in the bottome of the Sea with small roots or beards, whereby it seemeth fastned. A Mariner gave mee a piece two spans and a halfe long. When it comes out of the Sea it is soft and pliable, but by the aire hardned. In those Iles they finde Cocos which are said to grow in the Maldivas on short trees in the Sea alway covered with water, falling off when they are ripe, and rising to the top, carried by the windes and currents to some Coast. All the Continent is peopled with curled Cafres, some Macûas, others not using rasing, holes, or

hornes, but all shaven on the head. In the Countrey within the Kingdome of Mongallo, a Lord of fertile Countries, and of many Vassals. The Ile of Saint Laurence lyes over against this Coast, three hundred leagues long, and ninety broad: a Straight of sixtie leagues running betwixt.

Foure scourges.

In Ethiopia foure generall plagues have beene observed in our time, the Warre of the Zimbas, An. 1589. the Gras-hoppers, which covered the earth, and involved the aire in a cloude when they arose, which eate up all their labours in the fields and gardens, leaving them as if they had beene burned, the trees not able to beare fruit till two yeeres after, whence many died of Famine; and this was the third plague which caused them to sell themselves onely for sustenance; and one of their children for a pecke of Mais: The fourth plague was the Small poxe, which killed many; a disease in those parts like the plague, killing all in the house where it came; their readiest cure being to let bloud, without bleeding, or in much bleeding, none escaping. The plague is unknowne and unheard of amongst them. The Negro women may be accounted another plague, specially the Portugall slaves, which conceiving will cause abortion with a certaine herbe, so poysonfull that it consumes and rots them, except they by copulation bestow this disease on some man, who is presently payned in his secrets, and hardly escapes death.

Entaca.

The remedie to this Entaca (so they call the disease) is the juyce of a counterpoyson herbe taken the same day; both which herbes are plentifull and well knowne in those parts.

[II.ix.1555.]

Night-blindnesse.

Another infirmitie, but without payne, befalls both Portugals and Cafres in Mozambique, which is blindnesse by night, beginning at Sunne-set, and ceasing with the Sunne-rising, in which time they which are thus taken, see nothing though the Moone shine bright. If the belly or head ake, the Cafres bind the part affected hard with a Cord.

The Cafres will take Elephants both in pits (before described) covered with boughes and grasse; and watching

Elephants sleepe not by Trees, but on the ground.

where he sleepes (specially by Moone light) as he lyes on the ground, and thrusting into his belly by the genitories an Assagay, made purposely with the Iron halfe a span broad and two spans long. They may steale upon them napping, because they steale not their naps, but make such a noyse that they at once bewray and betray themselves to the Hunters, which having wounded the Beast, fled away, and next day search by the bloud what is become of their prey. They kill them for the teeth and to eate the flesh. Ivory is the principall commoditie of this Coast, above three thousand Arrobas being yeerly carried to the Indies. I saw in Sofala two teeth of one Elephant which weighed sixteene Arrobas, eight a peece.

Arroba is 32l.

Ships.

The shipping from Cabo das Correntes to the Straight of Mecca, is made by Moores of wood, which they cleave and shave, never making but two Boards of one Timber, when if they could sawe they might make many. They sew them with threed of Cairo* and fasten them with nayles of wood: their Cordage and Cables are of Cairo. The greatest they call Ships, the middle sort, Pangayas; the least Almadias, which are of one Timber (as the Canoas.) The Sayles are made of the leaves of Palme or wilde Date Trees. The Mariners are Moores, blacke, barbarous, wine bibbers, having nothing of Moores but the name and circumcision, not knowing nor keeping the Law of Mahomet. They celebrate each new Moone with a drunken feast; are given to Divinations; will cast out nothing in a storme although the Vessell be surcharged, saying, the Sea is insatiable; when they want Winde they whip the Ship with Cordes on the Poope and Sides, with crying and chafing, as if the Ships had as much sense as themselves, or as themselves were senselesse, saying, they are lazie and therefore the Winde leaves them; and they mocked me for reproving this their foolerie. Their Wares are blacke Clothes, and earthen glased Beades of all colours. The Cafres steale children, and coozen the elder, enticing them to the Shoares, and there sell them to the Moores and Portugals. The jurisdiction of the Captaine

**Which grows on the Coco.*

Pangayos and Almadias.

of Moçambique is from Cape Correntes to Cape Delgado, three hundred leagues of Coast.

From this last Cape to the Line is the Coast of Melinde, which is of the jurisdiction of the Captaine of Mombaça. *Coast of Melinde.* The firme Land is inhabited by Cafres, differing in Language and Customes, agreeing in barbarousnesse. Along the Kingdome of Mongallo runnes to the North the Kingdome of Munimugi, a great Cafre which confines on the South with the Lands of Mauruca and of Embeoe, and on the North with the Abyssine. The principall Iland of this Coast, Quiloa, hath beene in times past the Seat Royall, the King of the whole Coast residing there, who is now a pety Prince; and Mombaça is the chiefe Ile and Citie, where the Portugals have a Fort, the residence of the Captaine of the Coast of Melinde. Pemba is an Iland about eight leagues from the Shoare, and ten long, plentifull of Rice and Kine, Fruits and Wood: sometimes subject to the Portugals till the pride and lazinesse of some made the people rebell, and could never after be regayned. In the Ile of Pate are Pate, Sio and Ampaza, three Cities governed by so many Kings, tributarie to Portugal. Ampaza hath beene best builded of any Citie in those parts, but destroyed by the Portugals, the Citie sacked and burnt with eight thousand Palme-trees, which grew about it, cut downe. The Ile of Lamo hath great Asses, but of little service. This Iland was chastised when Ampaza was destroyed, and Mombaça also, by Martin Alfonso de Mello. The King of Ampaza was slaine, and his head carried on a Pole at Goa in triumph. When he was gone, Mirale Beque the Turke came with foure Galleys out of the Red Sea, and infested that Coast, till the Zimbas and the Portugals ended the businesse with a new Armada, the Portugals captiving and spoyling, the Zimbas eating the Turkes and Inhabitants. The King of Lamo for betraying the Portugals to the Turkes were beheaded. The Ile and Citie of Mandra which had denyed the Portugals to land, saying, the Sunne onely might enter there, was sacked and two thousand Palme-

Munimugi. *Embeoe.* *Mombaça.* *Pemba.* *Pate.* *Ampaza.* *Mandra.*

trees cut downe. In the Coast of Melinde they are great Witches. The Mossegueyos live of their Kine, which they oft let bloud both to prevent the garget, and to make therewith a kinde of pottage with milke and fresh dung of the same Kine, which mixed together and heat at the fire they drinke, saying, it makes them strong. The Boyes of seven or eight yeeres weare Clay fastned on the hayre of the head, and still renewed with new Clay, weighing sometimes five or six pounds. Nor may they be free hereof till in Warre or lawfull fight hee hath killed a man, and shew to the Captaine some tokens of that fact; which only makes them free and Knights of their cast. Hereupon they grow audacious, and prove dreadfull to others.

Mossegueyos customes.

The tokens, as Linschoten saith are the privities, see my Pilg. l. 7. c. 7. §. 4.

Brava is a small Citie but strong, inhabited with Moores, Friends and Vassals to the Portugals. It is in one Degree North, and very hot. Magadoxo is in 3. 30′. Within the Land are the Maracatos, which have a custome to sew up their Females, specially their Slaves being yong to make them unable for conception, which makes these Slaves sell dearer both for their chastitie, and for better confidence which their Masters put in them. They cut also their Boyes and make them Eunuches.

Brava.
Magadoxo.
Maracatos.

[II.ix.1556.] In the Ile of Zanzibar dwelt one Chande a great Sorcerer, which caused his Pangayo, which the Factor had taken against his will, to stand still as it were in defiance of the Winde, till the Factor had satisfied him, and then to flye forth the River after her fellowes at his words. Hee made that a Portugall which had angred him, could never open his mouth to speake, but a Cock crowed in his belly, till he had reconciled himselfe: with other like odious sorceries.

Zanzibar. Devillish sorcerie.

From Magadoxo to Sacotora one hundred and fiftie leagues is a desart Coast, and dishabited without Rivers. In which Desarts breed the great birds, called Emas, which breed on the Sands, and have but two young ones, as Pigeons. Their stomacks will consume Iron and Stones, and flye not but touch the ground with their feet, running with their wings spread, as lightly as other Birds

Emas, somwhat like Ostriches, see of them my Pilg. l. 5. c. 12.

flye. They are white, ash-coloured; their egges white, holding almost three pints. Heere I may mention also a Sea monster, which we saw neere the River Tendanculo, killed by the Cafres, found by Fisher-men on the Shoalds. Hee was ash-coloured on the backe, and white on the belly, hayrie like an Oxe but rougher: his head and mouth like a Tygre, with great teeth, white Mustachos a span long, as bigge as bristles which Shoo-makers use. He was ten spans long, thicker then a man; his tayle thick, a span long, eares of a Dog, armes like a Man without haire, and at the elbowes great Finnes like a fish; two short feet nigh his tayle, plaine like a great Apes, without legs, with five fingers a span long on each foot and hand, covered with a skin like a Goose foot, the hinder feet having clawes like a Tygres; neere his tayle were the signes of a Male, his Liver, Lights and Guts like a Hogs. The Cafres seeing our Slaves slay him, fell upon him and eate him; which they which spare nothing had not done before, because they thought him (they said) the sonne of the Devill (having never seene the like) the rather, because hee made a noyse which might be heard halfe a league off. *Sea Monster.*

In the same journey comming to the River Luâbo in August 1590. the Mariners going ashoare for wood, brought two Birds new feathered, whitish, found in the nest, like to Eagles in the eyes, bill and talons, but much greater then great Eagles, contayning nine spans from the end of one wing to the end of the other (I caused them to be measured) wherby it appeares that in their full maturitie they are of huge greatnesse. They killed them, for feare the old ones should come. *A nest of great Birds.*

§. V.

The Jesuites gleanings in Africa to Christian Religion, gathered out of their owne writings.

WHat the Jesuites have done for the advancing of Christian Religion with the Abassines, yee have heard. In the yeere 1560. Consalvus Sylveria a Portugall Jesuite with two companions, went from Goa *L. 7. in fine. Emanuel Acosta, translated by Maffeius.*

for Manamotapa, a Region abounding with gold, but deare bought by reason of the Ayres unwholsomnesse, and the want of necessaries for food and health. They came first to Inhambane, and there fell sicke, but recovering proceeded to Tonge, and there baptised the King, his Wife, Sister, Children, Kindred, and great Men, with most of the People in few dayes. Thence Consalvus went to Manamotapa, leaving his Fellowes with the King, which built the Church of the Assumption: one of them by want of health was forced backe to India, the other stayed there two yeeres. Consalvus passed by Mozambique, and came to the River Mafuta ninetie leagues from thence, where escaping a dreadfull tempest, hee went on shoare with his folding Altar, and said Masse on the Strand, the heate being so vehement that the Portugals could scarse indure to tread on the ground, and Consalvus his head brake out with pushes as he was in his Holies: which when they would have medicined, præclaro sui ipsius* odio incensus, hee refused all, and permitted himselfe to the cure of Nature and Time. Thence they went to the River Colimane, and were well entertayned by Mingoaxanes, King of Giloa a Moore, little caring for his Mahumetrie, and giving them leave to preach in his Kingdom. But they hasted to Manamotapa, and so passed to Cuama, and then gave himselfe to private devotions eight dayes, onely once a day eating a handfull of parched Corne and drinking a draught of Water.

The Kingdom of Inhambane. He seemeth the Sedanda, sup. c. 12. §. 3. or rather some Encosse of his.

**As if the denyal of a mans selfe were in regard of our nature which is of God and not of our vices which are of our selves. This flesh (that is, naturall corruption) must be mortified spiritually; not the body bodily killed, or disabled by immoderate zeale to serve the Spirit.*

From Sena he sent to the Manamotapa; meane while the King of * Inhanior offered himselfe to Christianitie, but he comforted him, and refused till he had first beene with the Manamotapa. Antonie Cajado was sent for him, who trussed up his Holies, carrying them on his shoulders. When he was comne, the Manamotapa sent him Presents, Gold, Kine and Servants, which all he thankfully refused. When he came, he entertayned him as never any man, and bringing him into his inner roome, caused him to

**Santos hath told you that hee hath no tributarie Kings, this was but an Encosse (as it seemeth) which yet as Cæsars foure Kings in a piece of Kent had that name given, to make a greater sound at Rome.*

sit on the Carpet by his Mother. Hee offered him his choise of Grounds, Kine, Gold, Women; Consalvus answered, that hee would have nothing but himselfe; the King thereat wondring and friendly with promises dismissing him. One had seene on the Altar a fayre picture of our Lady, and told the King that Consalvus had brought with him a beautifull Lasse, for which the King sent, and [II.ix.1557.] he carried it wrapped in a precious cloth, and tels him it is the picture of the Mother of God, the King of Kings. He worships it and begs it; Consalvus grants, and placeth it in the Kings house, and trimmes up as it were a Chappell for it. Five nights, say the Portugals, the blessed Virgin appeared to the King in that forme in his sleepe; and five and twentie dayes after his comming, the King was baptised by the name of Sebastian, the Queene his Mother by the name of Marie. The same day he sent one hundred Kine to Consalvo, which were distributed by Cajado to the poore. Three hundred of his chiefe men followed his example. Much victuall was sent into Consalvus, but he ate no flesh, living only on wild fruits, herbs, and boyled Corne in small quantitie.

Treacherie of Moores.

But foure Moores envying these proceedings, and being gracious with the King, perswade him that Consalvus was sent from India to betray him, and to make way for the Portugals to take away his State; adding, that Consalvus was a Sorcerer, and whomsoever hee washed on the head with his forme of words, he made to become his. And if Consalvus went away in safetie, his Subjects would kill one another like mad men. By their perswasions the King caused Consalvus to be murthered, his strangled body being throwne into the River, and fiftie others were slaine, which on that last day of his life he had baptised. Two dayes after repenting of this fact he slue two of the Moores, the other two being fled. Long after, no Jesuites (saith Jarric) were sent hither, because the Dominicans had undertaken the Conversion of those parts, of whose labours yee have heard somewhat before in Santos, which was one of them. Jarric hath since told us

Consalvus martyred.

Jar. l. 1. *c.* 10.

Pet. Jarric. Thes. rerum Judicarum, tom. 3.

of Petrus Toarius and Ludovicus Goez (in respect of these better hopes) sent An. 1562. and to them was joyned Andrew Fernandez the companion of Consalvus, who had stayed at Inambane. These three went to the Manamotapa, and stayed there certayne yeeres, till they were sent for back to India, King Sebastian intending to warre on the Manamotapa, for the said Consalvus Sylverius his death (being the sonne of the Count Sortellane) and for other causes. Thus after their returne An. 1570. Francis Barret was sent with a strong Fleet; who being dead of poyson (with others) Fernand Monroy succeeded, who dying soone after, the Jesuites then in the Campe could doe nothing. An. 1608. the people rebelling, the Manamotapa fled to the parts neere Tete a Portugall Fort, and by helpe of the Portugals subdued the Rebels. Whereupon he gave the King of Portugall the silver Mines of Achicova, Jacobus Simonesius taking possession in his name. Hee gave them leave also to build Forts where they pleased. The Portugals thinke meete not to forget the Jesuites in this occasion, and Francis Gonsalves with Paulus Alexius are destined to that designe, the whole Kingdome seeming a field white to the Christian Harvest, and onely wanting Labourers.

Of Barrets acts in those parts you read before in Santos.

Lib. 7. c. 4. Of Angola, see l. 7. c. 4. §. 3.

Of Angola and Congo you heard before: the state of Angola (for of Congo we have no later intelligence then that of Lopez) after the death of Paul Diaz received some alteration. It is the manner in those parts that the Sobæ or Governours are as Princes of their Provinces, and in the Kings Court, whom they acknowledge their supreme Lord, have one of his Grandes, to whom they have recourse in all difficulties (like the Protectors amongst the Cardinals) who in some manner disposeth them and their states. Thus Diaz appointed over the Angolan Sobæ by him subdued, some of his Portugall Gentlemen, sometimes some Jesuite at the request of the subdued, seeing in what respect they were held with the Generall. But some Courtiers in Spaine perswaded the Catholike King, that this dependance of mediate Patrons should bee taken away

from them all: whereupon ensued commotions, and contempt of the Portugall name; that in the yeere 1600. John Rhoderick Cotinius being sent Governour, of one hundred and fiftie Sobæ stipendaries before to the Portugall Crowne, not one continued his allegeance. Hee reduced some, but (with many others running like Fates) the unwholsomnesse of the ayre killed him; the Successor being named in a Boxe (the key whereof was kept by George Pererius a Jesuite) Emmanuel Pererius. Hee overthrew Cafucheus the chiefe Soba with the Cambamban, whose Countrey is rich in Mines, in which he built a Fort neere the River Coaxa seventie leagues from Sea (all navigable from Loanda thither in five dayes) and placed therein two hundred and fiftie men, being but thirteene leagues from Dongo the seate of the King of Angola, who confirmed to him that his Conquest. This Conquest of Mines make hope of the conquest of Mindes to the Christian Faith (how many are by these Thornes choked, and reconquered from it?) and the Jesuites are said to study the language that they may preach the Gospell to them. In the Ile of Loanda are said to bee twentie thousand Christians of the Natives, besides the Inhabitants of Saint Paul and Massangaro.

Castle of Cambamba.

Anno 1606. Francis Gois, Edward Vaz, and Antonie Barrius Jesuites, were sent thither; their Ship was taken in the way by the Hollanders, who set them in the Boat which brought them to Loanda, being terrified by two Whales which rising neere the Boat, yet passed without hurt. Now were new missions of Jesuites; one of which comming to the next Soba, taught their children their prayers, helping their memories with knots tyed in cords. There were in that Town two thousand baptised, persons all ignorant of the Faith. There was an Idoll Temple with Images of Men and Women; with the heads of Goats and Snailes, and the feet of Elephants, and other wilde Beasts, which the Jesuite caused to be burned, the people being before made beleeve that if any touched them, they should die suddenly. He

New Beads. Many baptised, few Christians.

[II.ix.1558.]

baptised thirtie and taught the rest their Catechise, and proceeded to the next Soba, Lord of foure other Sobas, who had beene before baptised of Secular Priests, yet onely had the bare name of a Christian. This Soba had three hundred wives for ostentation of his greatnesse. No man could make the signe of the Crosse. And when the Priest would build a Church there, the Soba said he would consult about it, but gave no answer. He found two Idoll Oratories, but no Idols in them, the people having before hidden them in the Woods, lest they should have like fiery fortune with the former. Hee found here also

Chibadi Sodomites.

certayne Chibadi, which are Men attyred like Women, and behave themselves womanly, ashamed to be called men; are also married to men, and esteeme that unnaturall damnation an honor.

About the same time, an Embassador from the King of Cacongo came to Loanda, with a Present to the Bishop and Request from the King, to send some Jesuites to baptise him, and all his Kingdome. The Captaine therefore with the Bishop, goe to the Rector of our Colledge, and obtayne Gaspar Azevered, and Francis Gois to bee

Cacongus.

sent thither. Cacongo is adjoyning to Congo, and to the great Macoco King of the Anziqui, having also the Kings of Angola, Bungo and Biango Neighbours. It is a large Kingdome, and by the Towne of Pinda eightie leagues distant from Saint Thome, is entrance up the River Zaire in foure dayes unto it. The King of Loango hath also sent for Jesuites, to bee by them instructed and baptised; but what is done in both these Kingdomes, I have not (saith Jarric) received intelligence.

Guinea, described and divided.

Now concerning Guinea, that name is given to all the Atlantike Coast of Africa, from Senega, called by the Ancients Stachiris, in sixteene degrees of North latitude, to Angola in thirteene South: and is divided into the Higher from Senega to Congo, and The lower, contayning Congo and Angola. Over against the higher Guinea are

[II.ix.1559.]

the Ilands of Cape Verd (Ptolemie calls it Arsinarium) which An. 1446. the Portugals first inhabited, twelve in

number, the chiefe that of Saint James, in which is a fortified Citie, chiefe over those Forts and Habitations which the Portugals hold in that higher Guinea; the Bishop thereof subject to the Archbishop of Lisbon. It is in fifteene degrees Mountaynous, having no rayne but in August, September and October, fertile of fruits, hath store of Pompons (every moneth) Sugar Canes, Horses. *Saint Jago.*

Saint Thome is of unwholsome ayre, and Praja unsafe against the enemie. In all the Coast of Guinea are Tangos maos, or Lancados, of Portugall originall, but degenerated into barbarous rites and customes, which trade in all those parts for Hides, Ivory, Wax, Gold, Gumme, Ambargrise: in some places they are also naked and raced like the Savages. *Tangos maos.*

King Philip the third procured by Letters to Aquavira, the Generall of the Jesuites A. 1604. that of that Order should be sent into this Guinea, Balthasar Barerius, Emmanuel Barrius, Emmanuel Fernandius. These came to Saint James, and remedied the custome of visiting Wisards and Sorcerers, which was there common, and the wicked abuse of Baptisme, in which three or foure hundred sometimes seven hundred of their Slaves were at once washed without any Doctrine of Christian dutie premised, and presently transported to Brasile or India, ignorant of all things. Likewise they procured libertie to many Free-men, which had beene by the Tangos maos or Guineans stollen, and unjustly sold, they intending and attending such preyes, no lesse then Hunters and Hawkers their game. One of them dyed of the sicknesse of the Countrey: Barerius was sent to the Continent, and writ thence to Barrius that in Januarie hee came to Bissan, where the Kings eldest sonne professed his willingnesse to be a Christian, but that he must then leave off his gainfull man-stealing. Thence they sayled to Guinala, where the King was sick and dyed. The manner is to kill Wives and Servants, and a Royall Horse for his service in the other World, which Barerius did what he could to hinder. Thence they set sayle to Biguba a very healthfull place; *Jar.to.3.c.45.* *Wash-way Baptisme.* *Barerius his Letters.* *Bissan.* *Guinala.* *Biguba in Beafarum regno.*

but some Ethiopians professing Mahomet were hinderance to him.

Pagono. July thirteene, 1605. he came to Sierra Leona, and arriving at Pagono, the petty King thereof tributarie to Fatema, imitated in all things the Christian Rites, but durst not be such (hee said) except he saw Fatema first. The Portugals in these parts lived liker Ethnikes then Christians, neither having Sacraments nor Word of God in many yeeres past, so that they had almost quite forgotten them. Passing by the Ile Tamarena, he came to the Kingdome of Buran, the King whereof is also subject to Fatema: he would be present also at Masse, and name Jesus, was desirous of Baptisme, but I thought fittest to begin with Fatema. I Confessed some Portugals here, which in ten, twentie, thirtie yeeres had never beene Confessed, the Christians there little differing from Ethnikes.

Tamarena. *Buran.*

Of Sierra Leona, See sup. 189. The King of Sierra Leona desired my stay there, which I doing, contrary to my former purpose, he sent all the people of the Towne to cut timber for a Church, was wonderfull desirous also of Baptisme, whereto I told him the multiplicitie of wives was impediment. Hee yeelded to this, but wished he had knowne it sooner, for then would he have had none of these, but another which he sent for. I hindred not, because their marriages for the most part are by the law of Nature unlawfull. When the maide came, her friends refused the conditions of our Baptisme and rites: and upon his importunitie, the King was baptised, and clothed now like a Portugal. Hee was named Philip, and is called Philip Leonis, for his Countrey. I baptised also the daughter of another King, and joyned her in marriage to him. His brethren also and children were baptised. The Kings Aunt is of great authoritie, and in manner ruleth all: and should but for her sexe have raigned. Shee leads the reare when they goe to warres, carrying a Bowe, Quiver, and military Club, and compells them to keepe their rankes. Philips father being dead, when they would have observed the Rite of

An Amazon.

killing some of his wives and servants, Philip interceded, and tooke away those infernall Exequies: The King of Toras sonne was present at Masse, Baptisme, and Sermon, *Tora.* and relating the same to his father; this (said he) is a Father indeed, and not those (Priests) which hitherto have *Scandall of Priests, too too Secular.* comne into these parts no lesse following the merchandising of Slaves and other things then the other Portugals. This King is one hundred yeeres old, originally of the Cumbæ (called also Manes) which conquered these parts; as fresh as if hee were but fortie. At Christmas he was present at our solemnitie, the Altar adorned with faire clothes, the image of our Lady with the Child Jesus on one side, the Crucifixe on the other, foure Candlestickes with Tapers, the wall and pavement trimmed with boughes. Moved with admiration he desired Baptisme, and a place was designed for building a Church. Their *Their building.* building of houses and Churches is to fasten posts in the ground close together, fastning them with timbers layde overthwart, covered with clay, and then laying on a plaister of earth white as milke; the roofe is thatch and leaves of Palmes. I have two of his sonnes, and two of Philips my perpetuall companions, whom besides the Catechisme I teach to reade. The old King cleaves only to one of his wives the sister of Philip; and at Easter he is to be baptised.

The King of Beni, the Lord of seven Kingdomes hath written to mee for Baptisme: but I cannot forsake these two Kings till I have other helpe. This Countrey is as healthfull as any I ever came in, and Sierra Leona would be a fit place for a plantation of the Society: for which King Philip wrote to the Catholike King, offering a place to erect a Fort, and commending the largenesse, whol- [II.ix.1560.] somnesse, and fertilitie of his Countrey. An. 1607. Emanuel Alvares and his Brother went to Guinea, to Bissan, and perswaded the King to forsake his China, (so they call God, and whatsoever is pretious to them) to wit, *A bundle of stickes worshipped.* a Fagot of stickes bound together, which they worship: likewise to leave those infernal inferies of killing at the

Grave of the deceased, Wives, Friends, Servants, cutting their fingers and toes in pieces, and stamping the bones in a Morter; leaving the bodies meane while in torture, and when they were at the point of death thrusting a stake thorow their neckes, others looking on with undaunted countenance, which were to undergoe the same butchery. The Kings of Bigub and Besegui also desired Baptisme, which both (as hee of Guinala) are Beafares. Bigub hath three Kings vassals, Besequi five, and the Guinalan seven, although the Biiagi have taken sixe Kingdomes from him. These Biiags are fierce people, in seventeene Ilands over against these Kingdomes, alway warring with the Beafares and the Portugals; with their boats entring the frequent Rivers, and spoyling all. These Ilands are rich and fertile, pleasant with Trees and Rivers, fruitfull in Palmes, Wine, Oyle; stored with Cattell great and small, Ivorie, Fish, Rice, Waxe, Iron, and on the shoare Ambergrise, but to them uncouth and unkissed; long Pepper enough to lade yeerely two ships.

Devillish cruelty.

Three Beafares Kings.

Biiags.

Beni or Benin. The King of Beni hearing of Philip and Peter (the King of Tora) that they were baptised, sent his best beloved sonne to be instructed and baptised. Hee is the chiefe King of all that Coast. To him Barerius travelled, hardly escaping the treachery of another King in the way; the way was wooddy Mountaines, pleasant Vallies, an Iron-coloured earth, the Iron exceeding that of Europe. The King entertayned him joyfully; and first at his perswasion commanded by publike Edict, that matriage-able Virgins should hide Natures secrets. Hee was present (but entreated to stay without the Church) when Masse was celebrated, and heard the Sermon (for he understood the Portugall tongue) made great shewes of Christianitie, promised to burne his Idols; yea, perswaded his Vassall-kings to Christianitie; but all on a sudden by a Mahumetan was altered, pretended to feare the Concha (chiefe Emperour of the Sousæ) and the great Bexerine would incite him to warre against him. The King is said to have received of him certaine Charmes, whereby

The chiefe Bexerine is the high Priest, or Marybuck of the Mandingas, of which see Master Jobson.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF GUINEA

to bewitch any that offended him. Barerius also saw him stroking a Serpent as big as a mans thigh, rolled up in divers gyres, so beautified with various colours, as hee never had seene any creature: this he stroked and dalied with. They call this the King of Serpents, and make much account of it: but Barerius thought it was the Devill in this forme. Thus were the blossoms of his hopes blasted; and he hasted away to his former friends.

Numerous issue by reason of their Poligamie.

It will not be amisse to relate the funerall mournings (worthie mournings and funerall) amongst the Manes. Farma the King of the Logui, had seventie two sons and fiftie daughters, so that his progenie (most surviving) was above three thousand. The old Grandsire being dead, newes is sent to all the kindred in their severall habitations, every Village mourning, and the kindred visit the corps with presents, Gold, Clothes, and what they can, accomplishing all with lamentable lamentations. Part of the presents is put in the Grave, another part goeth to the King of the place, the third to the Heire: but the Kings themselves are buried secretly by night, with a few friends attending, having all their life heaped treasure to that funerall purpose, and are therefore buried in unknowne places, as in the bottoms of Rivers, turning meanewhile the streame on the other side. They lose much Gold this way, and if they die suddenly, no man knowes where they have prepared and treasured that treasure. That the wives and servants are added to the Exequies, we need not repeat. They hope to finde all ready to serve them in the next life. Some great men have Houses set over their Grave covered with Cloth, and other things there left to waste with time, and hither the kindred make recourse to consult with the dead, and acquaint them with their affaires. The funerall ended, they returne with so many stalkes of straw as there remayne moneths to the yeeres end: against which time they provide store of Rice, Wine, Hennes, and (if the deceased were rich) of Kine, and then assemble to a funerall feast, lasting day and night with all excesse in eating, drinking, dancing, and such a

Funerall rites.

noise, that none in the Village can sleepe. For which cause the Jesuites which have their Churches in the Villages, have their houses out of them. Their greatest glorie is the number of Meats beyond mouthes, and of Drunkards beyond tale. King Peter was invited to one of these riots, yet rioted not, but by his modest example wanne good opinion to his Religion. They had sacrificed a maide, and certaine Kine with Diabolicall rites to their Ancestors, in a Wood closely before hee came.

Straw-torches. Barerius went to Fatema the King of the Boulons, and was lighted to him by night with Torches of straw, which they use, and not wax, though the Countrey have store. Hee sent after him a gold Chaine which he refused. An Ethnike Doctor, and King Peters sonne were converted soone after. They doe not beleeve any Hell, but thinke that the deceased goe to Gods house, and there live and use the same things they did here, and in the same ranke and reputation.

The Jagges: see l. 7. c. 3. §. 3. This King Peter was of the Manes or Cumbæ, which are the same (sayth the Jesuite) which in Congo were called Giachæ (Jagges,) in Angola, Gindæ; that they were the same with the Imbiæ or Zimbæ, of which you reade in Santos, or with the Gallæ amongst the Abassines, he sayth, without my subscription. These left their [II.ix.1561.] Countries, about An. 1550. and pierced to these parts of Sierra Leona: of which Man-eating Nation none there remayned but this Peter, who now became a Zealous Christian, and procured the commission of others. They which are to be baptised bring first their Idols, and cast them in the fire. Besides which Statues, they have Chinas, which are Pyramides with Cells within, wherein are kept white Ants; of so religious esteeme with those Guineans, that when they buy a slave, they set him before a China-pyramide, having offered thereto Wine and other things, praying that if hee runne away Tigres and Serpents may devoure him. Which threats fasten them to the cruellest masters. In every Countrey they have a place sacred to the Devill. That which King Philip had, was in an Iland,

Chinæ superstitions.

where they offered Rice, Oyle, or what they carried, casting it into the Sea. No man durst venture on the Iland for feare of Camassono, the Devill-Idoll. Once a yeere the King went and sacrificed Hennes, and Goats, (which there lived securely) on a Rocke. The cruell spectacle of the Selfe-whippers on Mandy thursday was terrible to the Ethnikes, thinking them (not without cause) mad so to rage against their owne flesh; and Christopher sonne of King Peter would not be behinde the rest herein. Another thought the blood had beene onely the red joyce of a certaine Tree. These are the Jesuiticall Relations till the yeere 1610. with other like, which I omit.

§. VI.

Relations of the Christianitie of Africa, and especially of Barbarie, and Algier; written by J. B. Gramaye.

THus much have I related of the Jesuites and Dominicans later labours in Africa. Gramaye hath lately published ten Bookes or Tractates of Africa: he sayth that there are some Relikes of the antient Christians after so many inundations of Heresie and Mahometisme, both in Marocco, Tunes, and Lybia, which use the Masse of the Mozarabes translated into Arabike: there are also Greekes, and Abassines, and of divers Nations Merchants with free use of their conscience. At Tunes, and Tripolis, Priests in Gownes, Monkes in their Cowles, are permitted publike supplications and funerals. In the Kingdome of Fesse their libertie is greater. But in all the Coast of Barbaria there is no securitie of the publike exercise of Christian Religion, nor any Monasteries: but at Oram & in the places subject or confederat to the Spaniards. In the places subject to the Moors & Turks, there is publike permitted, not secured, both exercise, Churches, & places of buriall in towns; somtimes eclipsed or disturbed by the Morabutes, in times of

Africæ Illustratæ libri 10.

Christianitie of Barbarie.

drought, at which times, as it were, to appease the angry Deitie, they spoile Churches, inhibite Christian Holies, overthrow Tavernes (for none else may sell Wine) which after a few dayes are againe permitted. The Christian Church-yard, or rather Buriall-place, is a piece of ground without the Towne, neere the Jewish Buriall-place, not inclosed, yea (in places) bearing Corne. But the sandy soyle scarsly secures the Corpses from Dogs. Prayers and other Rites are used at the Graves, but not at Algier, without scoffes and injuries, specially from Boyes. Priests administer Sacraments without speciall Cure, or certaine Stipend, or Order; yea, some without Orders. Baptisme is often administred by the Lay-people, and without the Ecclesiasticall Ceremonies; and whatsoever requires Episcopall benediction of long time hath there wanted. Seldom is there Sermon, never Catechising, Vespers, or Lauds, till our Author procured.

In the Kingdome of Argire are supposed to be two hundred thousand Christians, of which the most are Renegados or Apostatas, which professe Mahometisme: some, but very few, of their owne accord; some by force, as Boyes which they take, and Infants (neither is it lawfull for any to be freed thence till hee bee fifteene yeeres old) some dissembling, yet hardly escaping, by reason of certaine death, if taken in the attempt; some by rewards of riches and honour; others by feare of torture, and despaire of libertie. Of such as continue Romish Christians are in that Kingdome supposed to be two and thirty thousand, besides those of the Reformed or other professions. And although in ten yeeres last past (till An. 1619.) 1200. Spaniards have beene freed, yet in that space eight thousand have succeeded in servitude, besides sixe hundred dead. Some of which are in the Countrey or Gardens, and have publike Service onely when they come to the Citie, where at this time were eight captived Priests, not at all Graduates, and two onely which have addicted themselves to Divinitie. There are foure Churches in the Prisons, in the Citie and Diocesse of

Hippon two, in that of Cirth and Teslen two. They have an Oratory in the house of the French Consull.

Supplications are performed in their times with devotion and store of Candles. But there is no Font, nor holy Oyle, Chrisme; nor are the Sacraments (give me leave to use our Authours words) of marriage, Extreme unction, Orders, or Confirmation administred; Baptisme is done with simple water, Penance by any Priest: the buriall place not consecrated. The Authour being there captived, did reforme things by a Visitation, with consent and request of those Christians, and subjection to the Pope and all which might challenge any right provided.

[II.ix.1562.] *Numbers of Christians and Jewes in a part of Barbary.*

There are in Barbary, in the Kingdoms of Argier, Tunes, Tripoli, Fesse, one hundred and twenty thousand Christian captives: there are eightie six Families in those parts of Christian Merchants, Freemen; Of Greeke Christians, one hundred seventy nine Families; Of Jewes which have trade with the French, are one hundred fiftie sixe thousand Families. Romish Priests Captives sixtie two. Churches permitted to Christian Holies sixteene. In seven and twentie yeares past (1619.) there hath beene no Bishop, but the Greeke Patriarch:* neither is there any Ecclesiasticall Discipline, that not one of a hundred lives like a Christian, the Priests living of Almes, contenting themselves with their Masse without cure of soules; their paritie also making them carelesse each of other; scarsly any thing Christian-like celebrated but the *Masse.

**One sent thither in displeasure from Constantinople.*

**Pitifull Christianitie.*

Gramaye is confident that Argier is that Iol, which was the Seat Royall of Juba, by his Sonne new built, and called Cæsarea; a Coyne of Claudius is inscribed Iol Cæsarea Jubæ Regia. After his death Caligula brought this Kingdome of Mauritania, (which contayned those of Argier, Fesse, Marocco, and part of Tunes) into two Provinces, Tingitana and Cæsariensis. Claudius made this Cæsarea a Colonie, some few Antiquities and Inscriptions yet remayning. Thirty miles from the Citie is Sarsella where is infinite Rubbish, as the Grave, with Relikes of Fabrickes, and Aquæducts, as the bones of the

Iol seat of Juba.

Antiquities of Argier.

Sarsella.

Carkasses, and Inscriptions, as Epitaphs, ancient Coynes as Memorials (of which many were given him) for feare of suspition hee durst not make search. And although Alger, Argel, Algiers, or Argier (the very name breeds confusion) be described before out of *Nicolay; seeing we have met with later Intelligence by almost seventie yeares then the former (since that was printed in our sixth Booke) we have thought good to adde out of him some better light of this Hel-mouth, the Centre of Earthly darknesse.

**Lib. 6. c. 4.*

Description of Argier taken, out of Gramayes large Tractate, l. 7.

It is seated on the mid-land Sea, on the side of a hill, whereby one house hinders not the prospect of the next. Cheridim Barborossa, fortified it with the Iland, which yet Tempests sometime assault with great hurt to the ships as happened this yeare 1619. five and twentie shippes broken in the Port. The forme of the Citie is almost Bow-fashion. The circumference of the old Towne is three thousand foure hundred paces: Barbarossa began and after 1573. Arabamet finished a Wall about the Iland, except that part which is open to the Port and Citie. Lately they have founded a five cornered Towre to secure both. The Turrets, Fortresses, Bulwarkes, I omit. The houses within are close to the Wall; without, is a Ditch of sixteene paces, scowred by Arabamet, but now in some places mired up, and scarce halfe of it is cleare. Without the Towne are three Castles: two of which were built, Anno 1568. 1569. the third before, was finished 1580. Except one the streets are very narrow, and in Winter very durty. Out of their Rate or Taxe-bookes, I find of late yeares, by the destroying of the Suburbes, for feare of Don John of Austria 1573. and since the Moores were expelled last from Spaine, it is very much increased in buildings, not like the descriptions anciently published, which leave therein open and vacant places. And although the Houses to the street side are darke, yet being inwardly built with square Cloisters as it were, the light is supplyed, as the Roofes serve them for Galleries and Prospects; in the midst is a Well, but the water brackish. They use no Chimneyes, but make fires of coales in

There were said to come 60000 Moores at their last ejection to Algier from Spaine.

Earthen Pannes in their Porches or Roofes. They white the out-side of their Houses against great Feasts. The Kings Palace and great mens Houses have Courts spacious, with specious Pillers about, and many by-roomes spred with Mats or Carpets; their custome beeing to put off their shooes when they enter. Their House-hold Furniture is otherwise meane, the vulgar having nothing but a Mat, Carpet, Mattresse, two Vests hanging, Pots and Dishes of Earth, and long woodden Spoones, with a woodden Chest: two or three staves fastned to the Wals covered with boards serve for a Bed, sitting and lying more commonly on the floore on a Mat or Carpet. Their Garments hang on lines over the Bed, Pelts are their Naperie, Water their Drinke, Rice their Meate with Pulse, Meale, a little Flesh, and some fruits, whence Victuals are cheape. There are no Conduits, Sewers, nor Wels of sweet water; five Cisternes from without, supplying that want, together with that which is fetched on mens shoulders out of the fields, by above one thousand Slaves and Moores. There are seven faire Mosquets, specially the greatest, five Colledges of Janizaries, where some sixe hundred of them live together in a House; one Hospitall built by Assan Bassa, foure faire Bathes, being Prisons for slaves; two for washing with hote or cold, paved with Marble, and furnished with Chambers; and Conduits for Arte-brought waters, used by the Moores and Turkes of both Sexes almost every day; and the two Royall Porches, one of thirtie sixe foote square with Columnes, where the Duana of the Janizaries is kept, the other before the Palace.

Within the Wals are neere thirteene thousand Houses, many of which are inhabited by thirtie Families; the House of Jacob Abum in the lower Jewrie hath three hundred, of Abraham Ralbin, two hundred and sixtie Families, and others likewise. There are above one hundred Mosquets, each having three Morabutes Curats, and some thirtie or fortie, besides the Oratories of Heremites and Sepulchres; sixty two Bathes, eighty sixe

13000. *houses.*

Schooles for Children to learne to reade and write, and a few others for the Alcoran; Suburb-gardens fourteene thousand sixe hundred ninetie eight, each having one or more Christians, some sixe or eight to keepe them. Nor is there scarce a Family in the Citie, which hath not one or [II.ix.1563.] more Christian slaves of both Sexes, some a great multitude, as Faretbey, seventy two. Ali-Mami, one hundred thirty two. Ali Pizilini, sixty three. Aripagi, thirty eight. Asan Portuges, forty. Salomon Reis, thirtie two. And in the Kings Prison are commonly two thousand, and two or three thousand in the three Gallies and seventie two ships of warre, which Anno 1619. were there, so that in and about the Citie there seeme to be of them above thirtie five thousand.

35000. Christian Slaves.

Moores Freemen.

Haedo which lived here many yeares, reckons of the Naturall Moores called Baldis, freed from Tribute by Barbarossa, of good complexion almost white, living on their Lands, Handycrafts or Merchandize, two thousand five hundred Families. Of Moores Cabaijales or Forreners from the Mountaynes of Couko and Labesan, called Azuages, and from other Mountaynes seven hundred Families. I learned that there were above three thousand Arabian Beggers. Of the Modajares, which were expelled out of the Kingdomes of Granada, and the Tagarines out of Valentia and Arragon, Haedo numbreth one thousand Families; I adde (saith Gramay) as many more, which have brought Trades hither to the great increase of Argier. Of Turkes out of Asia and Romania, besides Janizaries are sixteene hundred Families, and above sixe thousand of renied Christians. Of Alcaids (that is of Commanders, in the Towne and Forts) one hundred thirty sixe Families, above three hundred Arraiz, which have places of command in the Navie: five hundred Families of Espaiis, sixe thousand Genizaries, eighty sixe green-headed Xerifes of Mahomets Kindred, Agi or Mecca-saints above eight hundred. Haedo reckons three thousand Merchants Families of divers Nations, and two thousand shops. The Handi-crafts cannot easily bee

And Foreners. Mountayne of Couko and Labesan, which are pettie Kingdomes. Those Moores Azuages have crosses marked in their hands.

reckoned: in the Smiths street are eightie Masters, they say twelve hundred Taylors, three thousand Weavers, three hundred Butchers, foure hundred Bakers, &c. The Jewes have sixe large Synagogues, not able to contayne their multitudes, reported to bee above eight thousand men. All these in the Citie. In the Countrey, are in Garrisons at Tremesen, Constantina, and the rest sixteene thousand Genezaries, and Souldiers. Of Arabians, Anno 1617. when there was rumour of the Spaniards comming, sixe Morabutes offered the King and the Duana sixescore thousand Horse-men, and sixty thousand Foot-men. Thus Argier which an old Jew of ninety, an Eye-witnesse reported to me, when Charles the Emperour intended the siege, had scarsly eight hundred men fit for resistance within the Walls, and a great part of the Moore-citizens were forced to live by Husbandry and fishing, is now encreased principally by ejection of the Moores out of Spaine, in the yeares 1492. 1567. and 1607. more to our griefe then wonder.

For the Government, the King, hath a kind of freedome, yet doth nothing of import without the Duana. Hee hath his Belerbei, or chiefe Captayne, wonted to bee sent with the Bassa from Constantinople, but many yeeres since continued among the Argerians; his Califa or Chancellor, who represents the Kings person if he be absent. The Cadi, one for the Moores, another for the Turkes (to whom is Appeale from the former, and from this to the Aga) are sent from Constantinople, with their Notaries Assistants. In Civill Cases and Criminall they are used, with the Mufties or Bishops, a Turke and a Moore. All their plea is by Witnesses, and seldome their sentences are recorded, and when they are, no name subscribed but a seale or Okered stampe. From these and from the King himselfe lyeth an Appeale to the Aga, the chiefe of the Duana, wherein all things are handled, and upon the rude cryes of the vulgar, sentence is executed. Rarely is a Turke put to death, except for Mutinie and Rebellion they be strangled: Adulteresses are drowned; in other

Two Mufties a Moore and a Turke.

offences they are fined in the decrease or losse of pay and place, or blowes given them with a Rope or Cudgell, on the backe, belly, and soles of the feet.

Jewes Officers. The Jewes have also their Magistrates and Judges, and punish theirs according to the Law: so yet, that the King doth inflict punishments, sometimes for imaginary crimes to extort reall summes from them. The Christians should also according to covenants with the Christian King, have judgement of their owne Consuls, but favour procures the

The Aga. contrary. As the Aga and Cadi in the Citie, so in the Countrey the Alcayde, and Makadi exercise like jurisdiction but subject to the former. And in Villages the Xequè doth all amongst the Arabs, from whom seldome is recourse to the King. The Sea-Common-wealth is exercised by the Arraez and his Balu-cobaxi. One of the Kings Pages, a youth, heareth (sitting on a stone abroad before the Kings Palace) the causes of the Whores, and inferiour womens brawles, and the fine returneth to himselfe. The Aga is chiefe of the Janizaries, and possesseth his place two moneths, and sometimes we have seene foure in a fortnight, the King giving so many silke Gownes to them after the custome: which place having passed he is free from Tribute, and lives among the Espaiis (of whom there is sixe or seven hundred Families.) He comes no more at the Duana, except hee bee called: to this, they arise by degrees, every Janizarie being capable in his order.

The Jewes weare a distinction in their clothes. The common apparell is, drawers not to hinder them in making water, a Wast-coate with wide sleeves not to hinder their washing to the elbow, a broad girdle, with goodly great Knives in a sheath on the left hand; breeches in Winter like the Spaniards, Zapatàs or coloured shooes to put on and off without touch of the hand, a kind of gowne uppermost. Every eight day they shave their heads except on the crowne, that locke being left to draw them to Paradise. The head is alway covered (in salutation they

[II.ix.1564.] lay the hand to the brest and bow the head) with a Tur-

bant, or a coloured cap with Linnen foure or five times wreathed about. They all weare Rings of divers matter. The womens habit differs little from the mens, nor could a woman going in the streets be knowne but by her woman-slave attending. They sit at home on Mats or Carpets prating (few except) all day long, except when they goe to the Bathes, Heremites, Wizards, Sepulchres, Gardens, Feasts, which are common with them. They delight in blacke haire which they procure with Medicines. They have little care of their Children, none of their Familie; too much of Superstitions and Lusts.

Opinions foolish and Devillish in Algier.

These Algerians have the foolish conceits of other Mahumetans, some also more proper, that Fooles and Dwarfes are Saints, their Morabutes to be inspired and to consult with God, the Viands set on Sepulchres weekly to be eaten by the soules; and if sicke persons offer there any thing which a beast eateth, that the disease is derived to it; that the head-ach is lessened with rolling a Goats or sheeps head on the Roofe; that it is not lawfull to buy in May, nor to bring in at doore Garleeke or Broomes, but (if there be need of them) at the Roofe; that it is a meritorious worke to prostitute their Wives to the Morabutes, and that the same men bugger with beasts; that shewing pitie to beasts, shaving, washing (though in the Sea) clenseth sinnes; that (Sodomiticall) sinnes against Nature are vertues. But to bedew the Garment in making urine, to let paper lye on the ground, the Alcoran to be touched or seene of one not Mahumetan, to fart in Sala (or Prayer time,) or then to defend a mans selfe (as Mulei Abdelummi assaulted by his Brother and wounded in the Church 1577. would not stirre till Sala was done) or to bleed, or neeze, or spit, to wipe the buttockes except with the left finger, to drinke out of a smacking narrow mouthed pot, to locke the Bed-chamber by night, to stampe on the Earth when they play at ball, to write with a Pen (for they use Reeds) to eate Snailes taken out of the fields (reputed holy) to touch money before they have said their Morning Prayers, to hold the Alcoran beneath the girdle, to have printed

Mahumetan Algier sinnes. Fie on it.

Bookes, or Pictures of men or beasts; to admit Christians or women to their Mesquits, to use Bels, to exchange a Christian captive for a Turke, to breech children with Rods (they whip the sole of the foot with a Whip) these are all sinnes and enormities at Algier. They beleeve that on their Easter mid-night all waters are asleepe, and hee which can get that sleepe shall be a happie man. With their Morabutes you are safe in the midst of Theeves. It is unlawfull to goe into a new house, undertake a Journey or begin any great businesse without Sacrifice of a sheepe: unluckie to sayle without consulting the Fortune-booke. They play not at Dice and Cards, nor sweare, nor fight one with another. The King and great men let their beards grow, others shave all but the Mustachos and Crowne; they wash before worke, Prayer, and Meales; and have a certayne Ceremonie to take water in the hollow of the hand, powring it to the elbow.

Of this divining by Books and Arrowes, a White for the Turke, a Black for the Christian, see sup. pag. 892.

Here and in all the East they use with Christians the Franke Tongue, composed of French, Italian, Spanish, and thereby understand them all. They eate not bloud, or a beast killed by another man: and kill turning the head to the Sunne and cutting the throate. No testament is available unlesse acknowledged forty dayes before the Testators death before the Cadi. All the Sonnes and Daughters inherit equally; if they be Moores the King hath a childes part, and if all Daughters, he hath all of a Moore, and halfe of a Turke. When any is sicke, women assist women, and men the men, praying Eastward; wash the dead Corps with hote water and Sope, clothe it and carrie it (having obtayned the Alcayds leave) with the head forward to buriall: if hee depart on Friday, it stayeth the Prayer time in the Mesquit: they set a stone at the head of the grave, and another at the feet with an Epitaph and Sentence out of the Alcoran. They weare no mourning, save that the women are a few dayes veiled in blacke, and the men shave not for a monethes space, and for three dayes space they have no fire in their house, nor eate any thing boyled; in that space they visit the Sepulchre, give

Funerals.

Mourning.

Almes, and gathering stones on the shoare, tosse them from the right hand to the left, and throw them into the Grave, saying, Selan Ala. They begin the Spring on the fourteene of February, and end it on the eighteene of May; they call the raine which fals from Aprill the five and twentieth to May the fift blessed of God, and keepe it religiously. Their Summer continues to August the sixteenth, and is very hote, and sometimes hath pestilent raines which kill thousands. Autumne to the sixteenth of November, and Winter is never so cold that they need a fire.

The treasure.

The Kings Revenues are summed by Harega at foure hundred thousand Duckets, by Haedo foure hundred and fiftie thousand: and payeth nothing to the Turke, but a few Boyes and gifts of no value, with some feeling to the Port Bassas. Yet would his Revenue be short of expences on Officers and otherwise, if spoile helped not. Much Gold is carryed out of Christendome, for redemption of slaves threescore thousand Duckets yearely, as much perhaps to buy spoyles, of which little or none returneth to Christendome, they taking to Sea, Bisket, Water, Tobacco, Oyle and Dates, and laughing at our Excesse. The treasure of the Duana is administred by three, two of which have beene Agas, the third is the Hoga or Secretary, who if the King payeth not the Janizaries, by the authority of the Duana they will imprison him and sequester his Rents; as it lately hapned to Osain Bassa two yeares together.

The Sepulchre of Morabute Cid Butica, is saluted with a Peece going out and comming in, by whose holy prayers they say, Charles prevayled not against them An. 1541. In a hill neere, lieth Caba the daughter of Earle Julian which Rodericus King of Spaine ravished, revenged by her wicked father, with treacherous bringing the Moores into Spaine. The Cids Sepulchres and Chappels are visited some on Munday, some on Thursday, or on Friday, by the devout superstitious fooles, specially (perhaps not-devout) women. Algier is environed with goodly hills [II.ix.1565.]

and dales, attended with plentie of fruits better then European. Three dayes journey towards Bugia, is the Hill Couko, the King whereof Barbarossa slue An. 1515. and sometimes he is tributary, sometimes enclining to the Spaniard.

Algier were altogether unworthy so long discourse, were not the unworthinesse most worthy our consideration, I meane the cruell abuse of the Christian name, which let us for inciting our Zeale, and exciting our Charitie, and Thankfulnes more deeply weigh, to releeve those there in miseries (as we may) with our paynes, prayers, purses, and all the best mediations. Thus writes he which saw and felt his part in those miseries. Barbarie and chiefly therein Algier, the whip of the Christian World, the wall of the Barbarian, terror of Europe, the bridle of both Hesperias (Italy and Spaine) Scourge of the Ilands, Den of Pyrates, Theatre of all crueltie, and Sanctuarie of Iniquitie, holdeth captive in miserable servitude, one hundred and twentie thousand Christians, almost all subjects of the King of Spaine: of which, partly by the Turkes riches, the Pyrates fortunes, the Janisaries honors, their fellowes flatteries seduced; partly overcome with despaire of libertie and irksomnesse of daily calamities, every yeere above five hundred become Mahumetan Apostataes; besides, about fiftie Boyes yeerly circumcised against their wills. To the Redemption of Captives by the Orders of the Trinitie, and of Saint Marie de Mercede in Spaine and Italy, are yeerly gathered about one hundred and fiftie thousand Duckets. There is no generall * ordinarie course for Redemption of Captives of England, France, Poland, Hungarie, Germanie, and the Low Countries; whereby men of those parts utterly disconsolate, to the losse and shame of Christians, Apostatise. And to stirre up compassion, behold Algier Captivitie, represented from his eyes to ours.

Epithets of Algier.

**The Author saith, Nullus per eleemosinam ereptus est, but we know by private friends by publike mediation of Embassadors,*

First, if any Ship comes into their hands, it is with huge

by collection in Churches, divers English men are redeemed: but not in the sense he speakes: which yet were to be wished; or that Hell-centre to be by publike charge of christendome demolished.

clamors presently invaded by the Pyrates, and if it be an Enemie, spoyled; if Confederate, they take away their Armes, fill the Poope and strongest places with Souldiers, search the lading, take meat and drinke as it were fee, send the Governours aboard their owne ship, and in a Pyratical counsell examine them, whether they have any Spanish Wares or Men; not content with words or letters, they force the Boyes and elder Persons by infinite beatings to confesse that which is not, and to promise what they have not; and one mans confession is enough to make prey. Sometimes gaping after the ships wealth, they throw the men over-board, and so possesse the ship, saying, her men had forsaken her. Otherwhiles not satisfied with Truncheons, and Ropes to have tortured the Wretches backs, binding their hands and feet, they draw them up and whip them, almost strayne out their braynes with a knotty Rope plucked about the head, thrust Needles in their fingers, rost their feet with the shooes on at the fire, powre forceably salt water into their mouthes to fill the body, and then treading on the belly with their feet, force them to belch it up; with smoke of Brimstone fill the mouth and eyes, hang them up racked with weights at their feet, or with a Rope draw them thorow the Sea under the ship. The end of these torments is captivitie, if there be any Enemie in the ship, and hee laden with Irons and Fetters, is thrust into the worst part of the ship, and scarsly hath moldy Bisket and Water to sustayne life. If they receive not satisfaction touching the men and Wares, they reiterate the tortures daily; Boyes are flattered and threatned, and often compelled to turne, and without delay presently are circumcised. And such is the course with them which they take in the Shoare and Ilands, chayned together or heapes, and thrust up like Herrings in the bottome of the ship, to be kept for the Butcherie or Market.

Tortures of friends to force from feare a confession of what is not.

When they come home to the Haven, with infinite scoffings, the wretches are led foorth in triumph, and three dayes set * to sale, and lastly sold to him which will give most. If any bee Sea-sicke, or otherwise wounded, or ill at ease,

**The price set on them, see sup.* 890.

for bemonings and medicines hee heareth blasphemies and revilings; and sooner would a Turke releeve a Dogge that is sicke, then a Christian: and if his sicknesse continue, without hope of recoverie, they throw him into the Sea, or by Land expose him to the Beasts. In the Market you may see them goe up and downe naked, and with whips compelled to runne or leape, for augmenting the price. After that three dayes ended, may be seene a miserable spectacle, Infants and Children plucked from their Parents sight, the Husbands violently divorced from their Wives, Friends separated, with infinite howlings and lamentations: some sold to Moores to doe their drudgeries, and usually agree with them by the day to earne so much; some sold to the Numidians and Arabians to basest servitude, greased with fat, made to draw the plow with Asses, drawing forth with back and belly beating a miserable life; some employed to the Gallies and Ships, there kept with chaynes, stripes, a little moldy Bisket and stinking Water: When they come on shoare, chayned in rewes, laid up in prisons, sleeping on the ground, called onely Dogs. If winde fayle, or crosse them, they will appease it with branding crosses on the Christians feet, in detestation of the Christian name; sometimes they will burne Arabike Characters on the cheekes, or cut off the Nose and Eares; and sometimes death is inflicted for slight suspicions. [II.ix.1566.] Except of basest labours, revilings, stripes, injuries, they are in nothing liberall to them; in sleepe, meate, drinke, clothing more then penurious. When they carry dung to their Gardens, water from the Springs, and goe by the way, every third word they must crie, Balec sidi, that is, Out of the way, or by your leave, Sir, to every Barbarian, or there he shall meet with new Devils, by spittings, stones, staves, boxes, thrustings, throwings downe, scornes, tormented. If a Christian commits a small fault, he is burned alive, or stamped in the earth * as in a Mortar, or gaunched (throwne from the wall on a hooke) or crucified, or flayed alive: to the execution of which tortures they take up any Christian they meet, to make them their

**Set in the earth to the neck, and then stoned: the ganched hang on the hooke divers dayes till they take them downe and stone them.*

brethrens tormentors; nor doe any performe baser offices but Christians. Now for the Sodomiticall lusts to Boyes, and their damnable services, and sending them for Presents to the Turke or his Bassas, I abhorre to mention.

If any Master be milde and gentle, he incurreth suspicion of favouring the Christians, a most odious crime in Mahometisme; whereas to breake covenant with Christians, yea leagues (upon advantage) is Mahumetan. They cast their Country-men Embassadors of Tunes into bands against publike faith, the French Consuls into prison many moneths condemned them to the Gallies, beat them with five hundred stripes, and burnt them alive: they imprisoned many yeeres in a lothsome prison the Spanish Redeemers, and reduced to slavery one hundred and fortie redeemed by one of them. They suborne false witnesses to testifie a man is otherwise then hee speaks, making a Souldier a Captaine, a Mercenarie a Merchant, to heighten the price. And when the price is agreed on, they will upon hope of more gayne flee from it. Modestie forbids to speake of the Female sexe abused to naturall, to unnaturall lusts, their children soone circumcised, their infancy trayned up in Turkish blasphemie, their childhood in lusts passive, and youth in active, their riper age rotten in all damnations.

Thus wee marvell not that in ten yeeres past, the upper and lower Germanie have yeelded 857. Apostates, besides 300. English, Hamburgers 138. Danes and Easterlings 160. Poles, Hungarians and Muscovites 250. Low Country men 130. besides French and others. Take it into your mercifull consideration, Kings and Princes, Magistrates and People, and helpe, Helpe the Lord against the mightie.

1609. *to* 1619. *since they have beene much worse, specially to English.*

If a circumcised man would returne to Christ, and is thereof convicted, hee is carried about oynted, naked, and proclamation made before him, chayned after to a poste and burned, often beaten or dismembred first. Delinquents at Sea, are shot, dismembred, pulled apeeces by divers ships going divers wayes, to which they are tyed, set

upon the mouthes of the Ordnance, cut in peeces; to be sewed up in Sacks and throwne into the Sea, is a favour. To lay hand on a Janisarie, imitate his habit in wearing a fringe on the necke, or to have to doe with a Mahumetan Woman, is death: though this last bee negligently executed, all Lust, Sodomie and Adulterie being expiated in their Bathes, which are therefore so frequented. Of these, of other kindes of terrible executions our Author hath divers examples, which I for tediousnesse forbeare: God make us thankefull for our selves, charitable to our Brethren.

An. 1607. three Townes in Calabria were spoyled by the Algier Pyrates, one thousand and foure hundred carried away captives: An. 1608. they brought two and fortie ships to Algier, and eight hundred and sixtie captives, besides those which they sold elsewhere: the next yeere six and thirtie ships, men six hundred thirtie and two: the next, twentie three ships, three hundred and eightie foure men: the yeere 1611. twentie ships, men foure hundred and sixtie foure. 1612. they entred Spaine, and carried away three thousand eight hundred and foure, in one moneth. 1613. they tooke sixteene ships and two hundred and thirtie men of Italy onely. 1614. ships thirtie five, captives foure hundred and sixtie seven. 1616. ships thirtie foure, men seven hundred sixtie seven. 1617. six and twentie ships, men one thousand seven hundred sixtie three; out of Porto Santo six hundred sixtie and three. 1618. nineteene ships, men one thousand foure hundred sixtie and eight, robbing Lancerotta and Cays. (And since mens deficit, vox silet: O our English Ships and Mariners! Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.) As for our Author, a Provost Deane, Archdeacon, Counsellor to the Archdukes, and the Popes Protonotarie, hee was taken in a ship of Marsiles, notwithstanding the peace and league, and therefore without fight the ninth of May 1619. and both aboard and on shoare felt his part of the premisses for six moneths space, informing himselfe further from others miserable experience. Two Boyes were

forced to confesse lyes, a Portugall condemned to three hundred blowes to make him confesse; himselfe charged to be Spaniard, threatned to be taught to speake Spanish; then said to bee a Jew, robbed of his clothes under colour of search whether he were circumcised, at last they detayning some, sent the ship to Algier, where hoping better things, they will needs have Gramay a Spaniard and imprison him; after that, they affirme him a Knight of Malta. After that, the detayned Portugall is brought, who by tortures forced made a false confession, that some of the goods were his, and that Gramay was a Bishop, and had brought with him a Knight of Malta and a Spaniard; and he therefore with blowes and hard usage almost killed, his meate eaten up by the Bringers; he at last bribed the Keeper to let him come into the light, and have Paper and Inke to write to the Consul, so that at a deare rate he obtayned upon caution of fortie thousand Duckets, to goe to the Consuls house. Some of the prisoners lay in [II.ix.1567.] Ditches in Water up to the middle, and otherwise used as before is spoken.

He hath written a Diarie of occurrences whiles he was at Algier, out of which a word or two. In June Cid Bud a Morabute, at noone day before the Church, buggered a Mule, all applauding it, and crying out that it might be luckie, which often at other times wee have sighed to see in Boyes. In the end of August. On the eight a ship of Spaine laden with Sugars, and fortie Captives, was brought in. John Peers a Belgian Boy refusing to turne Turke, was beaten by Mami his Master till he dyed. And two Spanish ships more brought in from the sight of Lisbon. In July Letters came in my behalfe from Marsiles, but they would not read them: A Holland ship was taken and a French. In August two pledges of the Catholike King taken in Cuko (whose King was lately dead) after other villanies, were condemned, one flayed alive, the flesh cut at the small of the leg first, and blowne, and so flayed all off, and the bodie lying on the ground, the skin stuffed with haire, sewed up, and layd on the

backe of a Christian which they met, and carried in pompe thorow the Towne, and set on the gate; the other was tyed to the Crosse by the middle, and with foure nailes thorow his hands and feet, crucified naked (save his privities) and lived till the evening the next day. Seventy and two Captives were brought out of Gallicia. Two Holland ships complayned of breach of League, the men of one of their ships, and three French cast into the Sea. But I am loth to drowne or torture the Reader any longer in these Tragicall spectacles; of takings, spoylings, sellings, killings which follow in our Authour. I will recreate you with more pleasing spectacles from English eyes, and send you home in an English bottome.

Chap. XIII.

Larger Observations of Master Richard Jobson, touching the River Gambra, with the People, Merchandise, and Creatures of those parts, then in his Journall is contayned, gathered out of his larger Notes.

§. I.

Of the River Gambra, the Raines, and Land-flouds, the cause and time of their contagion: the Beasts, Fish, and Fowle of the River; of the Portugals, Mandingos, and Fulbies there living.

Gambra: they seemed to themselves to travell South-east to 8. degr. they wanted instruments to make the true height.

THe River Gamba, Gambia, or Gambra, is in 13. degrees 30. minutes. The Inhabitants (as farre as I could learne in my travell up the same three hundred and twenty leagues, or nine hundred and sixtie miles) call it by no other name but Gee, a generall name in their language to all Rivers and waters. It hath one sole entrance, which in the mouth is about foure leagues wide, and three

fathome water in the channell without any barre. Foure leagues inward it spreads it selfe into so many Rivers, Bayes, and Creekes, that for thirtie leagues unto Tancrovally it is very intricate; the maine Channell may easily be discerned except in that limite. With a faire streame from the mouth it floweth to Baraconda, or some little above, which is nigh two hundred leagues in the lowest season. The Land-flouds abridge this tide, raysing the water thirty foot upright, repelling the Seas force, and covering the flats which in the low season cause impediment. These Raines alwaies proceed from the South-east, beginning within Land, where wee abode in the later end of May, and at the Rivers mouth in the end of June: continuing three moneths with great violence, with great windes, most terrible thunders and lightnings, in sudden gusts and stormes; which violence being overpassed, the people continue their labour of tillage. They begin and goe out with more gentlenesse, the extremitie being from the middle of July to the middle of August; in September equinoctiall the Sunne clearing: and thence to May they have no raine, whereby the ground is hard and uncapable of tillage. In this rainy (unseasonable) season are they forced therefore to exercise their husbandry; as also to prepare their habitations secured from the overflowings of the River, where the bankes cannot discipline it.

Tide 200. leag. Flouds 30. foot high.

The raines.

And hence may the unwholsomnesse be caused; whatsoever venome commeth from Trees, Plants, Serpents (whereof are many kinds) Toads and Scorpions, contayned and continued all that time of drought in the dust and on the earth, and washed in the first raines, yeelding venomous vapours to the Sunnes strong exhaling facultie, which it vomits againe, crude and undigested in the next raines; and so the former raines are worse then the later, blistring the naked bodies whereon they fall, breeding wormes in garments, therewith wetted and layd by. It were therefore fit to be provided of water to drinke or dresse meat before these seasons fall; and to prevent the hurt by keep-

Cause of the unwholsomnesse of raine.

[II.ix:1568.]

Note for health.

ing the Wells covered, and not to water in the open River, as the Saint Johns men did in the first Voyage (thereby the last to the most of them) our men remayning there three yeeres, and returning sound, freeing the Countrie of the imputation. The River encreased, when no raine is seene where we abode, whereby the raines falling above, and further passablenesse of the River appeares. The shoald which stayed us might in another season bee prevented; yea, with fit men and instruments cut thorow, continuing so small a space; promising fairly beyond, so farre as we had occasion to looke, the Sea-horses and store of Crocodiles proclayming deep waters upwards. And if it joyne above to Senaga (as it is usually described) it cannot be farre above that place where we were, but promiseth a farre farther streame, whose branches are so great. The higher we went, the more healthfull we found our bodies.

From Baraconda forward wee saw no Towne or Plantation; onely wee found two or three bondles of Palmita leaves bound up, which our Negros said some people had used to passe the River. There abound in this River Sea-horses and Crocodiles, or Alegators. This they call Bumbo, whose length we have measured in the impression made in the sand, whence we have driven him, three and thirty foot, so feared of the Natives that they dare not wash their hands, wade, or swimme in the great River, telling of many their friends by this enemie devoured. Neither dare they passe over their Cattell; but when they passe over a Beefe, a Canoe goeth before, wherto one holds him close with a rope fastned to his hornes, another holds up his tayle, the Priest or Marybuck in the midst praying over the beast, and spitting on him, by whom stands another with Bowe and Arrowes ready; and thus they passe them one by one. And when wee were forced in a shallow place to enter the water, and force the Boat against the current, the Blackes would not be perswaded, saying, Bumbo would have them; till at last on better consideration, at a third straight, they bethought them-

River-horses, and Crocodile.

Feare of the Crocodile.

selves that a white man was more conspicuous in the water, and therefore adventured. Yet did I never finde them to assault us in all this way, but when many of them lay on the sands, they would avoide us, as Snakes use the noise and sight of men with us; boldest in deepe waters. Their musky sent made us oft to stop our nostrils. It made both the water and fish also in some places to taste and rellish of them, that wee could not eate the one, nor drinke the other. The noise of them in that place, whereby they call one to another (resembling the sound of a deepe well) might be heard a league.

See before in Santos, c. 12, a larger description. Where our men may learne to take this Horse, Elephant, Crocodile, &c.

The River-horse is in fashion of bodie a compleat Horse; hath round buttocks, short eares, wagged to his mouth, two teeth standing right before on his lower chap great & dangerous, neighing directly like a Horse, foure legs, short, the foot divided, some so great that I have measured a print twenty inches over. Hee doth hurt in the Rice-grounds, but generally feeds on low marish grounds, where the Sedge is greene in herds by night; bold in the water, snorting, neighing, and tossing the water within Pistoll shot, very fearefull of fire, as might appeare by a Candles end (we could not spare them any shot) set on a piece of wood, and let downe the streame on them. They were most dangerous when they had their young with them, which sometimes they leave on the shoare, carried in the water by the female on her backe. I have seene the Sea-horse and Crocodile to swimme together without disagreement.

Torpedo, Tremedor, Thinta.

There is store of Mullet and other fish: amongst others, with a net we tooke one like an English Breme, but of great thicknesse, which one of our Saylers putting his hand to, presently cried out that he had lost the use of his hands and armes; another bare-legged, putting thereto his foot, lost the sense of his leg; their sense being seene to returne, the Cooke was called up, and bidden to dresse it; who laying both his hands thereon, sunke presently on his hinder parts, making grievous moane that he felt not his hands. Sandy a Blacke comming with his Canoe laughed,

Embleme of flatterer.

and told us that they much feared this fish in the water: for he benummed whatsoever hee touched, which he used to doe, stroking himselfe on other fish, and then devouring them: but being dead he was good meat. At that place (neere Cassan) the people would come boldly into the water, some great Marybuck having secured them from the Bumbo by his blessing. And wee might see many on the other side, but never any on this. One little fish there is which may bee called the Running fish, like our Roach, with a red tayle, enforced to runne a great way on the top of the water, lightly touching it, by his adversary which is like a Trout, whom to avoide he hath run sometimes into our Canoe.

Running fish.

River fowle.

There is store of fowle, which we see sit on the bankes, but never in the mayne River swimming (it seemes, for feare of the Crocodile) and feeding on the Marishes and Ponds; Geese rather bigger then our tame Goose, with a spurre on each pinion, large, sharpe, and if they be not killed dead, ready for offence: Ducke, Mallard, Hernes, Curlews, Storkes, Plover, and the like. The people fish their Lakes, and Ponds (which are many, broad, shallow) going a whole Towne or Plantation together, onely the men, each with a kinde of Basket holding the open mouth downward, close one by another overspreading the Pond, clapping downe their Baskets before them, and so returne most of them laden.

Natives fishing.

To speake of the Inhabitants, I will beginne at the mouth of the River, where dwell the Blacks, called Mandingos, which speake the same language, fearfull of any shipping, because many have beene surprised and carried away, except they know them: they brought to us abundance of Bonanos (which in the West Indies they call Plantanos) with Beeves, Goats, Hens, Graine, and some Hides. Amongst these dwell, or lurke rather, a certaine way up the River, certaine Portugals, some of that colour, other Molatos, but the most, blacke, scattered two or three in a place, begetting children of the Blacke women; but have neither Church, nor Frier, nor any other Religious

[II.ix.1569.] *Mandingos.*

Portugals. These may be of the Tangos maos before mentioned.

Order. It appeareth that they are Fugitives or Exiles from Portugall, or the Iles of that government, which employ themselves in buying Commodities, especially Slaves. A few of them have used one time of the yeere to goe up the River in a small Barke as farre as Setico to trade, whence they have returned much Gold, and have not attempted further, which is not halfe the way we have gone up. They say that those * which committed the treachery against our men are banished, as detested for that fact; how ever, it is not safe to trust them too farre. Their condition under the blacke Kings is base, who after their death seize on all without respect to wife, childe, or servant, except they have before provided; as wee have seene of their poore posteritie, retayning the language of Portugall, and name of Christians loth to bee called Negros, though never so blacke. The better sort for feare of revenge have removed their dwellings thence; the Blackes banishing them the Towne where it was done, and so much compassionating others of our people which were above in the River in trade, that at their returne they fed them, and convayed them to the next with their commendations, giving them safe conduct and guides till they came to Cape Verd, where the French have continuall trade, which might ship them home: their commendation from one King to another, being the losse of their ship by the treachery of Portugals, and their entertaynment good in all places. What Ferambra did, when the King of Nany was persuaded by the Portugals to destroy them is said before. Others did animate our men, and promised assistance to their revenge, which their paucity refusing, still these Natives beare a sullen disaffection to the Portugall notwithstanding.

*Hector Nunez, &c. which under colour of trade waited their time to kill the English and take their ship, Tomson and others being in their trade in the Countrey, others on shore, and divers sick: after much love and pretended kindnesse.

King of Nany, see sup. l. 7. c. 1.

There is another People dwelling amongst the Mandingos, called Fulbies, a tawny People much like to those vagrants amongst us, called Egyptians; the women well featured, with a long blacke haire, more loose then that of

The Fulbies. These being tawny, and the others blacke, sheweth that this colour comes from the seed which takes hold on the Portugals borne of Negro women, and not of the Sunne-burnd Fulby, in the same place.

the Blacke women, neatly apparelled in the habite of the Natives. The men are not so handsome, by reason they live of and with their Cattell, some Goats, but herds of Beeves in abundance, the keeping of which is their profession. In some places they have setled Townes, mostly wandring, uniting themselves in Kindreds, and driving their herds together: where they finde good pastures they agree with the King, and build houses as the season serves, during the raines betaking themselves to the Mountaines and higher grounds, and then succeeding the River, even to his severer bankes. Their toyle is continuall, keeping their Cattell in the day from straying, and from the Crocodiles hants; in the night bringing them neere their houses, and parting them in severall herds, make fires about them; and likewise in the midst, about which they lie themselves, ready against the roaring assaylants. Thus *Beastly life.* is the poore Fulby almost growne beastial, and when we have gone to them to buy a Beefe, he hath come forth from his beasts with his face and hands covered with flies, as thicke as here they use to sit on Horses in Summer, and the same kinde of flies; but those Fulbies seeme more senselesse; not removing them, as we were fayne with a bough in conference to doe, and as our beasts use whisking of their tayles and other motions.

Base state. They live in great subjection to the Mandingos, who will share with them if they know of their killing of a Beefe, and in their Commodities: that when they traded with us, they would draw us covertly to see it, lest the Negro participate in his returne. Of these the Countrey is full, every where dispersed; and higher up they are in one part principall, holding domination, excluding the Blackes, but for the most part in warre. Their language is different from the Blackes. Their women would daily bring us Milke, Curds, two sorts of Butter (one new, soft and white, the other hard and of an excellent colour, as good as any we have here, but for a little freshnesse) brought in Goards like Dishes, neate and cleanly within and without, therein much unlike the Irish Calios, how

ever otherwise resembling their course of life. Their returne was small Beads and Knives of sixteene pence the dozen, with other trifles. But after they had once tasted Ramdam (so they call our Salt) nothing else could so well please them, were this never so little. If wee denied trade one day, wee should not have their companie in a weeke; so that we were willing to please them, the Blacke not applying himselfe to Cattell.

The Mandingos idle life.

The Mandingos themselves, which are the Naturall Inhabitants, are perfectly blacke, living a most idle life, except two moneths of the yeare, in their Seed-time and harvest; wandering up and downe at other times from one to another, having little knowledge, to hunt, fish, or fowle, how much soever both Woods and Waters abound in Game, the Beasts and Fowles (as Guinnie Hens and Partridges) resorting to their very doores. In the heate of the day they passe the time in companies chatting under the shady Trees, having one Game with some thirtie stones and holes cut in a piece of Wood, performed by a kind of counting. They ordinarily make but one meale a day, specially the vulgar and younger sort; or rather none, their houre of meale being after the day light is in; and then with fires of Reeds, without the doore, they sit round and fall to their Viands, which for the most part are, Rice or some other Graine boyled, which being brought unto them in Goards by the women hot, they put in their hands, roll it up in Bals, and cast into their mouthes. Flesh, or fish their want of skill to get, hath made Rarities; their Cockes, and Hennes are plentifull, but spared to barter with us for small pieces of Iron, Beads, and such Commodities. They hold it unwholsome to eate in the heate of the day, the heate and moysture then exhaled to the exteriour parts, and the inward cooler and more disabled for concoction: whereby we can in that heate easily drinke, yea and desire it, that quantitie of Aquavitæ, or hote Drinkes, which here would kill us; and there wee drinke with more Temperance and satisfaction in lesse quantitie both Morning and

Their dice.

[II.ix.1570.]

Note for our mens dyet.

Evening. And in my opinion it were fitter for us to eate early, and againe, after the heate is past, in those parts.

Their usuall drinke is water, yet have both Wine of Trees, as also their Dullo, of Graine, like our Ale. They *Their Houses.* place their Habitations round together, and for the most part have a Wall of Reed made up together some sixe foot high; (fortifying them against ravenous beasts, which yet cause often alarmes and mighty cryes) compassing their Towne, with doores of the same shut in the night. Some of the houses within are made of the same Reeds, but the better sort of Lome, reddish and remayning very hard, likely to yeeld the best Brick in the World, the whole Countrey but the Mountaynes, yeelding the *Strange Ant-hils.* same Earth. The Ant-hils are remarkable, cast up in those parts by Pismires, some of them twentie foot in height, of compasse to contayne a dozen men, with the heate of the Sunne baked into that hardnesse, that we used to hide our selves in the ragged toppes of them, when we tooke up stands to shoot at Deere or wild beasts. The forme of their Houses is round, and covered with Reeds tyed fast to Rafts that they may endure the outragious gusts and raines. Such are their meaner Townes and Villages; others they have of force sutable to their *Fortifications.* Warres, fortified and entrenched, of which the In-land hath store, and Cassan (against which the betrayed ship did ride) is such. It is the seat of the King, seated on the River, enclosed round with Hurdles like those which our Sheepherds use, but above tenne foote high, fastened to strong Poles which are higher then the Hurdles. On the in-side in divers places they have buildings made like Turrets whence to shoote Arrowes and cast Darts against the Assailants: on the out-side is a Ditch or Trench of great breadth, beyond which againe the Towne is circled with posts and pieces of Trees set close and fast into the ground some five foot high, so thicke that except in stiles and places made purposely, a single man cannot get thorow; and in like manner a small distance off is the

like defence, which they say is to keepe off the force of Horse.

Their Armes are an Azegay or Javelin, with which in their hands they walke, beeing a Reed of sixe foot, with an Iron-pike artificially made and dangerous; they have others to cast like Darts with barbed heads. About the necke a Bandelier of redde or yellow cloth with a Sword hanging of some two foot long and an open handle; the better sort carry a Bow in their hand, and at their backe a Case with many holes holding some foure and twentie Arrowes of Reed, as bigge as a Swans Quill, two foot long, headed with Iron poysoned, without nocke or feather: the Bow also made of a Reed, with a flat string or sticke smoothed and fastened, of the same Wood, and to a Buffe Jerkin or any sleight Garment of defence is little offensive, the danger being in the Poyson. We have seene them likewise on Horse-backe, their Horses small, bridled and sadled after the Spanish fashion, each man having an Assegie, and a broad Buckler hanging on the right side of his Horse. The Kings House is in the middle of the Towne enclosed by it selfe, with his Wives severall Houses about, to which you cannot come, but by a Court of Guard, passing thorow an open House where stands his Chaire emptie, in which none but himselfe may sit; by which hangs his Drummes, which every night they use to drumme on, hooping, singing, and making a wild confused noyse till day breake, with fires in the House and Yard: which noyse they use in meaner Townes also to scarre away wild beasts.

Their Armes. Azegeys.

Bow and Arrowes.

I saw and did eate and drinke with sixe of their Kings or Mansas, which have reference to greater Kings living further; all the South-side of the River as wee went, beeing subject to the King of Cantore, of the North-side halfe subject to the King of Bursale, the rest to the King of Woolley. These wee saw not, and they say, that they shew not themselves abroad but in pompe, hunting with great numbers of Horse, as our men saw the King of Bursall (when they passed to Cape Verde) and there are

Their Kings.

Their State.

warres betwixt one side of the River and the other, which were it not, Bursale would soone with his Horse subdue a great part of the Countrey, or if he had meanes of transportation. Before these which we saw, the people present themselves kneeling, and comming neerer layes his hand first on the ground, and then on his owne head covered, some laying dust thereon; which Ceremonie he useth twice or thrice before he comes at him, then with much submission laying his hand on the Kings thigh, and so retyreth backe. And if a Marybuck be present in any company which thus come to him, after their salutation they all kneele downe, and he fals to praying for him and blessing him; to which he crossing his armes (the right hand over the left shoulder, and the left to the right) often answers, Amena, Amena, which is as Amen, with us. When the common people meet, which have not seene each other in long time, if there be a Marybucke amongst them, before salutation they put themselves in a Ring and kneele to Prayer. The King answers the people with nodding his head. His habit is little differing from theirs, the Countrey yeelding only Cotton to both, whereof they plant great fields, where it growes like Rose Bushes, yeelding a Cod which being ripe breakes and is white.

Devotion in salutation.

[II.ix.1571.]

Cotton trees or bushes. In other parts are greater Cotton trees.

Their apparel. Their apparell is a shirt and a paire of breeches: the shirt downe to the knees, wide like a Surplice, with great sleeves, which he rolleth up and fastens to his shoulder when hee useth his armes: the breeches made with so much stuffe gathered just on his buttockes, that hee seemeth to carry a Cushion, and they make him straddle. His legs are bare; some few wearing a piece of Leather under the foot, buttoned about the great Toe, and againe at the in-step. They are for the most part bare-headed, save that they are bedecked with Gregories, which are things of great esteeme, usually made of Leather of severall fashions wondrous neatly, seeming hollow, with Writings in them received from their Marybuckes, reputed so holy that no evill can betyde them whiles they weare

Gregories.

them. On their heads they weare them in manner of a Crosse from the fore-head to the necke, and from eare to eare: about their neckes, shoulders, bodies, armes above and below the elbow, round their middles, seeming laden with blessings for each member, both men and women, and most of all the King. Yea, if they have any Maladie or Sore, they apply thereto these Gregories; neyther could I perceive amongst them any other Physicke. Their Horses also are thus blessed, wearing them about their neckes, and their Bowes.

Their women.

The King for greater state hath many times two of his Wives sit by him, laying their hands on his naked skinne above the waste, stroking, and gently pulling the same. He hath an orderly allowance of seven Wives, acknowledged with set Ceremonie, besides Concubines; sometimes yet of so many Wives not having one fit for carnall knowledge. The cause whereof is their membrous Montrosity, the woman after she perceiveth conception not admitting further knowledge, lest she or it be destroyed. Custome also forbids it after delivery till the Child be weyned, each Mother being here in complete, and her Childes Nurse. Adultery is severely punished, the man and woman being both sold (which is the punishment for great offences, none being put to death) the Portugals buying and transporting them to the West Indies. Other men may have if they are able to buy, their pluralitie also, first compounding with the King or Governour with some gratification, and then with the womans friends: which money, they say, remaynes in banke if he dyes, for her better mayntenance, or if shee please to buy a Husband. For as the Mayde is bought, the Widow buyeth.

Priapeian Stallions.

Husbands and Wives bought.

The Wives live in great servitude; they beate their Graine in Morters with staves like Cowle-staves; and dresse it and all manner of victuall, and bring and set it on the Mat before them, never admitted to sit and eate with them; neyther could I ever intreat that favour of any for the best accounted Wife (which usually they have one most conversant with the Husband, whom we called the Hand-

Admirable subjection.

Wife) but even she also how ever priviledged from some other labours, may not eate in sight, but in another house. One shall not see kissing or any dalliance used betwixt the Husband and Wife, nor ever heare of brawling or falling out (which in this plurality and equality is strange) amongst themselves. Each woman hath her private Lodging and severall House for the night. When they appeare in the morning, they salute him kneeling, laying their hands on his thighe. Her apparell is loose, parti-coloured, blue and white Cotton Cloth, from the waste upwards bare, the rather to shew their printed rased bodies, whereof they are not a little proud, turning themselves to shew it, and pleased with the handling, seeming to us as the printed lids of our baked meates. Sometimes they cast on their shoulders such another Cloth as they weare below. Most of them are nice in shewing Natures Secrets.

Mariage-rites. The Marriage Solemnitie is this; the man gets his friends with whom, and the younger sort he comes to the Towne where the Mayde is dwelling, in the beginning of a Moone-shine night. These by violence, as it were, carrie her away shriking with a great noyse, seconded by the young Maydes of the same place; whereupon the young men of the Towne assemble in rescue, the other notwithstanding, with great shouts and jubilees, carrying her away to the Bridegroomes abode: where she remayneth for a certayne time unseene; after which for some Moones she shewes not her open face, but with a cloth covers all but one Eye.

Their Kings and Grandes stand much on their Generositie and Antiquitie, whereof wee had experience in a quarrell betwixt Bo John and the Kings Sonne, in whose Land wee then resided. Succession is not to the Sonne of the deceased, but to his Brethren in course, and then to the Son of the eldest, the other Brethren holding some place, governed meane-while. Bo John is the title of the yongest, Ferambra of the third, Ferran of the second, and the eldest is stiled Mansa, or King, which here was the King of Cantore, whom we saw not. Their

Course of succession.

greatest riches is the number of slaves, and from the King to the slave they would all begge of us; but small matters might serve, except Aquavitæ, for which they would sell all, the Kings also drinking drunke: and the Kings life with them is to eate, drinke, sleepe, and company with their women, thus consuming their time till time consumes them. Our salutation to the King, he sitting on his Mat, was without mooving the Hat, to lay the hand on the brest bending the bodie (as hee also did) and then both take hold on the upper part, then on the lower part of each others hands, and the third time joyne full hand and shake [II.ix.1572.] hands: then sitting downe by him, after a little parley touching the cause of our comming (the King for state still speaking by another) out goeth our Bottle of Aquavitæ and Sacke, and calling for a small gourd which is their richest Plate, I beginne and drinke off a Cup, then presenting both Cup and Bottle to the King, after whom it passeth to the rest, no unkindnesse taken if wee refuse to drinke any more. Before hee drinkes, hee wets therewith one of his Gregories. They leave not till all be out.

§. II.

Of their Marybucks, and Religion: Merchandize; Fidlers, Instruments, Trades, Husbandry, with a further Historie of the Creatures in those parts.

Marybuckes, or Priests of a Mahumetan Sect, differing from the common.

THeir Marybucks or Bassareas, are their Priests or Religious persons, separated from others in their habitations and course of life. They tell of Adam, Eve, Noah, with other things mentioned in Scripture; like the Leviticall Tribes, they have their Townes and Lands proper to themselves, wherein dwell none of the Secular but their Slaves, whose Issue is their Inheritance; they marry also in their owne Tribe, breeding all their Children to their owne profession; have as many Wives and Women as the rest according to their degree. In every Marybucke Towne they have a

principall; they will put their hands to worke, and may be hired to doe service as well as others; wee agreed with them by the Moone. Their habit is as that of the vulgar.

Fodee Bram. see sup. 925. I visited Fodee Bram, the principall in his sicknesse, who sate on his Mat or Bed supported by three of his Wives, to each of which I gave a Pewter Ring, which hee tooke kindly, and caused a Dinner to be provided, and sent mee a Hide and an Elephants Tooth in recompense of a Present which I had given him, which here cost eighteene pence.

It seemes they speake some Arabike words: in which also their Law is written. They worship one God and call him Alle, acknowledge Mahomet, are circumcised; observe Friday Sabbath, but have no Meskits or Mahumetan Churches or other Religious place, where they celebrate the same, following therein their occasions without intermission. They have open round Houses not decently swept, in which they teach their Children to write and reade; Paper is of great esteeme with them; their Pen is a kind of Pensill; their Law is written in a Language differing from their vulgar. None of the Temporall people have any use of Bookes or Letters. We thought they made use of some shadie tree in the fields for their Assemblies: and one day saw a Marybucke comming with his Slave to the River-side close by our Wall, hee first with a Gourd full of water washed his members, without any nicety of our seeing him; then washing the emptyed Gourd, his slave brought him other water wherewith he washed his hands, and after that a third for his face; after all which making a low reverence with his body, and laying his hand on his brest, his face directed toward the East,* kneeled downe and in decent forme seemed to utter certayne Prayers; which ended he kissed the ground, rose up, turned his face to the West, and performed like Ceremonies, and then returned to his Lodging.

Slovenly clenlinesse.

**To Mecca ward.*

When Fodee Bram was dead, hee was laid in a house where a Grave was digged, and a great Pot of water set in the Roome, and after the Irish manner much crying (rather then mourning) being made, he was laid into the ground; the women running about in a Lunatike fashion,

with their armes spread made a terrible Spectacle of sorrow. The Marybuckes assembled themselves in a convenient place to receive the multitude, neere the Grave, where the people sitting downe in a Ring, a Marybucke came forth in the midst, who betwixt saying and singing, seemed to reherse certayne Verses in the prayse of the deceased, the people interjecting their applauses, clapping hands and running in to gratifie their Vates, (Poet or Prophet) with a Present. Thus one after another, every Marybucke had his speech, but the most popular Orator carryed only the Presents. The principall might also take of the Grave, Earth, and Water in the Pot to make a Relike-ball thereof. Some dayes being thus spent, a great Solemnitie was made for the installing of his Sonne in the Succession. *Marybucke Orations or Sermons.*

They have great Bookes, Manuscripts, with which we have seene some of them laden. As the vulgar is insatiate with hote Drinkes, these are abstenious, strictly devoted to poore pure water, as also their Wives and Children; nor would endure the least Infant or playing Boy to tast of our liquor, or Raisins, Sugar, Fruits, or any sweet thing. Nor can the greatest Reasons in their sicknesse perswade a taste; insomuch that my Marybucke almost drowned once in a Whirle-poole, after twice sinking recovered, scarsly had any sense and yet shut his mouth to our Rosa-solis, whereby we sought to revive him, benefited no doubt by the sent; and being comne to himselfe, he asked whether any had entred, saying, hee had rather have dyed then any should have come within him. Hereby they are easily discerned from the vulgar, and this sobriety makes them usefull in their service and credible in their reports. *Their Bookes and abstinence.*

They dispose themselves generally to travell, together with their Families, Bookes, and Boyes; the Countrey being open to them; renewing (it seemes) their provision when they come to some principall place: of us it is most certayne they will begge, and a Quire of Paper is a great gift to a whole Company, which they use to write their Gregories; and when wee send any of the people any *Marybucks travellers.* [III.ix.1573.] *Cause why Paper is so esteemed. See Sup.* 1466.

whither, he will looke to have a sheet or two of Paper above his covenant, to buy him sustenance in the way. These Mary-buckes by their travels are experienced in divers Countries; and how ever the Countries agree or have Warres, the Mary-bucke is alway a priviledged person, with both sides; Yet doe they use Armes as well as others, but rather I thinke for defence against Mankinde-beasts, then beastly unkinde Men. Two Mary-buckes gave us much intelligence of Gold; one of which, when I came to take leave of him, tooke my right hand betwixt his, uttering over the same certayne unknowne words, and would ever and anon sparingly spettle upon it; and the like he did over my right shoulder.

Trade of Slaves & Salt. The Inhabitants of Setico are all Mary-buckes, and have continuall Trade to the King of Bursall, and carry Slaves to buy Salt which is there by the Sea side, a durtie kind: like Sea-coale ashes. This they make little use of among themselves, but carrie it up farre into the Countrey; their returne is Gold and Cola Nuts. The Gold is sayd to bee buryed with them, or by themselves hidden secretly in the ground: for their use in the next world. They buy also Bloud-stones long and square of the Portugals, which their Women weare about their middles, to preserve them from bloudie issues, the Mens membrositie seeming to give thereto much occasion. They follow this Trade with great numbers of Asses. Bucker-sano is sayd to keepe three hundred Asses. They goe in Companies together, driving their slow-paced Asses before them, beginning their dayes journey with the Sunne: and travell three houres, the heat then enforcing their rest; two houres before Sun-set setting forth againe, and holding on till Night, when the wilde Beasts forbid further travell. At some good Townes they will stay and make shew of their Wares, in a kinde of Market; they carry their mattes for Beds with them.

Bloud-stone Trade.

Caravans of Asses.

Buckor-sanos Sword and Wives Bracelets: seeming to come from these parts, I asked whence hee had them? He answered, of the Arabecks, which he described to bee tawnie Moores, comming in Companies with Camels, by

Arabecks trade.

which I perceived they were of Barbarie. Some Women which had never seene white Men, were fearefull of us, till the gift of Beads made them more daring; and they requited us with neate Tabacco-pipe Canes: they were the deepest printed that ever I saw. Their Husbands in gallantrie weare Beasts skinnes, the tayles hanging to them as to the Beast, betwixt their buttockes. The Women weare golden Eare-rings; the Language was differing, yet the better sort could speake the Mandingo. Wee observed some with three strakes under the Eyes, a distinction of the Subjects, of a certayne King further up the River. A Mary-bucke told us, that the Salt was sold to a people not farre from Jaye, which were deformed, their nether Lippe hanging downe toward the breast and putrifying, against which they use Salt for a remedie: but conscious of this Deformitie, trade without sight or conference: a Day being set, on which the Merchants bring and lay downe their Commodities, which they leave there one whole Day; and then returning, finde so much Gold layed by them as the Deformed will give. If hee likes the price, he takes the Gold and leaves the Wares; or else takes them, and leaves the Gold, when the price contents him not. This is reported to bee the Arabeckes Trade with that people.

Deformed people, their Trade and Gold. See Sup. pag. 872.

No people is more adicted to Musicke, the Kings or principall persons being accompanied with their Juddies or Fidlers. The most common Instrument is made of a great Gourd, and a Necke therto fastened, in some sort resembling our Bandora, the strings meane, and unfit, without frets, yet with Pinnes wound and fitted to some Harmonie. With this they have a little Drum, whereon with a crooked sticke in the right hand, and the Fingers on the left, they play wringing the mouth and gaping very Deformedly. Their Ballards are a foot above ground, hollow under, with some seventeene Keyes on the top, on which the Player strikes sitting on the ground, with two stickes a foot long, with Balls fastned on the end: the sound may bee heard an English mile. This Instrument

Musicke and Musicians.

Their Ballards see before pag. 925. *and Sup. c.* 12. *the like in Cafraria.*

is one of their most ingenious Artifices. To every one of these Keyes belongs a small Iron a foot long, as bigge as a Quill, upon which hangs two Gourds under the hollow like bottles, which cause the sound. There are few of them, but not a few which resort to them, and spend whole nights in Dancing, each person Male or Female single: giving to the Musicians, whereby they are esteemed Rich, and their Wives more adorned then the Kings with Bloudstone: but these, if any licentious, as their carriage imports, These men are denyed Buriall, being set dead in a Tree, as conceived to have most familiaritie with their Ho-re Devill, and are accounted Diviners. Their greatest assembly is at the Circumcision, which is a set time yeerely. The youths which are Circumcised have Licence permitted to filch Hennes, and from the Fulbies a Beefe, or young Cattle, to make merry with in the time of their sorenesse. It is done without religious Ceremonie, and hath no name but cutting of Prickes, the partie stripped naked and sitting on the ground, and the Butcher pulling the skinne over very farre, and cutting it, not without terrour to the beholder. This is done in the greater Townes, to which the smaller send their Youth for this purpose, they being all kept in a House together: some Knave never fayling to play the Ho-re at this meeting, by the Mary-buckes pollicie, as I found by experience. Thus the Devill may bee belyed, who yet is an Oracle to them, as appeared by one of their Juddies, which had told one at Pompetane how many of us, and at what houre wee should arrive, which was uncertayne to our selves, yet fell out accordingly.

Circumcision, a seale of unrighteousnesse without Faith.

[II.ix.1574.]

Their Trades. Smiths.

There are amongst them three principall Trades, the Smith which of Iron brought to them (for else they have none) makes their Swords, Assegay heads, Darts and Arrow heads barbed; and Instruments of Husbandry, without which they could not live. Hee hath his Bellowes, small Anvill, and Cole of a red wood, which alone will give the true heat to our Iron; who thus cut out Iron for us, eight inches going above as well as twelve

inches below, at ten for one gaine. The Smith if he be not looked too, will steale.

The next Trade is the Sepatero, or Gregorie maker, made artificially in all shapes, round and square and triangle, so as Our men would acknowledge Art. They make also Bridles and Saddles, of which I have seene some very neat, hardly to be bettered heere: whereby it seemes they have skill to dresse and dye their Deeres skins and Goats skins. *Gregorie maker.*

A third Profession is of those which temper the Earth for their wals and pots in which they boyle meats, using for other services the gourd. Their Tabacco Pipes also (without which few or none, either men or women walke, and cannot of all things want) have their bowles and neckes about two inches long of Earth, neatly glased, able commonly to hold halfe an ounce of Tabacco: they put a cane about a yard long into the necke, and so draw the smoake. These are peculiar Trades; other things are common to all, Mats to eate, sit, sleepe on, are their Staple commoditie, as at Mangegar Market, we saw things bought and sold, without nominating any other price but Mats (How many Mats shall I give you?) for Coyne they have none. *Potters.* *Tabacco pipes.* *Mats.*

But the generall Trade from which none but the Kings and principall persons are exempted, is Husbandry whereto the Marybucke-priest, the people of all sizes after their abilitie are subject: God having not given them wisedome to serve themselves of the beasts to that purpose. They make furrowes as decently as we doe, but with handie labour, having a short sticke about a yard long, on the end of which is a broad Iron like to that of our Paddle-staves; with which Iron set into the ground, one leades the way cutting the Earth before him, others following in the same tract with their severall Irons, so many as will make a sufficient furrow thorow the length of a spacious field: and when they are at the end, they begin againe, many hands making lighter riddance. They have sixe severall graines for food, of which we know *Husbandry.*

**Panike, Millet, &c. No Bread.*

none here by name but Rice: the * other seeme Seeds rather then Corne, being very small. Neither do they make any bread, but boyling the graine, roll it up in Bals, as before is said: in like sort they boyle their Rice and eate it warme. This they set first in low Marish grounds, and after remoove them to places prepared for it, where it yeelds great increase: the other seeds they sow, and spaddle over the ground with their Irons, and so leave it. They observe their seasons for Tabacco, which they set about their houses, and for Cotton-seeds with which they set whole fields. The terriblenesse of their seasons doth further aggravate the miseries of their Husbandry; which might learne us thankfulnesse to whom God hath given the beasts in service, the Heavens seasonable, and besides, and with infinite other blessings, his owne Sonne.

Palmita trees and Wine.

They have growing neere the Rivers mouth Bononos, as delicious and great as any in the West Indies; likewise store of small Limons or Limes, and Oranges were brought us farre up in the River. Of Palmita trees there are whole grounds or groves, whence they draw a sweete Wine and wholsome, by cutting holes into the bodie of the tree, into which a Cane is put, which receiveth the sap and conveyes it into gourds. The vulgar may not meddle with this: it tastes like white Wine when it comes first over, and as many differences are thereof: but will not last above foure and twentie houres. Some of them beare Apples almost like Quinces, which the common people will eate.

Dullo Ale.

When they make Dullo, the King or some principall person makes a Feast, and having provided three or foure great

Gourds.

Gourds, they make an end of all before they part. The Gourds grow like our Pompions, in that manner placed and carried upon their wals, of unequall quantities from an Egge to a Bushell, yeelding varietie of houshold Vessell to eate, drinke, wash clothes: the meat is bitter and throwne away, which seasons the shell so that it must bee seasoned before it is fit for use. They have Pompions also like ours in nature and use. They have great store

of Locust trees, which yeeld clusters of cods, ripe in May; the trees bigge and high, of which the younger sort eate. They have store of Honey; for which they place baskets on great trees about their houses, made of Reed and Sedge, in which the Bees will come and breed: so many in some trees that to us afarre off, they seemed as the fruit thereof. In hollow trees also are store of Bees. They have one great sort of trees, which on a long stalke yeeldeth a great and round fruit, with a pleasing pith therein, whereon the Baboones and Monkies feed. Some are so bigge that ten men can hardly fathome. The Cola is much like our bigger sort of Chesnut, flat on both sides, yet without a hard shell, the taste very bitter, yet causing that which is taken immediately after to be very sweet, water tasting like white Wine and Sugar, Tabacco also having thereby an admirable sweetnesse. The elder which want Teeth to chew it, have morters to bruise it. Fiftie of these [m] presented to the King would buy a Wife. They are brought from some other parts. I would have brought some into England, but they would not last. Amongst their Plants one is most admirable, a tree or bush commonly growing on the Rivers bank, resembling much our great Bramble-bushes, only having a little ragged leafe; whereof the gentlest stealing touch of a leafe [n] betwixt the finger and Thumbe, would cause the whole bough to close up all his leaves, as sensible of offence; the touch of a sprigge, would cause the whole Tree to shut up his leaves. It bare a yellow flowre like our Hedge-roses.

Locust trees.

Great trees. Cola an Embleme of the Christians Crosses.

[m] *Sup. pag.* 924 *falsly printed* 500. *as the next page line* 58. *Hill for Haven, with divers other faults, in which respect, as also for better and fuller intelligence, this is added.* [II.ix.1575.]

[n] *Of this in the East and West Indies.*

They have many Lions, hardly seene by day, easily knowne by night, by reason of his Ushers or Fore-runners the Jackall, sometimes two or three, which is a little blacke shag-haired beast, of the bignesse of a small Spaniell; which when Eevening comes hunts for his prey, and comming on the foote, followes the scent with open crie: to which the Lion as Chiefe Hunt, gives diligent eare, following for his advantage. If the Jackall set up his Chase before the Lion comes in, he howles out maynly,

Lions and Jackalls.

Some say, that if the Lion faile of his prey at three jumps, he will not further toile himselfe.

and then the Lion seiseth on it, making a grumbling noyse, whiles his Servant stands by barking (as we not onely heard of the Countrey people, but might heare our selves riding at Anchor by night in our passing up the River) when the Lion hath done, this Attendant feeds on the Relikes.

Ounce.

There are many Ounces and Leopards, the prints of whose feet wee might often see in the mouthes of their Dennes or Holes, and many of their skinnes were brought to us. The Ounce is the more ravenous: I saw a child which the Mother having left on a cloth at the doore, whiles she fetched water, an Ounce had gotten and being hotly pursued, let fall the childe out of the cloth which he carried away. Many times our Dogge hath beene driven to our Bed-side by a hole he had thorow our straw walls, not daring with any animating to goe forth, till we with Firebrands have scarred away the Ounce.

Civet-cat and Porcupine.

The Civet-cat and the Porcupine, are diligent Purveyors for their Poulterie.

Elephants.

These are night-walkers: By day you may see the Elephants, of which the Countrey people are very feare-full: they doe much harme in their Corne and Cotton grounds, going in companies together. They feed amongst the Sedge, halfe their bodies appearing over the same, which yet is higher then a tall man can well reach; they bruise also on trees, whereof you shall finde many in the Woods by them pulled downe of bigge bodies, with their two great Teeth which are not like a Bores turning upward; but downward, so that with his trunke bending the top, hee hasps over his two Teeth and then puls, that either the Tooth or Tree must yeeld; whence it comes that so many rift and broken Teeth, and pieces of

Shed not their teeth.

Teeth are to bee had. They shead not their Teeth as Stagges their Hornes, but by death loose together themselves. I did eate of the flesh at Ferambras house, who only (that wee knew) had a man which durst kill an Elephant, which with a poysoned Azagay tenne foote long (the head whereof I saw bound

up in a cloth with poyson) he performed, stealing into the Reeds behind the Elephant feeding, till hee might thrust his Javelin into his bodie, there leaving it and fleeing away thorow the Reedes: the Poyson killing the beast, the people about from Trees watch, and when hee fals come and cut away the inflamed flesh, eating the rest. It seemed to mee good and savourie meate. Thus had he killed so many as he shewed me tayles hanged up. The people else-where seeme very fearefull of them, and yet they seemed as fearefull as a Forrest Stagge going from us (which adventured on them as wee met them) with a swifter pace then an able man can runne. One wee shot three times and lost him; but his Teeth were after brought us to sell by those which had found him dead. There are wild Buls, and huge wilde Boares, of a darke blue colour, armed with large tuskes, and very bold; walking from us with his tayle upright in a scornfull manner. There are great Antelopes, Deere of all sorts, and Beasts unknowne. They brought us strange Hides, amongst which, one fourteene foot long, dunne, and streaked with white.

Baboones and Monkeyes. He told me, he never saw greater Lion then of them: their height (standing up) most admirable!

Their Baboones & Monkeyes may deserve mention: they go in Herds, the Monkeyes alwayes by themselves, as the Baboones also; and aswell within the River Ilands, to which they swim, contrary to some mens conceit; I had a Monkey which both swamme and dived often to escape from him which pursued him. The Baboones goe three or foure thousand in a Herd, marching in ranke, some of the greater being Leaders (their greatest are as bigge as Lions) the smaller following; ever and anon a great one as a Commander; inserted: the Females carrie their young under their bellies, and if they have two, the other is carried above. In the Reare comes a great company of the bigger sort, as a Guard against Pursuers. Thus doe they march along and are very bold. And as we passe in the River, when we come neere their troopes, they will get up into the Trees, and stand in gaze upon us; and in a kind of cholericke humour, the great ones

will shake the Trees, and with their hands clatter the boughes, with greater strength then a man is able; barking and making a noyse at us, as much offended: and so following us, in the night when we ride at Anchor, take up their stands on the Mountayne tops or trees above us, where wee might heare their government. For often in the night, you shall heare many voyces together, when instantly one great voyce exalts it selfe, and that noyse is all husht; that we were wont to say, Master Constable speakes. On shoare when we suddenly meet with these troopes, the great ones will come forward and seeme to grinne in our faces, flying on the first offer of a Game. One of our people killed one with a Peece, but before the Boate could get ashoare, the others had gotten it up, and carried it away. The Countrey people will eat them heartily. We have seene in Desert haunts of theirs, Trees and Plants woond and wrought together in that [II.ix.1576.] artificiall manner, thickly folded over head to keepe away the Sunne, and the ground so smooth and beaten below, as might appeare an excellent Arbour, which place they have only used and kept for their Dancing and Disport. No man living which should see the place, and not know of the persons, would conceive otherwise of it, then of Mans handie-worke (which wee knew it could not bee.)

Baboones dancing Schoole.

We enquired above in the Countrey if they had any knowledge of the Unicorne; and they have told me that higher within the Land is a beast which hath one horne only in his fore-head, but describe him to be of the colour and bignesse of a vallow Deere, and the horne to be about the length of their arme, and no otherwise; not like that which we have described, of which I doubt, whether there be any such.

Unicornes.

*Land Fowle. *Estriches & Emes use sandie Deserts.*

For their Land Fowle, we never saw any *Estriches, nor had any of their Feathers brought us by the people. The greatest we saw is a Stalker, whose long legges and necke makes him standing upright to be taller then a man; his body is in substance more then an indifferent Lambe. Some of his Feathers are worne and well

esteemed here at home. The next is a Wake, which makes great noyse when he flyeth; they doe much spoyles on their Rice grounds: they are of great stature, good food, carrying a beautifull shew on the crowne with a faire tuft. There is infinite store of those which we call Guinnie-hennes, as bigge and beautifull as our Pheasant, his Feathers layd over him like eyes: wee have killed eight of them at a shoot, excellent meate. Their Partridges are of darke feathers, and are all over the inhabited parts, remayning neere their houses. The plentie of these and the former, shew that they have no Foxes: their keeping so neere the houses, is to preserve them from the Baboones and Monkeyes which are no night-walkers, and frequent not frequented places by day.

There are store of Quailes as bigge as Woodcockes; and of Pidgeons, of which I have killed with my Stone-bow, twenty in two houres. There are Parrats, but none good but the dun with the Red tayle; of Parakitos there are very faire, some which come to perfection. Of small Birds are many pleasing both the Eye and Eare.

Hanging Bird.

One strange Bird there is which hath no legges, but two strings by which he hangs with his head downewards, resembling a dead leafe hanging on the tree, and is directly of that colour, so that except hee light, you can hardly discover him. And hee seemes to take pleasure to deceive our Eyes, hanging wondrous steadie without motion, till you bee neere the touching. Another strange Bird there is, which flyeth with foure wings: wee see him not all the day, but an houre before night. His foremost wings are largest; the other two are a prettie distance backward; his bodie is borne up as betwixt foure.

A Bird with foure wings.

It is remarkable, how Nature hath taught them to secure their Nests from Baboones and Monkeyes, the professed Enemies of Fowles. In their varietie of trees, there is none that I can call by an English name, as beeing of any of our kinds; but one there is full of prickles in the bodie and boughes; many of which grow on the

No trees like ours.

River bankes, hanging their tops over the water. On these trees, and on the water-shading side doe these Birds breed, winding their Nests with a hollow necke made of Reedes and Sedge, so that the whole Neast hangs like a Bottle fastned by the necke; in some places so thicke that that side of the tree seemes covered with Thatch.

Cunning building.

The Parrat speedes not so well, making his Neast on the out-most smallest twigge of a tree on the Land, winding it about so that it will not beare that bodie, whose wit seeing the young growne (for he can over-looke) teacheth him to sit fast on his hinder-feet, and taking the bough as neere the Neast as he dares, shakes it in that manner with his hands, that the young fall out for his share. Other Birds breed in holes, made in the over-hanging bankes of the River: to escape both those beasts and the Snakes.

Hunting Hawkes.

There are Hawkes, one sort as large as our Ger-falcon, which (the people say) will kill of themselves a Deere, seizing on his head, hanging fast and beating with his wings till the Deere faints, fals to his prey. There are small bastard Eagles, Buzzards, some with skinnes smelling like the Crocodile. These are meanes to the people to finde out Elephants, or other beasts dead, which become often sharers with these Sharkes. They have no Ginnes nor Devices to take Fowle, but when the King meanes to make a Feast, the people are all summoned, and placed in severall fit distances, so that the Ginnie-hennes and Partridges are pursued without rest, till wearinesse deliver them to their Enemies hands, and they to the King.

Fowling.

Chap. XIIII. [II.ix.1577.]

A Letter contayning the admirable escape and glorious Victorie of Nicholas * Roberts Master, Tristram Stevens his Mate, and Robert Sucksbich Boatson of a Ship of Dover, taken by Algier Pyrates: which three men being carryed as Slaves by eleven Turkes in the same Ship, partly killed, and partly sold them all, and returned free and safe home into England.

*These three men served their Apprentiships at Dover, but were Westerne men borne: the Master in Cornwall, the other two in Devonshire. I have added this to the former, as pertaining also to Africa; and this with the former, and all the relations of Santos, and the Jesuits & some others, and so to the end of this Booke, as Appendix to the first Tome; being such Relations as I had not to insert in their due place but later come into my hands.

LOving Friend, I have received your Letter, &c. You desire to have the whole proceedings of our unfortunate Voyage, yet fortunate to us, who are heere to relate what the Lord hath done for us: the which, as neere as God shall enable mee, I will make knowne unto you. First, ten leagues to the Southward of the North Cape, wee were chased by a Turkish man of Warre: of foure and thirtie Pieces of Ordnance, and being not farre from the shoare, it pleased God wee recovered it before hee could fetch us up: yet hee was so neere to us before hee left us, that he was within shot of us, and seeing that wee were bent to runne ashoare: rather then to come into his hands, hee espied ten or twelve Boates under the Ile of Dones, Fisher-men, where wee were chased in, and left us, and put out his Boate full of small Shot; and some of them hee tooke, and some got away, and some hee chased ashoare upon the Iland; and there hee landed his men and tooke them all away, to the number of five and fiftie persons, and one killed. So there hee kept us the space of foure dayes: at length away hee goes, and the next day wee finding the winde faire, came out and went along the shoare within Musket shot all the way, betwixt that and the Iles of Bayone.

At length wee espied this Sayle comming out of the

Sea, and came directly in with the Iles of Bayone, and wee being so neere the shoare did not greatly feare, because wee thought what ever he was, wee should get the shoare before him. At last hee comming something neere to us, wee saw it was no great Sayle, not passing one hundred Tunnes or thereabouts; and that there was no hope of running away, but that wee must either Fight it out, or runne ashoare. I called up all my Company, and asked them what they would doe, whether they would stand by mee and shew themselves like men, and that it might never bee said, that wee should runne away from him, being not much bigger then wee, although hee had as many more Ordnance as wee. They answered all with one consent, that they would live and dye with mee: whereupon our Boate standing upon the upper Decke, wee put her over-boord and fitted our selves; and by that time hee was come within shot of us: presently wee fired a Piece, and shot crosse his Fore-foote * to see what hee was, and seeing hee would not strike, wee knew then that hee was a Turkish man of Warre. And presently wee shot two more, and as soone as they were off, hee held up his Sprit-sayle in the * Clewline, and shot two at us.

*Fore-foot is not a part of a Ship, but when two ships sayle, one so much a weather the other, that shee will goe a head of the other, it is then called the Fore-foot: so that it implies one Ships sayling a crosse another Ships way.

*Clewline, is to the top top-gallant and sprit-sayle, that which the Clew-garnet is to the mayn-sayle: the Clew is the lower corner of the sayle where the tackes & sheats are made fast: the Clew-garnet, a rope fast to the Clew running thence in a blocke to the middle of the yard, to which it hales up the Clew, &c.

Then wee having no Portes right aft, were forced to bring our Ship upon a winde, to bring our Pieces to beare upon him. At length he came so neere that hee hald us: I being upon the Poope, they let flye their small shot so fast, that there was no staying. For at last, as I was going aft, I heard the Captayne bid them stay their hands. With that I stayed and talked with him, and the Captayne in English bad mee strike my Top-sayle, and hee would doe me no hurt: and I seeing what they were, told him that they were Dogges, and that I would not strike nor trust him, but hee should come aboord and strike it himselfe. They hearing mee say so, let flye all their small Shot at me, and shot the Ropes a sunder besides, and yet it pleased God, hurt not me; so being upon our weather quarter, wee freed our quarter Piece,

and had our Piece haled in ready to put at that Port whiles that was a lading againe: but as soone as that Piece was shot off, he hald up his Sprit-sayle, and bore up his Helme, & fired his two chac'd Pieces, and came with all sayles to top aboord of us, and carryed over our ship: and shee being something tender sided, and our Ports being all open, our Lee * Ports were all under water, and our Chists and things that were betwixt our Deckes did swimme, and the Piece of Ordnance that was hald in, got loose and fell to Leeward, like to carrie out the side and all. At which mischance our men being much discomfited, they tooke our Ship; And Richard White, which all this while was in company with us, and so neere when wee began that the Shot flew over him; in the time that wee strove with him hee got into Bayone.

**Lee, is that which is opposite to the winde: chac't Pieces, are those which lie right forward, or right aftward on: the Decke is the floore of Planks on which is the Ordnance placed.*

And they put all aboord the man of Warre, and so wee put to Sea, and our Ship after us as fast as shee could, being hardly able to beare any sayle. Yet that night being Munday night, and the foure and twentieth of March, it prooved faire weather, and they began to rifle us, and the next day by two of the clocke in the afternoone, they had taken out as much things as possible could bee spared, leaving such things as of necessitie must bee left for the carriage of her for Sally: and then the Captayne sent for mee to come aboord our owne Ship. Where I was no sooner comne, but hee caused three men to take mee, and lay me upon my belly upon the Deckes, [II.ix.1578.] and two of them to lye upon my legges, and one to sit on my necke, and he himselfe with a Rope did give me so many blowes, that I did intreat him: if ever hee came of a Woman, not to use mee like a Dogge, but rather that hee should heave me over-boord: then to put me to that penurie. His answer was to mee againe, after that hee had used his pleasure to me; Thou Dog, if I doe finde any thing more then thou hast confest to mee, I will give thee a hundred times as much, and when I have done, I will heave thee over-boord. So leaving mee aboord of our Ship: and foure of our Companie and seven Turkes,

he bad us stay till wee heard further from him. At last, it was accorded among them who should goe our Captayne to carry us for Sally; and that was a Hamburger a Renegado, one that could speake very good English. As soone as my Mate understood that hee was to goe our Captayne, hee did intreat him upon his knees that he might goe with him, because hee did alwayes desire that hee might goe with mee wheresoever I went: and one of the Moores seeing of him intreating so hard to goe with him, gave him two or three blowes, and bad him get him downe into the hold againe. But the Captayne having something more commiseration on him then the other, gave him his Plate, and bad him goe into the Boate; for hee should goe with him. And they having a Witch aboord, told him: that hee should take but three that could doe their labour well, and send the rest aboord the man of Warre, and that hee should have an especiall care to keepe the Weapons from us; and so comming aboord, brought my Mate with him, and sent three of them away of our company, and brought three Turkes more besides himselfe: so there were no more of us but my selfe, and my Mate, and the Boatson; and there were eleven of them.

Consultation with a Wizard.

Eleven Turkes and three Christians.

They presently made sayle and went away, and the man of Warre stayed there behind. Being parted from the man of Warre, wee agreed together to see if it pleased God to worke some meanes for our deliverie: for our usage was such aboord the man of Warre, that wee feared it would bee worse if they got us where they would have us; and therefore did resolve by Gods helpe, either to quite our selves of it, or to end our misery: and passing the time from Tuesday to Thursday in this sorrowfull manner, in that time wee did devise the best meanes that God did enable us; which was, that when it did please God to send us a gale of winde to undergoe our businesse withall, that they should alwayes have each of them a Wedge in their pockets, to barre fast the Cabbin doore where the Weapons were, because then two did alwayes

steere halfe the Night. But they would never suffer mee so much as to come into the Steeredge, (for they were suspicious of us) and would not suffer us to have a Knife; or if wee had at any time beene betwixt the Deckes, they would presently have searcht the Ship from one end to the other, to see if they could finde any thing that wee had layed up. But I alwayes bad them have a care that they should lay up nothing, but onely take notice where it lay; For there was nothing to trust to, but onely two Pompe-brakes, and they stood alwayes an end in the Pompes without suspicion of any of them. Other thing there was not any, save one peece of Ore that lay upon the Poupe: for they would not leave so much as a Hatchet, but as soone as they had done with it, would straight carrie it into the Cabbin againe.

Steeredge is the place where they steere.

Thursday night being come, it pleased God to send us durtie weather; but wee not suspecting that wee should have an opportunitie so soone, they were unprovided of their Wedges in their pockets. And at last there arose a great gust of winde out of the North-west, and yet was neither of our mens turnes to bee at the Helme, which made us doubtfull whether wee might give the enterprise or no. At last, the winde did increase so much, that I did intreat the Captayne that one of our men might goe to the Helme, because I told him: I thought they could better * Conne the Ship afore the Sea then his men could, and hee was very willing that hee should. So the Boates-man being neerest to it, stept unto the steeredge and tooke the Helme, and hee that was at the Helme before: sate downe in the steeredge beside him, and haled the Steeredge doore too, and made it fast in the in-side. Now there were foure of them upon the Decke with us, the Captayne and three more, and foure in the Cabbin abaft by the Weapons, and two betwixt the Deckes, and one in the Steeredge. So walking upon the Decke with them, at last wee saw our opportunitie that all the Turkes were abaft * us, and wee by the Maine-mast.

**To Cunne the Ship, is the same with Conducere, to direct.*

**Aft and abaft hath relation from any part of the Ship to things done or placed thence to the Sternward.*

I tooke my Coate and heaved it from mee for a signe to

him, and so wee tooke the Pompe-brakes and runne on upon them, and hee with one blow, and I with another killed the Captayne out-right, and the rest were not long a dispatching: onely one that got the Poupe, but hee was not long there, for wee got him downe; yet hee got away from us little better then dead. Now for the Boatson that was in the Steeredge, when the word was given (which was God and Saint George) putting his foot against the Steeredge doore, thinking it would flye open, the Turke had made it so fast that it would not: and the Turke was so busie with him with his Knife, that hee was forced to strive with him to get it from him. And in the meane time came one of the Turkes that was betwixt the Deckes, and opened the Cabbin doore where the weapons were, and one of them with a Cutlaxe ranne him into the side, and bore him up against the Steeredge doore, and meeting with two ribbes did not goe cleane through his body. Hee seeing they were come all upon him, did strive to get the Steeredge doore open, and at last did, but with great hurt, having sixe or seven bleeding wounds upon him: and the doore being open, the Turkes durst not for all their Weapons adventure to come upon the Decke. But wee being in the heate of bloud, assayed twice to get the Steeredge from them, but could not; for they ranne us through the cloathes but did not hurt us. Seeing that would not prevayle, wee got a Bucket of water to put the Candle out that was in the Bitakell, which they perceiving tooke it away and carried it into the Cabbin, and lighted two more.

[II.ix.1579.] Then they began to light their Matches to shoot at us, which as soone as wee perceived, wee got our Capstone Barres, and made fast the doore, and one of the rough trees crosse all the Bulke head. This being done, we tooke the men that were dead: and layed them crosse the sight of the steeredge to keepe them from sight of us, and then tooke one of our Hatches and opened it, and went downe betwixt the Deckes to see if we could find any there. At last, it being very darke, I felt where there

Capstaine barres are smal pieces of timber put thorow the barrell of the Capstaine, by which they turne it about. The use of the

was one lay under a Cabbin, and having one of the Turkes Knives in my hand, I stucke it into his side as farre as it would goe, and he crying out, my Mate came, thinking to strike him, and strooke mee upon the hand, which did mee great hurt; for after that, I had but little use of it when it was cold. But to proceed, that man wee killed, and seeking for more, I happened with another; which as soone as ever I did but touch his clothes, thrust his Knife at me, and cut me crosse the thumbe, and ranne it into my hand a little way, and so got away that we could find him no more. Then fearing lest they would come all downe upon us, we went up and layed our Hatches, and tooke the other rough tree,* and made them all fast. Then wee cut our maine Hall-yards, and let our Main-sayle runne downe to keepe them from sight of us when it was day: and just as we had made all things fast, it was light day, and it was betwixt twelve and one when we began.

Capstaine is to weigh anchor, to heave any thing of weight.

**Roofe trees are Timbers of light wood, that goe from the Half-decke to the Fore-castle, and are to beare up the gratings, &c.*

When it was day, we durst not come upon the Decke for feare of their Muskets, but went continually without boord: yet they shot twice at me upon the Poupe, out of the Forecastle through the Main-sayle; and yet, I thanke God, hurt me not. And thus we continued from Thursday night till it was Saturday morning: and I askt them if they would steere in for the shoare, and save their lives; or else they should presently die. They replied, they would not. Then we having an old Axe, I was minded to cut a hole in our Bowe above the lower Decke; and then to open a scuttle, and let them come up (and so wee would have dispatcht them as fast as they had come) and then to have layd her by the Lee, to have stopt it againe. When they saw that was my resolution, and that wee had made a beginning, hee told mee that was the chiefe of them, that if I would save their lives they would doe what I would have them. I bad them beare up the Helme, which they did, and gave mee a Compasse out, and I set them their course to steere in by.

**But to expound all the Mariners termes in this Letter, would make a Glosse longer then the Text.*

At last, I bad them give mee their Muskets out, and

hee sware by the Sunne, that they had heaved them over-boord (and so they had) and then I bad them give mee their weapons. They did beginne to feare, lest when we had got them, that wee would have killed them; and fell downe on their knees, and did entreate that I would save their lives, and that they were sorry for what they had done; thinking that they had killed him that was in the steeredge with them, because they never heard him speake, all the time (and Indeed, he could not helpe himselfe but as he was lifted by us) I promised them, that I would not hurt them, and then they gave me their weapons, and fetcht us what we would have. So by twelve of the clocke that day we made the Rocke: and fearing to beare in with it, for feare of Men of warre, we held in two or three leagues to the Northward of it. Seeing a great Towne by the waters side, we were in hope to get a Boat aboord before night; and comming with it, wee went as neere to it as wee could, and lay by the lee, and put out a weafe, and stayed there three houres, and no Boat would come to us.

The Rocke a point of Land at the turning in from the Sea towards Lisbon.

Then night comming on, we got our tackes aboord, and steered away for the Rocke againe, and the wind being at North-west, we were fearefull to hale off farre from the shoare for feare of Men of warre; but steered directly for the Rocke, and went not above halfe a mile without it, because the wind was large enough: and as soone as we were shot to the South-ward of the Rocke, in a dye of raine the wind came to the West South-west, and we running that way in hope to carrie it away, the wind Southwarded still, till we had brought our selves so neere, that we had no roome to beare up, and having no After-sayle to make our ship stay, were forst (being but we two) to put our Anchor from the Bowe, and to breake open a Scuttle, and goe downe and vered to a whole Cable, and brought up the ship, and went up and tooke in our Sayles, and got another Anchor from the Bowe, and made three or foure of the Turkes cleere the Cable to us. This was about twelve of the clocke in the night, and

when the day came on, the weather did beginne to encrease much, and the Sea was much growne, being so neere the shoare as wee were, that we were faine to cut our Masts by the boord, and being not able to doe it of our selves (being but two of us, and over-watcht for want of sleepe; for from Thursday night till Sunday night, we never tooke winke of sleepe) I went to the Cabbin doore, and bad them come to helpe us. They told mee they would come, but made no great haste; for they did feare that we would have killed them. At last perceiving that I was very angrie with them, as I was cutting at our Maine-mast, and my Mate at the Fore-mast, one of them came up, and fell downe on his knees and kist me by the foot, and begged of mee, that I would not kill him, and I told him that I would doe none of them any hurt, but they should come and helpe us worke, and hee went and told his consorts what I had said. So up they came all upon the Decke, and every one of them one after another came and kist us by the feet, as well hee that lay hurt, as us: and then we gave them the Axes to cut the Masts, but wee kept the weapons, and when our Mayne-mast and Fore-mast were cut away, the ship did ride pretie easie, and then wee went to prayer, the Turkes sitting with us: and I having no more Bookes left but a little Prayer-booke in my Pocket, one of the Turkes went to his Bagge and fetcht mine owne Bible, and brought it to me; saying, Master here is a bigger Booke for you.

After Prayer, we did eate and drinke together, and were as though we had beene altogether consorts: there we ridde from twelve of the clocke at night, till two of the clocke in the after-noone the next day, and all this time there came not a Boat to us, yet wee were but three miles from Cast Cales, wee were not halfe a mile from the Point, [II. ix. 1580.] which if we could have weathered, we might have gone into Lisboa without any sayle, but it was not Gods will that it should be so. Sunday being the seventh day after we were taken, we cut our Cables, and with our sprit-sayle and spritsayle-topsayle wee ranne into a flat place,

being no more flat places there, that there was no hope of ever saving our lives (for the Rockes are as steepe as a house) and so, some by one meanes, and some by another, we got ashoare: but we did not suffer one of the Turkes to goe till we were all ashoare, and then wee went to a little Village halfe a mile from the place where we came ashoare, and there we caused all the Turkes to be pinyoned (for not a man came to the waters side all this time) and so two or three of the men of the Village went with us to Cast Cales, and there the Turkes were put in prison, and we were very well used, and they that were hurt were drest, and had a Chirurgeon to looke to us for the space of two dayes, till we had a little refresht our selves, and then a Boat provided for us, and the Turkes to carrie us to Lisboa, where after examination both of us and them, the Governours gave them freely to us, and told us we did deserve a great deale more.

Thus have I related unto you the whole truth of our proceedings, and no more but what is truth, not for that I desire to bee applauded of men, but that whosoever shall heare this discourse, may not thinke that of our owne power we could doe this, but that it is the hand of the Lord hath done it: and the Lord grant that I and every of us may never be unmindfull of that the Lord hath done for us. Amen.

This Letter was written to Master John Moulton, to whom also he wrote another, which I have, demanding his advice about that which seemed to mee a strange immanitie (that I say not inhumanitie and unchristianitie alone) of men; as the other was the unspeakable grace and bountie of God: namely, that the owners of the ship so taken (being also the Masters kinsmen) demanded, and by Law threatned to wring from him part of the Moneyes which they made by sale of the Turkes at Lisbon; where yet they were not in their possession, but as the Kings slaves; and the Kings Officers (for encouragement of others in like case) gave them that money as Almes, howsoever it was reckoned also as their just price. Neither

Homo homini lupus: homo homini dæmon.

would they give them wages, which yet demanded this money; as if their eye had beene evill because Gods was good and gracious, like Jonas in his mad anger for the Ninivites spared. But I hope they better bethought them afterwards, or else I would here name them to their everlasting reproach: which I now forbeare, as David did Shimeis punishment, in regard of so great and present an escape, victorie, triumph, which even then had happened.

A Preface to the ensuing Treatise.

AND because these Algier Pirats have brought us into the thoughts of Turkish power, the rather observing that last Turkish businesse, rather then Christian charitie: and of Turkie we have delivered already divers things remarkable; yet having since met with a piece of worth, I thought good also to communicate it unto thee. It is a Royall present worth the receiving: namely, to set thee in possession, and make thee Master of the Grand Signiors Serraglio: a sight hitherto prohibited, in manner, to Christian eyes. I doe not promise thee the stones and edifices, but a securer and quieter Title (for how lately hath the Master beene dispossessed of them and his life together, that I mention not the instabilitie of the present, who once before held, and after was holden of the same?) Here thou hast the Rarities of that Great Palace for the Matter and Arte, with the representation of the Turkish Court; the Rites prophane and devout, solemne and private of the Grand Signior and all his Grandes: the Sultanas, the Women and Virgins, the Sonnes and Daughters Royall, the Great Officers of State, and of the Houshold, their Courts, their admirable Discipline, with other Observations such as I thinke (for a great part of them) have not yet seene the publike light in any Language. These hath Master Robert Withers collected: after his ten yeeres observation at Constantinople, where he was educated by the care and cost of that late Honourable Embassadour from his Majestie, Sir Paul Pindar, and well instructed by Turkish Schoolemasters in the Language, and admitted also to further sight of their unholy

Sup. l. 8. *&c.*

Holies then is usuall. But why doe I hold thee longer from the Author himselfe; yea, from this promised Serraglio?

Chap. XV.

The Grand Signiors Serraglio: written by Master Robert Withers.

§. I.

Description of the place, partitions, and manifold conveniences.

The situation.

THe Serraglio wherein the Grand Signior dwelleth, with all his Court of Servants, is wonderfully well situated; being built directly in that place where Bizantium stood, upon a great point of the Mayne, which looketh towards the mouth of the Blacke Sea, and is in forme triangle; two sides whereof are circumpassed with Mare Egeum, and the third joyneth to the rest of the Citie of Constantinople; It is enclosed with a very high and strong wall, [II.ix.1581.] upon which there are divers Watch-towers, and is by *The compasse.* computation, about three Italian miles in compasse. It *Gates.* hath many Gates, some of which open towards the Sea side, and the rest into the Citie; but the chiefest Gate (which indeed is a very stately one) is one of those towards the Citie, and by it every one goeth in and out daily; the others being kept shut till such times as the King, or some of the principall Officers of the Serraglio shall cause any of them to bee opened, either for their pleasure to sit by the Sea side: (where they have a very dainty prospect, and may behold the ships sayling to and fro) or for any other occasion: likewise, if any other of the Land-gates be opened, it is either when the King sendeth privatly to put some Great man to death, or for the execution of some other secret businesse; but they are all locked fast in the night againe.

The aforesaid chiefe and common Gate, is in the day time guarded by a great companie of Capoochees, which change their watch by turnes; and in the night likewise by others; all which Capoochees are under the command of a Capoochee-Bashee, which Capoochee-Bashees being sixe in number, are bound that every weeke one of them lie within the Serraglio, for the securitie and safeguard of the same. And without the Gate, about ten or twelve paces off, there stands a little House made of boords, upon wheeles, in which every night a Companie of Janizaries doe watch, who upon any occasion are ready to awake those within, and to give them notice of whatsoever sudden accident may happen without.

Chiefe Gate.

Capoochee Bashees, sixe.

Watch house.

It is also well guarded, by the Sea side, in the night, for in the Watch-towers which are upon the wall there lies divers Agiamoglans, which are to watch, and see that none come neere; and lest any shipping should dare to attempt some mischiefe, they have Ordnance ready charged, and the Gunners lying hard by them.

Agiamoglans.

Ordnance.

In this Serraglio there are many, stately Roomes, being appropriated to the seasons of the yeere; the greatest part whereof are built upon plaine ground, some upon the hills which are there; and some also upon the Sea side, which are called Kiosks, that is, Roomes of faire prospect, or (as we terme them) banquetting Houses, into which the King oftentimes goeth alone, but most commonly with his Concubines, for his recreation.

Set roomes suted to the season.

Kiosks or Banquetting houses.

There is amongst the aforesaid Roomes, the Chamber into which the Grand Signior repaireth, when he is to give audience to Ambassadors; to the Bashawes on the dayes of publique Divan, and to those who being to depart upon any weighty service or employment, are to take their leave of him; as also to such as are returned from their places of government and charge which was before given unto them: This Roome standeth in a fine little Court adorned with many very delicate Fountaines, and hath within it a Sofa spread with very sumptuous Carpets of Gold, and of crimson Velvet embroydered

Chamber of Audience.

Sofa spred.

with very costly Pearles, upon which the Grand Signior sitteth; and about the Chamber in stead of hangings, the walls are covered with very fine white stones, which having divers sorts of leaves and flowers artificially wrought upon them, doe make a glorious shew. There is also a little Roome adjoyning unto it, the whole inside whereof is covered with Silver plate hatcht with Gold, and the ground is spread with very rich Persian Carpets of Silke and Gold.

Leaves and Flowers: contrary to their usuall Carpet-superstition.

There are belonging to the said Roomes and Lodgings of the King, very faire Gardens of all the sorts of Flowers and Fruits that are to bee found in those parts; with many very pleasant Walkes, enclosed with high Cypresse trees on each side; and Fountaines in such abundance that almost in every Walke there are some, such great delight doth the Grand Signior, and all Turkes in generall take in them.

Gardens.

Cypresse-walkes.

Besides the aforesaid Roomes (which are very many and serve onely for the Kings owne person) there is also the womens lodging, which is in a manner like a Nunnerie, wherein the Queene, the other Sultanaes, and all the Kings women and slaves doe dwell: and it hath within it all the commoditie that may be, of Bed-chambers, Dining-roomes, Withdrawing-roomes, Bagnoes, and all other kinds of building, necessarie for the use and service of the women which dwell therein.

Womens Lodging.

There are likewise divers Roomes and Lodgings built apart from all those afore-said, which serve both for the principall Officers, those of a meane degree, and also for the baser sort; and are so well furnished, that not any wanteth whatsoever is fit and necessary. Amongst which there are two large buildings; one of which is the Hazineh or private Treasurie, and the other the Kings Wardrobe. These are two very handsome buildings, and secure, by reason of the thicknesse of their walls, and strong Iron windowes, and have each of them an Iron doore, both which are alwaies kept shut, and that of the Hazineh sealed with the Kings Seale.

Roomes for Officers.

Two large; the Treasurie (Hazimeh) and Ward-robe.

Sealed doore.

In the said Serraglio there are Roomes for prayer, Bagnoes, Schooles, Buttries, Kitchins, Stillatories, swimming places, places to runne Horses in, places to wrestle, Buts to shoot at, and to conclude, all the commoditie that may be had in a Princes Palace for things of that nature. *Roomes for many other uses.*

At the first entrance into the Serraglio, there is a very large and stately Gate, in the Porch whereof, there is alwaies a Guard of about fiftie men with their weapons by them; as Peeces, Bowes, and Swords: and having passed this Gate (through the which the Bashawes, and other Great men may ride on horse-backe) there is a very Spacious Court-yard about a quarter of an Italian mile in length, and almost as much in bredth; and on the left hand of the Court neere unto the gate there is a place to shelter the people and horses in raynie weather: and on the right hand there is an Hospital for such as fal sick in the Serraglio, in which there are al things necessary, and it is kept by an Eunuch, who hath many servants under him to attend upon the diseased: And likewise on the other side on the left hand, there is a very large place where they keepe Timber and Carts, and such like things, to have them neere hand for the use and service of the Serraglio; over which there is a great Hall, where are hanged up many Weapons of Antiquity, as Cimitars, Javelins, Bowes, Head-peeces, Gauntlets, &c. which they keepe to lend the Souldiers and others, for to accompany the Grand Signior, or the Chiefe Vizier, when they make any solemne entry into the Citie of Constantinople. *First Gate. Porch and Guard. Great Court.* [II.ix.1582.] *Hospitall with Officers. Store-house.*

And having passed through the aforesaid Court, there is a second gate (at which the Bashawes alight) somewhat lesse then the former, but more faire and costly; under which there is also a stately Porch, where there is likewise a guard of Capoochees, provided with weapons as they are at the first gate, and then there is another Court, lesse then the former, but farre more beautifull, by reason of the delicate Fountaynes, and walkes enclosed with Cipresse Trees, and the fine greene grasse plots in which the *Second gate. Porch and guard. Lesse Court, of greater beauty.*

Gazells. Gazells doe feed and bring forth young; insomuch, as it is an exceeding pleasant place; and in this Court (the Grand Signior only excepted) every one must goe on foot:

Gallerie. On both sides of the said Gate, there is an open Gallerie under set with very stately Pillars, without the which the Chiaushes, the Janizaries, and the Spahees, doe use to stand all along in rankes very wel apparelled, at such times as there is a great Divan held for the comming of any Ambassador, to kisse the Grand Signiors hand.

Nine Kitchins with their Larders. In the said Court on the right hand are all the Kitchins, beeing in number nine, all which have their Larders, and severall Officers for their service. The first, and greatest is the Kings; The second, the Queenes; The third, the Sultanaes; The fourth, the Capi Agha's; The fift, for the Divan; The sixt, for the Aghaes, the Kings Gentlemen; The seventh, for the meaner sort of servants; The eighth, for the women; The ninth, for the under Officers of the Divan, and such as attend there to doe what belongeth unto them in their several callings. And on the left side

Kings Stable. of the Court, there is the Kings Stable of about thirtie, or thirtie five very brave Horses, which his Highnesse keepeth for his exercise, when he pleaseth to runne or sport with his Gentlemen the Aghaes in the Serraglio: over which Stable there is a row of Roomes, wherein is

Horses Furniture admirable. kept all the Furniture of the Horses, the which I having seene I can affirme, that they are of an extraordinary value; for, the Bridles, Pettoralls, and Cruppers, are set so thicke with Jewels of divers sorts, that the beholders are amazed to see them, they doe so farre exceed all imagination.

Neere adjoyning to the said Stable, are certayne

Officers of the Divan. buildings for the service of the Officers of the Divan;

Divan-roome. and having passed two thirds of the Court, there is the Roome wherein the Divan is kept; unto which joyneth

Outward Hazineh. the Hazineh, called the outward Hazineh, the which the Divan being ended, is sealed with the chiefe Viziers Seale: And even with the Divan but somewhat behind it towards the left hand, is the Gate which leadeth into the

womens Lodgings, called the Queenes gate, which is kept and guarded by a company of blacke Eunuches. *Queenes gate and guard of Blacke Eunuches.*

The aforesaid Court endeth at a third Gate, called the Kings Gate which leadeth into the Roomes and Lodgings kept apart for himselfe, and such Gentlemen as attend upon him continually; neither may any one enter therein, but by an absolute leave from the Grand Signior (speaking of men of great qualitie) but such as are belonging to the Butterie or Kitchin, and Phisicians, Caters and Sewers, may goe in and out with leave only of the Capi Agha, who is the Chiefe Chamberlaine of the Serraglio, and to him is committed the keeping of that Gate; and he is alwayes at hand (by reason his Lodging is neere) with a Company of white Eunuches about him like himselfe. So that, what is reported of things within this Gate, is for the most part by relation; for, either one may not see them, or if hee doe see them, it must bee when the King is absent; and hee must bee brought in by some man of qualitie and command, by one of the Gates at the Sea side: the which also cannot be obtayned but with great difficultie, and some charge too, for a gratification to the guide; they having not onely great respect to their Kings person, but also to his roomes in his absence.

Third (or Kings) gate.

Who may enter.

Capi Agha, chief Chamberlaine.

White Eunuches.

And having passed the third Gate (the which hath also a very faire Porch) immediately is seene the aforesaid Roome appointed for publique audience; into which the Grand Signior repaireth to give audience to Ambassadors, and to the Bashaws: and there is also another very faire Court, paved with very fine Marble wrought with Mosaicall worke, wherein there are many delicate Fountaines, and sumptuous Buildings on all sides, in which (commonly) the King useth to eate, and passe the time in some recreation.

Audience Chamber.

Faire Court.

It happened, that I taking hold of a fit time, the King being abroad a hunting, through the great friendship which was twixt my selfe and the Kahiyah of the Bustangi Bashee; had the opportunitie (he being my guide) to goe into the Serraglio, entring in at a Gate by the Sea side;

The Authors entry into the Serraglio.

where he shewed me many of the Kings backward roomes, divers Bagnoes, and many other very curious and delightfull things, both for the excellencie of their gilding, and the abundance of Fountaynes that were in them. In particular, I saw a row of Sommer Roomes built upon the top of a little Hill, so well contrived with Hals and Chambers, and so pleasantly seated and richly furnished, that it might very well be the Habitation of so great a Prince. Amongst which there was a Hall that was open towards the East, but under-set with very faire Pillars, which Hall looked into an artificiall foure square Lake (which they call Hawooz) proceeding from about thirtie Fountaynes: which were built upon a kind of Terrase or high foundation of very fine Marble, which compassed the said Lake, so the water ranne from the Fountaynes above, downe into the Lake, and from the Lake it ranne through divers Gutters into certayne Gardens: there might two men walke abreast upon the Terrase, where they should heare the continuall and sweet Harmonie which the Fountaynes made with their Leaden Pipes, insomuch that it was a most delightfull place. And in the Lake there was a little Boat, the which (as I was enformed) the Grand Signior did oftentimes goe into with his Mutes and Buffones, to make them row up and downe, and to sport with them, making them leape into the water; and many times as he walked with them above upon the sides of the Lake, he would throw them downe into it, and plunge them over head and eares.

Summer Roomes.

[II.ix.1583.]

Hall.

Lake.

Terrase.

Boate.

Mutes.

Grand Signiors Bed-chamber described.

I looked also through a window which was in the wall of the said Hall, and saw his Highnesse Bed-chamber; the wals whereof were covered with stones of the finest China Metall, spotted with flowers of divers colours, which made a very daintie shew: The Anteportaes were of cloth of Gold of Bursia, and their borders of Crimson Velvet, embroydered with Gold and Pearles: the posts of the Bed-stead were of silver, hollow; and in stead of knobs on the tops of them there were set Lions made of Chrystall; the Canopie over it was of Cloth of Gold, and

Lions.

so were the Bolsters and the Mattresses. The floore of this Chamber (as of the other Roomes also) and the Sofaes, were covered with very costly Persian Carpets of silke and Gold, and the Pallets to sit on, with the Cushions to leane upon, were of very rich cloth of Gold.

There was hanging in the middest of the aforesaid Hall a very great Lanthorne, the forme whereof was round, and the barres of silver gilt, and set very thicke with Rubies, Emeralds, and Turkesses; the panes likewise were of very fine Chrystall, which made a very splendent shew. I saw also a Bason and Ewre to wash with, of massie Gold, set with Rubies and Turkesses, which did beautifie the Roome exceedingly. *Lanthorne.* *Bason and Ewre of gold.*

Behind the Hall there was a place to shoot in, where I saw many very stately Bowes and Arrowes; and there were showne unto mee, such strange passages made with Arrowes by the King himselfe through Brasse and Iron, that me thought it was almost unpossible to bee done by the arme of any man. *Shooting.*

The Roome which is called the publike Divan, hath beene built of late yeeres; it is foure square, and about eight or nine paces every way from side to side; it hath behind it another Roome for the service thereof, and one also at the comming into the Divan, on the right hand, divided only by a woodden rayle, with many other Roomes somewhat distant from it, which serve for the expedition of sundry businesses: This Divan is called publike, because any kinde of person whatsoever publiquely and indifferently, may have free accesse unto it to require Justice, to procure grants, and to end their Causes and Controversies, of what nature, condition, or import so ever they bee. *Publike Divan described.*

[§. II.

§. II.

Of the Divan Days, Judges, Session, Indicature, Dyes, Accounts.

Divan dayes & Officers. Vizirs. Cadees and Cadileschers.

THe Divan dayes are foure in the Weeke; viz. Saturday, Sunday, Munday, and Tuesday, upon which dayes, the Chiefe Vizir, with all the rest of the Vizirs; the two Cadileschers of Græcia and Natolia (which are the Chiefe over all the Cadies of those two Provinces; which Cadees are men of the Law, who by priviledge doe governe in all places and Cities of the Ottoman Empire, as Justices of Peace doe with us, but with a little greater domination) the three Defterdars (whose charge is to gather in the Kings Revenues, and likewise to pay all the Souldiers, and others which have any stipend due unto them:) The Reiskitarob (which is the Chancellor.) The Nishawngee, (that is, hee which signeth the Commandements and Letters with the Grand Signiors marke.) The Secretaries of all the Bashawes, and other great men; a great number of Clerkes or Scriveners, which are alwayes at hand attending at the doore of the Divan; The Chiaush Bashee, who all that while that he is in the Serraglio, carrieth a silver staffe in his hand; and many Chiaushes also to attend, that at the command of the Vizir they may bee readie to bee dispatched with such order as shall bee given them by him, to what place, or to whom soever; For, they are those which are employed in Ambassies, in ordinary Messages, to summon men to appeare before the Justice, to keepe close Prisoners, and in fine to performe all businesses of that nature. All which aforesaid Officers, from the highest to the lowest are to be at the Divan by breake of day.

Defterdars and Reiskitarob.

Secretaries & Clerke.

Chiaushes.

[II.ix.1584.] *Manner of Session or Court.*

The Vizirs being come into Divan, doe sit within at the further end thereof, with their faces towards the doore, upon a bench which joyneth to the wall, every one in his place as hee is in degree, sitting all at the right hand of the chiefe Vizir (for with them the left is counted the

upper hand) and on his left hand upon the same bench doe sit the two Cadileschers, first hee of Grecia, as being the more noble and famous Province, and then hee of Natolia. And on the right side at the comming in at the doore: doe sit the three Defterdars, who have behind them (in the aforesayd roome which is divided with a woodden rayle) all the sayd Clerkes or Scriveners who sit upon the ground, with Paper and Pennes in their hands, being ready to write whatsoever is commanded them. And on the other side (over against the Defterdars) doth sit the Nishawngee, with his Pen in his hand: having his Officers round about him. And in the middest of the roome doe stand all such as require audience of the Bench.

Left the upper hand.

Nishawngee.

Now being all come together, and every man set in his owne place, forthwith the Petitioners begin their suites, one by one (who have no need of Attorneyes, for every one is to speake for himselfe) referring themselves to the judgement and sentence of the Chiefe Vizir, who (if hee please) may end all; for the other Bashawes doe not speake, but attend till such time as hee shall referre any thing to their arbitriment, as oftentimes hee doth, for hee having once understood the substance onely of the Cause; (to free himselfe from too much trouble) remits the deciding of the greatest part to others; As for example, if it bee appertayning to the Civill Law, hee remits it to the Cadeleschers. If it bee of Accounts, to the Defterdars. If of Falshood, (as counterfeiting the Marke or such like) to the Nishawngee. If concerning Merchants, or Merchandizes (wherein there may bee any great difficultie) to some one of the other Bashawes which sit by him; so that after this manner he doth exceedingly ease himselfe of so great a burthen, which otherwise hee alone should bee enforced to undergoe; reserving onely to himselfe that which hee thinketh to bee of greatest import and consequence. And on this wise they spend the time untill it bee Noone: at which houre (one of the Sewers being appointed to bee there present) the Chiefe Vizir commands that the Dinner bee brought in, and immedi-

No Attorneys.

Chiefe Vizirs power.

Manner of deciding.

Dinner rites.

ately all the common people depart. So the roome being free, the Tables are made readie after this manner before the Chiefe Vizir, there is set upon a stoole a thinne round *Copper plate.* plate of Copper tinned, about the bignesse of the bottome of a Barrell, at which hee with one or two at the most of the other Bashawes, doe eate; the like is prepared for the rest of the Bashawes which doe eate together: And another for the Cadileschers; one for the Defterdars; and one likewise for the Nishawngee. And having every one *Napkin.* a Napkin spread upon his knees to keepe his Garments cleane; and a great quantitie of Bread being layd readie round about the sayd Copper plates, immediately the Meate is brought in, and set before them upon the Plates in great Dishes (which they call Tepsee) and still as they have eaten of one Dish, the Sewer takes off that and sets on another. *Dyet.* Their dyet is ordinarily Mutton, Hennes, Pigeons, Geese, Lambe, Chickens, broath of Rice and Pulse, dressed in divers manners, and some Tarts or such like at the last; so in very short space they make an end of their Dinner. That which remayneth of the sayd Tables, *Officers.* the Officers of the Divan doe eate, but they have more also allowed and brought them from their Kitchin. The *Drinke.* Bashawes and other Great men, have Drinke brought unto them, which is Sherbet, in great Porcelaine Dishes; but the others doe either not drinke at all, if they doe drinke, it is faire Water brought them from the Fountaines. And the same time, when the Vizirs of the Bench and others of *Under-officers under-dyet.* the Divan are at Dinner, the under Officers, Waiters, and Keepers, doe dine also; the which are not lesse ordinarily then foure or five hundred persons, but their food is nothing but Bread and Pottage, which they call Churva.

Dinner being ended, the chiefe Vizir attendeth onely publique Affaires, and taking Counsell together (if hee pleaseth and thinketh it fit) with the other Bashawes; at last, he determineth and resolveth of all within himselfe, and prepareth to goe in unto the King; It being the ordinarie custome so to doe in two of the foure Divan dayes, that is, upon Sunday, and upon Tuesday; to render

an account unto his Majestie, of all such businesses as hee hath dispatched. And to this end the Grand Signior (after hee hath dined also) repayreth unto his Chamber of Audience, and being set downe upon a Sofa, sendeth the Capi Agha (which hath in his hand a Silver staffe) to call first the Cadileschers, who immediately rise up out of their places, and having bowed to the chiefe Vizir, they depart, being accompanied with the sayd Capi Agha, and Chiaush Bashee, who goe before them with their Silver staves in their hands, and so they goe in unto the King, to give account and make him acquainted with what hath passed concerning their Charge, and so they being dismissed, (for that day) they goe directly home to their owne Houses.

Giving account to the King.

By the Cadileschers.

Next after them are called the Defterdars, who in the same manner are brought unto the King, and having dispatched, they take leave, and give place to the Vizirs who are called last of all, and goe together in a ranke one after another, the Chiefe Vizir being formost, ushered along by the two aforesayd Silver staves. And being come before the presence of the Grand Signior, they stand with their hands before them, holding downe their heads, in token of Humilitie; and so none but the Chiefe Vizir speaketh, and gives an account of what hee thinketh fit, delivering his Memorials or Arzes one by one, the which the King having read, the Vizier taketh them, and having put them into a little crimson Sattin bagge, hee most humbly layeth them downe againe before his Majestie: and so if the Grand Signior demand no further of him (the other Bashawes not having spoken one word all this while) they all depart and take horse at the second Gate; and being accompanied by their owne people, and by divers others (especially the chiefe Vizier) who is brought even into his owne house by a great companie of Chiaushes and others all for the most part on horse-backe) they goe every one to his owne Serraglio, and so the Divan is ended for that day, it being about two houres after noone.

By the Defterdars.

By the Vizirs.

Reverence.

[II.ix.1585.]

Departure.

It is to be noted that sometimes also the Agha of the

Captaine Bashaw. Janizaries, and the Captaine Bashaw come to the Divan, when they are at home in Constantinople, and have businesse to doe there: but the Captaine Bashaw onely doth goe in unto the King (which also may not be but in companie of the other Bashawes) to acquaint his Highnesse with the state and affaires of the Arsenal and Armado; his place in the Divan is upon the same Bench, but yet hee sitteth last of all the Bashawes, unlesse he bee one of the Viziers (as it is often seene) and then hee sitteth second, or third, as he is in degree by election: but *Agha of the Janizaries.* the Agha of the Janizaries doth not sit in Divan, but sitteth under the open Gallerie on the right hand, within the second Gate; and if so bee it so fall out, upon some extraordinarie businesse, that hee be to goe in unto the King, then he goeth first of all others; and being come out againe from him, he sitteth downe againe in his place, untill the Divan be ended; and he is the last that departeth of all the great men.

King's private awfull window. The Grand Signiors Predecessors were alwaies wont, and this man sometimes commeth privately by an upper way to a certaine little window which looketh into the Divan, right over the head of the chiefe Vizier, and there sitteth with a Lattice before him, that he may not be seene, to heare and see what is done in the Divan; and especially at such times when he is to give audience to any Ambassadour from a great Prince, to see him eate, and heare him reason with the Bashawes: and by this his comming to that window, the chiefe Vizier (who alwaies standeth in jeopardy of losing his head, upon any displeasure of the Grand Signior) is enforced to carrie himselfe very uprightly, and circumspectly in the managing of his affaires.

§. III.

Of Ambassadours entertaynment and audience.

Ambassadors audience.

WHen it falleth out that an Ambassadour from any great King is to kisse the Grand Signiors hand, it must bee either upon a Sunday or upon a Tuesday; for those are the dayes appointed for his Highnesse to give audience, to the end he may not bee troubled at other times: and then the Vizier commandeth that there be a great Divan, which is, by calling together all the Great men of the Port, all the Chiaushees, all the Mutaferakaes, all the Spahees, and all the Janizaries; who are every one of them commanded by their Captaines to apparell themselves in the best manner that they are able; and to goe every one to his ordinary place in the second Court, and there to stand in orderly rankes; who indeed make a very goodly shew, for they are very well clothed, and are most of them of comely personage.

Embassador entertayned at the Divan.

The Divan being all in order (in which at that time there are very few or no particular causes at all handled) the chiefe Vizier sendeth the Chiaush Bashee, with many of his Chiauches on horse-backe to fetch the Ambassadour, who being come to the Divan, is set face to face close before the chiefe Vizier upon a stoole covered with cloth of Gold; and having for a while complimented and used some pleasant discourse together; the Bashaw commandeth that the dinner bee brought, the which is done after the aforesaid manner, (only the round plate Table, on which the meate is set is of Silver, and the victuals are more delicate and in greater abundance.) And so the Ambassadour, and the chiefe Vizier, with one or two of the other Bashawes doe eate together: and for every such Banquet at such times, the Grand Signior alloweth the Steward a thousand Crownes to spend.

They having dined, the Vizier entertayneth the Ambassadour: with some discourse till such time as the Ambassadours people have also dined; and then the

Ambassadour together with his owne attendants retire into a certaine place neere the Grand Signiors Gate, where hee stayeth till such time as all the orders of the Divan have had audience of the King, who being dismissed, doe all depart (except the Bashawes onely, who for the Grand Signiors honour are to stay and attend in the Roome upon his Majestie.) And then the Ambassadour is called by *Master of the Ceremonies.* the Master of the Ceremonies, by whom hee is brought to the Gate, whereat the Capi Agha standeth with a ranke of Eunuches, which Capi Agha leadeth him to the doore of the Roome, where there doe stand two Capoochee Bashees ready, who take the Ambassadour, the one by one *His admission to the Presence.* arme, and the other by the other, and so leade him to kisse his Highnesse hand, which he having done, they leade him backe in the same manner to the wall of the Roome, where hee standeth till such time as the said Capoochee Bashees, have also led such of the Ambassadours Gentle- [II.ix.1586.] men as are appointed to kisse the Kings hand: and then the Druggaman declareth the Ambassadours Commission, to which the Grand Signior maketh no answer, but only speaketh a word or two to the chiefe Vizir to licence him; *Departure.* and so the Ambassadour departeth, doing reverence to the King, bowing downe his head, and not pulling of his Hat or Cap at all.

This one particular is worthie the observation, and that is this; There is not any person whatsoever, as well Ambassadour as other, which being to kisse the Grand *Vesting.* Signiors hand, that is not vested with a Vest given him by the Grand Signior. And to this end, before the Ambassadour goeth in to the King, the chiefe Vizir sendeth him so many Vests as are appointed in the Canon, for him and his Gentlemen, who put them on the place where the Ambassadour stayeth till the King sends for him to have his audience. The said Vests are of divers sorts, of which there is one or two for the Ambassadors owne person of cloth of Gold or Bursia; the other being of lowe price worth little or nothing. But in lieu of those Vests, there is not any Ambassadour (which is to goe to the King for

his audience;) or Bashaw (which at his returne from some employment abroad, is to kisse his hand;) but they present him to the full of what the Canon requireth, insomuch that the Grand Signior receiveth farre more then he giveth. Besides, the Bashawes (over and above the ordinarie Canon) doe give him exceeding great and rich Presents; together with great summes of money; sometimes, to the end they may continue in his grace and favour. *Recompence.*

Other Ambassadours which come from petie Princes or States, howbeit they are vested also with Vests given them by the Grand Signior, yet they goe not to the Divan in that pompe, neither are they feasted as the others are, but goe privatly, carrying their Present with them; howsoever they are lead in unto the King after the aforesaid manner.

All Ambassadors but the Venetian, at the Kings charge.

It is to be noted, that all Ambassadours from absolute Princes, as well ordinary as extraordinary, (except those from the Signioria of Venice, to whom from their first introduction it was denied) all, I say, lie at the charges of the Grand Signior; for, from his owne store they have allowed them Wheat, Barlie, Pulse, Wood, Coles, Hay, the custome of their Wine, and all other necessaries to spend in their houses, and from the Defterdar so many Aspars per diem; which provision, though now of late it be somewhat hard to be gotten in; yet by gifts and importunitie, in the end they receive the greatest part of it, though the Officers will share with them.

Having thus farre made description of the Serraglio, and the Buildings which are therein; with some other particulars belonging unto it, according to that which I have seene and heard by relation. It followeth that I speake somewhat touching those which dwell in it, and concerning their ministerie and functions.

[§. IIII.

§. IIII.

Of the persons which live in the Serraglio: and first of the Women and Virgins, their manner of life there.

One Lord, the rest Slaves.

FIrst, I say that all they which are in the Serraglio, both men and women, are the Grand Signiors slaves, and so are all they which are subject to his Empire: for, as hee is their onely Soveraigne, so they doe all of them acknowledge, that whatsoever they doe possesse or enjoy, proceedeth meerely and simply from his goodwill and favour.

This Serraglio may rightly bee termed the Seminarie or Nurcerie of Subjects; for, in it all they have their bringing up, which afterward become the principall Officers, and subordinate Rulers of the state and affaires of the whole Empire.

2000. *within the Kings gate.*

They which are within the third Gate, called the Kings gate, are about two thousand persons men and women, whereof the women (old and young one with another, what with the Kings Concubines, old women, and women servants) may bee about eleven or twelve hundred. Now, those which are kept up for their beauties, are all young Virgins taken and stollen from forren Nations, who after they have beene nurtured in good manners, and can play on Instruments, sing, dance, and sew curiously, they are given to the Grand Signior as Presents of exceeding great value; and the number of these encreaseth daily, according as they are sent and presented by the Tartars, by the Bashawes, and other great men, to the King and Queene: they doe likewise decrease sometimes, according as the Grand Signior seeth fit, who upon some occasions and accidents, causeth many of them to be sent out of this Serraglio into the old Serraglio, which is also a very goodly and spacious place, as hereafter I shall take occasion to make mention of.

11. *or* 1200. *women.*

Virgins.

These Virgins, immediatly after their comming into

the Serraglio are made Turkes, which is done by using this ceremonie onely, to hold up their fore-finger, and say, Law illaw-heh il Allawh Muhamedresull Allawh, that is, there is no God but God alone, and Mahomet is the Messenger of God: and according as they are in age and disposition, (being proved and examined by an old woman called Cahiyah Cadun, that is, as wee say, the Mother of the Maides) so they are placed in a Roome with the others of the same age, spirit, and inclination, to dwell and live together. Now, in the Womens lodgings, they live just as the Nunnes doe in their great Monasteries; for, these Virgins have very large Roomes to live in, and their Bed-chambers will hold almost a hundred of them a piece: they sleepe upon Sofaes, which are built long wise on both sides of the Roome, so that there is a large space in the midst for to walke in. Their Beds are very course and hard, and by every ten Virgins there lies an old woman: and all the night long there are many lights burning, so that one may see very plainely throughout the whole Roome; which doth both keepe the yong Wenches from wantonnesse, and serve upon any occasion which may happen in the night: neere unto the said Bed-chambers they have their Bagnoes, and Kitchins for their use at all times, with a great abundance of Fountaines of which they are served with water. Above over the said Bed-chambers there are divers Roomes, where they sit and sew, and keepe their Chists in which they lay up their apparell. They feed by whole Camaradaes, and are served and waited upon by other women; so that they doe not want any thing whatsoever which is necessary for them. They have other places likewise where they goe to schoole, to learne to speake and reade the Turkish tongue, to sew, and play on Instruments; and so they spend the day with their Mistresses which are ancient women: some houres notwithstanding being allowed them for their recreation, to walke in their Gardens, and use such sports as they familiarly exercise themselves withall.

Virgins made Turkes, and how.

KahiahCadun the Mother of the Maides.

[II.ix.1587.] *Their manner of life. Chambers.*

Beds.

Bagnoes.

Sewing and Chists.

Schooling and Mistresses.

Recreations.

Kings comming to them. The King doth not at all frequent or see these Virgins, unlesse it be at the instant when they are first given him, or else in case that he desire one of them for his bed-fellow, or to shew him some pastime with Musike and tumbling trickes: and then hee giveth notice to the aforesaid Cahiyah Cadun of his purpose, who immediatly chooseth out such as shee thinketh to bee the most amiable and fairest, and having placed them in good order in a Roome, in two rankes, halfe on the one side and halfe on the other, shee forthwith brings in the King, who walking foure or five turnes in the midst of them, and having viewed them well, taketh good notice of her which he best liketh, but sayeth nothing, onely as he goeth out againe, he throweth a Hand-kerchiefe into that Virgins hand, by which shee knoweth that shee is to lie with him *Preparations.* that night; and she being wondrous glad of so good a fortune, to be chosen out from among so many to enjoy the societie of an Emperour, hath all the art that possible may bee shewen upon her by the Cadun, in attiring, painting, and perfuming her, and so at night shee is brought to sleepe with the Grand Signior in the womens lodgings: (there being divers Chambers appropriated for *Bed-chamber rites.* that businesse onely:) and being in bed they have two great Waxe lights burning by them all night, one at the beds feet, and the other by the doore; and there are appointed (by the Cadun) divers old Blacke-moore women, which watch by turnes that night in the Chamber, two at a time, one to sit by the said light at the Beds feet, and the other by the doore, and when they will they change, and other two supply their roomes, without making the least noise imaginable, so that the King is not any wise disturbed. And in the morning when his Highnesse riseth (for he riseth first) he changeth all his apparell *Reward.* from top to toe, leaving those which hee wore to her that he lay withall, and all the money that was in his pockets were it never so much; and so departeth to his owne lodgings, from whence also he sendeth her immediatly a Present of Jewels, Vests and Money of great value, accord-

ing to the satisfaction and content which he received from her that night: in the same manner hee is to deale with all the others which hee maketh use of in that kind, but with some he continueth longer, and enlargeth his bounty more towards some then to others, according as his humour and affection to them encreaseth; by their fulfilling his lustfull desires. And if it so fall out, that any one of them doe conceive by him and bring forth his first begotten child, she is called by the name of Sultana Queene, and if the child bee a sonne, then shee is confirmed and established by great Feasts and Solemnities; and hath a dwelling apart assigned unto her, of many stately Roomes well furnished, and many servants to attend upon her: The King likewise alloweth her a very sufficient Revenue, that shee may give away and spend at her pleasure, in whatsoever shee may have occasion; and all they of the Serraglio doe acknowledge her for Queene, shewing all the respect and dutie that may bee, both to her and hers.

Sultana Queen.

Her allowance.

The other women (howsoever they bring forth issue) are not called Queenes; yet they are called Sultanaes, because they have had carnall commerce with the King. And shee onely is called Queene, which is the Mother of the first begotten Sonne, Heire to the Empire: the which Sultanaes being frequented by the King at his pleasure, have also this prerogative, to be immediatly removed from the common sort, and to live in Roomes apart, exceeding well served and attended, and have no want either of Money, or of Apparell, in conformitie of their degree. All these Sultanaes doe resort together very familiarly, when they please; but not without great dissimulation and inward malice, fearing lest the one should be better beloved of the King then the other; howbeit in outward shew they use all kind of curtesie one towards another.

Other Sultanaes.

And if it happen that the first begotten sonne of the Queene (Heire to the Empire) should die, and another of the Sultanaes should have a second sonne; then her sonne

Queen changed.

being to succeed the deceased Heire, shee is immediatly made Queene, and the former shall remayne a Sultana onely: and so the title of Queene runneth from one Sultana to another, by vertue of the sonnes succession.

[II.ix.1588.] *Nuptiall rites.* Sometimes the Queene was wont to bee wedded to the King, but now shee passeth without the Kebin, that is, without an assignment of any Joynture, or celebrating the Nuptiall rites; which is nothing else, but in the presence of the Muftee, to give each of them their assent to Matrimonie, of which the Muftee maketh Hoget, that is, an authenticall Writing or Testification, not onely of the Consent of the two parties contracted, but also of the Dowrie which the King is to allow her.

The reason why the Queenes are not now (nor have not beene of late) espoused; is, not to dismember the Kings Patrimonie of five hundred thousand Chicquins a yeere: *Joynture.* For, Sultan Selim having allowed so much to the Empresse his Wife, (to the end she might spend freely, and build Churches and Hospitals, so that by all meanes she might bee honoured and esteemed) left order by Canon, that all his Successours should doe the like, if so bee they determined to be marryed to their Queenes. But now the sayd revenues being otherwise imployed, the Bashawes doe what in them lyeth to disswade the Grand Signior from marrying: and so much the rather, because they would have none but the King alone to rule: yet howsoever, (married or not married) the Mother of the Heyre is by every one called and acknowledged for Queene, and presented with rich Presents from all great Personages, and *Guard of black Eunuches.* hath continually at her Gate, a Guard of thirtie or fortie blacke Eunuches, together with the Kuzlar Aga their Master, whom shee commandeth and imployeth in all her occasions, and so doe all the other Sultanaes, the which never stirre out of the Serraglio, but in companie of the King himselfe, who oftentimes carrieth either all or most of them, abroad by water to his other Serraglio's of pleasure. *Canvasse-way.* And in those wayes through which they passe to goe to and fro their Kaiks, there is Canvasse pitched on

both sides, and none are by them but blacke Eunuches, till they are setled close in the roome at the sterne of the Kaik; then goe in the Barge-men: so that in fine, they are never seene by any man, but onely by the Grand Signior and the Eunuches.

Kings Daughters and Sisters.

The Kings Daughters, Sisters, and Aunts, have their lodgings also in the same Serraglio, being roially served, and sumptuously Apparelled, and live together by themselves in continuall pleasures; untill such time as the King shall bee pleased to give them in Marriage, and then they come out of that Serraglio, and carry each of them along with them a Chest which the King gives them, full of Gownes of Cloath of Gold, rich Jewels, and Chicquins, to the value of at least thirtie thousand pounds sterling per Chest, and that is (as wee call it) their Portion. They carrie likewise along with them, all that which they hid from time to time, things of great price which have beene given them, which sometimes amounteth to a great matter, and stands them in stead all their lives time. And if so bee that the Grand Signior loves them, and is willing to further them, and deale roially with them; then they are suffered to carry out of the Serraglio, as many Slaves with them as they will, (provided they exceed not the number of twentie a piece) and such Eunuches as they like best for their service. These also being named Sultanaes, reserve still (during their lives) the stipend which they had within the Serraglio some a thousand, and some a thousand five hundred Aspers per Diem, the Slaves also and the Eunuches doe likewise enjoy their former allowance. Their Houses are furnished, both with houshold-stuffe and other necessarie provision from the Kings Hasineh and Begglick, that they may live Alla grande, like Sultanaes; so that in conclusion, they live farre better without the Serraglio then they did within.

Portion-Chest.

Slaves and Eunuches.

And if so bee, that a Bashaw having marryed one of them, bee not provided of a House fit for her, then the King giveth her one of his (for hee hath many) that her House may bee correspondent with her Greatnesse and

qualitie. Now for the Husbands part, hee is on the contrarie to make her a Bill of Dowrie, which is called Kebin, as aforesayd, of at least a hundred thousand Chicquins in money, besides Vests, Jewels, Brooches, and other Ornaments, amounting to a great summe. For although the fashion of a Sultanaes habite bee common, and nothing different from other Womens, yet the substance is farre more proud and costly; the which redounds to the great charge and lose of their Husbands. They being thus marryed, doe not at all converse with any men, more then they did when they lived in the Kings Serraglio, (except with their owne Husbands) but with women onely; and that is commonly when they goe upon visits to see their old acquaintance in the Serraglio: but having themselves come foorth of the same (as I sayd before) they may not come in againe without the Grand Signiors leave and sufferance.

Bill of Dowrie.

Privatnesse.

Visitings.

These Sultanaes (the Bashawes wives) are for the most part their Husbands Masters, and command them as they please: they alwayes weare a Haniar (that is, a Dagger) set with rich Stones, in token of their predomination, and call their Husbands Slaves, doing good or evill for them, as they receive content & satisfaction from them, or as they find them powerfull with the King. And sometimes they put their Husbands away and take others, but not without the Grand Signiors leave, which would prove to bee the death and ruyne of the poore Husbands.

They are their Husbands masters.

Their Dagger.

Divorce.

Now the other women, which never were so fortunate as to bee beloved of the King, live together and dyet with the rest, wasting their youthfull dayes amongst themselves in evill thoughts, (for they are too well lookt unto to offend in Act,) and when they are growne old, they serve for Mistresses and Over-seers of the young ones, which daily are brought into the Serraglio: but hold it their best fortune (their former hopes of being Bed-fellowes to an Emperour: being now frustrated) through some accident, to bee sent forth from thence into the old Serraglio, for from thence they may bee married (if the Mistresse of

What becomes of the other Women.

[II.ix.1589.]

that place give her consent) and take with them such money, as they through their frugallitie have saved and spared of their former allowance in the Kings Serraglio, and such things as have beene given them, which may amount to a reasonable value. For in the Serraglio they get many things from the Sultanaes, besides their currant pay out of the Kings Hazineh, of fifteene or twentie Aspers per diem for the middle sort, and foure, or five for the baser sort, the which is payed at every three moneths end, without any deferring or contradiction: In that manner also are the Sultanaes paide, viz. quarterly, having for their allowance from a thousand to a thousand five hundred Aspers a piece, per diem. Besides, as many cloathes as they will, and Jewels in great abundance, given them from the Kings owne hands.

Manner of their pay.

Cloathes and Jewels.

The women Servants also have two Gownes of Cloath a piece, per annum, and a piece of fine Linnen for Smocks, of twentie Pikes long, and a piece more fine for Hankerchiefes, of ten Pikes, and at the Byram one silke Gowne a piece, and somewhat else, according to the pleasure and liberalitie of the Grand Signior, who at that time hath commonly a bountifull hand towards the Women. And giveth to the Sultanaes, Gownes with very rich Furres, Eare-rings, Brooches, Bodkins, Bracelets for their armes and legges, and such like things set with Stones of great worth; of which the King hath an abundance, by reason of the unspeakable number of Presents which are given him. The Sultanaes are likewise presented at such times, by the Bashawes and their Wives (that by their meanes they may continue in grace and favour with the Grand Signior) with most stately and rich Gifts, and with money also which indeed is more acceptable to them then any other kinde of Present. For, they being very covetous, doe hoord up and spend very sparingly, abandoning all manner of prodigalitie (in what may concerne their owne private purses) but witilie provide against disastrous times which may betide them, and especially against the Kings death: for then (excepting the Queene which remayneth

Byram-gifts.

Sultanaes' Presents.

Frugalitie

still in the Serraglio, Mother to the succeeding King) all the other poore desolate Ladies (losing the title of Sultanaes) are immediatly sent to the old Serraglio, leaving behind them their Sonnes and Daughters (if they have any living) in the Kings Serraglio, there to bee kept under the government of other Women appointed for that service.

Old Seraglio.

And in such case, finding themselves wealthy, they may Marrie with men of reasonable good qualitie, according to the measure of their portion or estate, and according to the good-will of the Mistresse of the old Serraglio, but with the Grand Signiors consent. Notwithstanding, who will (for the most part) not onely know the condition of their Husbands, but also what Dowrie they will bee content to make them sure of, in case their Husbands should put them away without their consents, or otherwise leave them Widdowes: So that by meanes of their being turned out of the Kings Serraglio, it is often seene, that though the Daughter of the King bee married to a Bashaw, yet the Mother of that Daughter must bee content with a Husband of small account, farre unequall and much inferiour, both in Title, wealth, and reputation, to her Sonne in Law.

Daughter preferred to the Mother.

The Sultanaes have leave of the King, that certayne Jewes women may at any time come into the Serraglio unto them, who being extraordinary subtill Queanes, and comming in under colour of teaching them some fine Needle-worke, or to shew them secrets in making Waters, Oiles and Painting stuffes for their Faces; (having once made friendship with the Eunuches which keepe the Doores, by often bribing them) doe make themselves by their craftie insinuation, so familiar with the Kings women, that they rule them as they please, and doe carrie out any thing to sell for them, or buy and bring in whatsoever the Sultanaes shall have a will to. And hence it is, that all such Jewes women as frequent the Serraglio, doe become very rich. For, whatsoever they bring in they buy it cheape, and sell it deare to them; and then on the contrary, when they have Jewels to sell for the Sultanaes,

Jewish women.

Their Arts.

(which are to bee conveighed out by stealth) they receive their true value for them of Strangers, and then tell the simple Ladies who know not the worth of them, (and are afraid to bee discovered) that they sold them peradventure for halfe that which they had for them.

And by this meanes, there come things of great price out of the Serraglio, to bee sold at very easie rates: yet in the end the Jewes have but a bad market of it, for being discovered to be rich, and their wealth to be gotten by deceit, they oftentimes lose both Goods and life too. The Bashawes and Defterdar altogether ayming at such as they are, thinking by that meanes to restore to the Grand Signior, that which hath beene from time to time stollen from him, and the rather for that they themselves, seldome want their shares in the estates of such delinquents. *Ill successe.*

The Women of the Serraglio, are punished for their faults very severely, and extreamely beaten by their Overseers: and if they prove disobedient, incorrigible and insolent, they are by the Kings order and expresse commandment, turned out and sent into the old Serraglio, as being rejected and cast off, and most part of that they have is taken from them. But if they shall be found culpable for Witchcraft: or any such hainous offence, then are they tyed and put into a Sacke, and in the Night cast into the Sea: so that by all meanes it behooveth them to bee very obedient, and containe themselves within the bounds of honestie and modestie, if they meane to come to a good end. *Punishments of the Women.* [II.ix.1590.] *Death.*

Now it is not lawfull for any one to bring ought in unto them, with which they may commit the deeds of beastly uncleannesse; so that if they have a will to eate Cucumbers, Gourds, or such like meates, they are sent in unto them sliced, to deprive them of the meanes of playing the wantons; for, they all being young, lustie, and lascivious Wenches, and wanting the societie of Men (which would better instruct them) are doubtlesse of themselves inclined to that which is naught, and will be possest with unchast thoughts. *Prevention of Lust.*

§. V.

Of the Agiamoglans, how taken, distributed and employed.

Agiamoglans 700.

HAving already spoken of the Women, I now will say somewhat of the Agiamoglans which serve in the Serraglio, and of their employments. They are in number about seven hundred, from twelve to five and twentie, or thirtie yeeres of age at the most, being all of them Christian Renegadoes, as all Agiamoglans are, which are gathered every three yeeres in Morea, and in all the Provinces of Albania; the which tythe Children are disposed of in this wise. They are sometimes more, and sometimes fewer, according to the discretion of the Capichees, appointed for that service, but a whole harvest of them, seldome or never exceeds the summe of two thousand, and are taken from such Families as are thought to bee of a more warlike disposition; they may not bee (when they are gathered) of above twelve or fourteene yeeres of age, least they should bee unfit for a new course, and too well setled in Christianitie: and being kept fast for a while by the Capichees, they are then forthwith sent to Constantinople, to bee distributed and shared out as followeth.

Renegado Children. How taken.

How used.

Apparell.

So soone as they are arrived at the Port, they are all cloathed in Salonichi Cloath, it skilleth not of what colour, and yellow Caps of Felt on their heads, in the forme of a Sugar-loafe. And being brought before the Chiefe Vizir (who at that time is accompanied with the other Bashawes and Officers of the Serraglio) hee maketh choise of as many, as he seeth to bee well-favoured and judgeth to bee likely to prove Souldiers. Then this choise being made, the Youthes chosen by the Chiefe Vizir, are carried by the Bustangee Bashee into the Kings owne Serraglio, and there distributed to such Companies as want their compleat number: then are they Circumcised and made Turkes, and put to learne the Turkish Tongue; and

Election of the best.

Circumcision.

according as their inclination is discovered by their Overseers, so are they encouraged, and suffered to proceed (if it bee in goodnesse) and are taught to Write and Read: but they are in a manner all of them taught to Wrestle, to Leape, to Runne, to shoote in a Bow, and to conclude, all such Exercises, as are beseeming a Souldier. *Schooling.*

Now part of the residue of them are distributed by the Chiefe Vizir, into all the Grand Signiors Gardens and Houses of pleasure, and into such Ships as sayle for the Kings account, and which goe to lade Wood and such like provision for the Serraglio; consigning them to the Masters of the sayd Vessels, with this Condition, to restore them againe when hee shall require them: And so hee doth with the chiefe Arts-men of all sorts of Occupations, to the intent the Youths may learne and practice the sayd Arts in their Lodgings at home; when they are become Janizaries, or else if they please abroad at the Warres also. Hee giveth likewise to all the Bashawes, and Great men of the Court, as many as they please, to serve them delivering them by Name unto them, and writing them downe in a Booke, that hee may have them againe when there shall be occasion to make them Janizaries. Now these which are given to the Bashawes, are the scumme and refusall of all the rest; and are employed onely in the service of Stables, Kitchins, and such base Offices. But the other are put into divers Serraglio's, under the custodie and discipline of certayne Eunuches, who are appointed to bee their Over-seers, and take care that they bee brought up and trayned in Militarie exercises, untill such time as they become fit to bee accepted into the number of the Janizaries, in the roomes of the Dead, or of Old ones, which are no longer fit for the Warre, but are made Otooracks, and have leave to stay at home. So that I may say, all these are in a manner kept in a Seminarie, to serve at all hands. The King, Queene, and Chiefe Vizir, employing them also many times in their Buildings, and other very laborious Offices without exception. *The rest how disposed.* *Otooracks, militer Emeriti.*

Booke and Pension.

These Agiamoglans being thus distributed, the Chiefe Vizir presents a Booke of all their Names to the Grand Signior, who having seene it, appointeth to every one his Pension, according to the ordinary Canon, which is of two or three, or at the most, five Aspers per diem. And the sayd Booke in which their severall Pensions are distinctly set downe, being under-written by the Kings owne hand, is forth-with consigned into the custodie of the Chiefe Defterdar, that every one may duely receive his pay. [II.ix.1591.] Now this Defterdar is bound, when hee giveth out their pay, (that is, once in three moneths) to visit them; enquiring who is dead, and taking good notice how the others live and spend their times, whither they profit or not by their Tutors and Over-seers.

I will now returne to speake of the Agiamoglans of the Serraglio, having not thought it superfluous to have digressed a little; for although it hath not beene to that purpose, yet it may proove delightsome to those who have not as yet heard of those passages so distinctly.

Agiamoglans of the Serraglio how used.

These Agiamoglans of the Serraglio, albeit they were chosen out of the rest by the Chiefe Vizir, yet are their first employments but very base and slavish, for they serve in the Stables, Kitchins, Gardens, for digging, for cleaving of wood, and are made to row in Kaiks, and to lead the Grey-hounds a coursing; and indeed any thing, which is commanded them to doe by their Oda Bashees, who are Decurions and Centurions, and have about

Their wages.

fifteene Aspars per diem, two Vests of Cloth per annum, two pieces of Linnen Cloth for Shirts and Handkerchiefes, and so much Satten or fine Cloth, as may make each of them a paire of Chiakshirs, or Breeches after their fashion downe to the heeles, and ruffled in the small of the legge like our Boots: Neverthelesse, these Oda Bashees are all

Government.

under command of the Kahiyah, who is the Bustangee Bashees Steward; now the Bustangee Bashee himselfe may have about three hundred Aspars per diem, for hee is their Patrone, Judge, and Protector. And to the end

Governours.

that the Oda Bashees, and Bulook Bashees may bee knowne

from the common sort of Agiamoglans; they weare great broad silken Girdles of divers colours about their middles, and are allowed a larger stipend; who by authoritie given them from the Kahiyah, doe bring the Underlings to such an extraordinary subjection by their often beating them, *Slaverie.* that they doe not only, not refuse all manner of paines taking, but patiently undergoe whatsoever is done unto them.

They have their Tearmes and Prerogatives amongst themselves, succeeding or preceding one another, according to the length of time which they have spent in the Serraglio; so that in Processe of time (if they still continue there, and are not sent out upon other occasions) they may aspire to the degrees of Chiefe Steward to the *Possibilitie of preferment.* Bustangee Bashee, or of Bustangee Bashee himselfe, which is a very eminent place; for hee steeres the Kings Kaick, and weareth a Terbent upon his head in the Serraglio, although he were but lately an Agiamoglan, and did weare one of the aforesaid felt Caps, who also (if the King love him, as commonly hee doth) may rise to greater dignities; as to be Captaine Bashaw, &c. nay, sometimes to be Chiefe Vizir.

These Agiamoglans are not altogether forbidden to goe abroad, but may upon urgent occasions be licensed: And the Bustangee Bashee alwayes takes good store of them along with him, when by the Kings order hee goeth to see some great man put to death, the which is commonly done by the hands of three or foure of the chiefest and strongest of the said Agiamoglans.

There are brought in amongst them sometimes, (but indeed very seldome) naturall borne Turkes, by meanes *Some Turkes.* made to the Bustangee Bashee, who therein doth greatly pleasure such poore folkes as are willing to bee rid of their children; but it must first bee made knowne to the Grand Signior, and done with his consent.

Their Roomes, Bagno's, and Kitchins, are about the *Their Roomes.* wals of the Serraglio, on the out side, divided severally to each company of them, and built for the more com-

moditie of such Offices and Services, as the said Agiamoglans are appointed unto.

Dyet. And as for their Diet, they order it as they please, having their flesh and Pulse for their Pottage, their Bread and every thing for Food, delivered them every day, and the dressing of it left to themselves: And in that they lye neere the Sea-side by the wals of the Serraglio, they take good store of fish, part of which they sell, and rescue the rest to themselves.

Sleepe. They sleepe alwayes in their clothes (taking only off their uppermost coat, and their shooes) according to the ordinarie custome of the poorer sort of Turkes, betweene a couple of Rugges in the Winter, and thinne Blankets in Summer. They never see the King, unlesse it be when he passeth through the Gardens to some Sport, or when he taketh Boat, or else when he goeth a hunting, for he makes them serve in stead of Hounds to hunt wild beasts.

None may see the Kings women. But when his Highnesse will be in the Gardens to take his pleasure with his women, all the Agiamoglans being warned by Helvet, get them out with all speed at the Gates by the Sea side, where they may walke upon the Bankes and Causeyes, but must not goe in againe untill the King be departed: For there must none come neere the women but himselfe, and his blacke Eunuches: Nay, if any other should but attempt (by some tricke in conveighing himselfe into some private corner) to see the women, and should bee discovered, hee should immediately bee put to death. Every one therefore (so soone as they have notice of the Kings comming into the Gardens with his women) runnes out of sight, as farre as they can, to bee free from all feare, and suspition.

Janizaries made of Agiamoglans in other Seminaries. Other uses of them. Now of this Ranke of Agiamoglans, which are in the Kings Serraglio, they doe not make Janizaries, as they doe of those which are put into the other Serraglio's and Nurseries to bee brought up; and of such as are lent to divers of the Kings subjects, as Tradesmen and such like, and to the Bashawes. But his Highnesse turne is served of these, to bestow upon his Gentlemen, when he employes

them abroad in some principall Government, that they may be as Assistants unto them in their businesses; who also in time become men of reasonable estate and condition themselves. The Grand Signior likewise maketh use of them when he intendeth a journey to any place; as when he goeth to the Wars, or any whither farre from Constantinople, for the pitching of his Tents, for removing and carrying of Chists and Baskets, and many other such like Manuall Services, as happen, in those times. For which employment the King never carrieth with him lesse then foure or five hundred. [II.ix.1592.]

§. VI.

The choise Agiamoglans, severe Discipline and Education in foure Subordinate Schooles, and their after-advancements.

IT now remayneth, that I say somewhat of those Youths which are kept in better fashion in the Serraglio, for the King and Countreyes Service, brought up in Learning, in the knowledge of the Lawes, and in Military Exercises, that they may bee able to performe those things which belong to the Government of the whole Empire. And albeit for the most part these are Christian Captives and Renegado's, yet there are some Naturall borne Turkes amongst them, (youths of very comely aspect, whose out-sides must promise a great deale of goodnesse;) brought in by the Capee Agha's meanes (who is the great Chamberlaine) with the Kings consent; but this hapneth but very seldome, and that with great difficultie: For, the ancient Institution was, that they should alwayes be of Christian Renegado's, of the most Civill and Noblest that could be found. *Turkes hardly admitted.*

And when in the Warres, either by Sea or Land it shall so happen, that any youth bee taken, who is of Noble Parents, he is presently appointed and markt for the Grand Signior, and is instructed in matters of Government, being as it were ordayned for great Employments. *Noble Captives.*

Now such are of great esteeme, for the Turkes themselves affirme, that Noblenesse of Birth cannot but produce the most vertuous and generous spirits; especially, when they are well nurtured and tutered, as it is professed in the Serraglio; where there is great severitie used in all the Orders of Discipline, the Government of them being in the hands of the Masters, who are all for the most part white Eunuches, which are very rough and cruell in all their Actions; Insomuch, that their Proverbe saith, that when one commeth out of that Serraglio, and hath runne through all the Orders of it, he is, without all question, the most mortified and patient man in the World. For the blowes which they suffer, and the fastings which are commanded them for every small fault, is a thing of great admiration: Nay, some of them are so severely handled, that although their time of being in the Serraglio be almost expired, and that they should in few yeeres come forth to bee made great men, yet not being able to suffer such crueltie any longer, they procure to bee turned out, contenting themselves with the Title and small pay of a Spahee, or a Mutaferaka, rather then be so often punished, and made weary of their lives.

Eunuches cruell.

Mortification Turkish.

Their number. The number of these youths is not prefixed, but there are of them sometimes more, and sometimes lesse; for the King entertaynes very willingly all such as are given him of the aforesaid qualitie (if so be that they be young) and as I have heard, they are commonly about an hundred.

The course that is taken with them, so soone as they come into the Serraglio, is admirable, and nothing resembling the Barbarisme of Turkes, but beseeming Subjects of singular Vertue and Discipline. For they are exceeding well entred, and daily taught aswell good fashion and comely behaviour, as they are instructed in the Rites and Ceremonies of the Mahometan Law, or in Military Discipline. And for this purpose they have Roomes, which the Turkes call Oda's, but we may more properly (in regard of the use they are put unto) call them Schooles; of which there are foure, the one taking Degrees

Discipline in Religion and Civilitie.

Foure Oda'h Schooles.

from the other. Now into the first they all come, when they are but children, where the Primarie Precept they learne is Silence; then their personall Positures, betokening singular Reverence to the King; which is, that they hold downe their heads and looke downwards, holding their hands before them joyned a crosse.

Silence first Lesson. *2. Reverence.*

They are seene of the King, and registred in a Booke by their Turkish Names, and the Names of their Native Countreyes set downe with them; they receive Pensions from the Grand Signior, which is ordinarily from three to five Aspars per diem. The Copie of the Booke is sent to the great Defterdar, that every one of them, may in due time have the aforesaid Pension sent unto them. Then (by a white Eunuch who is chiefe over all the other Masters and Ushers) they are set to learne to write and reade, and to practise the Turkish Tongue; and are taught their Prayers, with all Reverence to the Religion in the Arabian Tongue. And in this Oda'h, they are both Morning and Eevening so diligently followed, and carefully lookt unto, that by report it is a thing of admiration: Now, for the most part, they all stay at the least six yeeres in this Schoole, and such as are dull and hard of apprehension stay longer.

Booke or Check-roll.

3. Grammer and Religion to write, reade, and speake Turkish and Arabian Praiers.

From this Oda'h they are removed to the second, where (by more Learned Tutors then the former) they are taught the Persian, Arabian, and Tartarian Tongues; and take great paines in reading divers Authors, that they may be the better able to speake the Turkish Elegantly; which cannot be done without some knowledge in those three Tongues, upon which the Turkish chiefly doth depend: So that there is found a great difference betweene their speech, and that of the vulgar sort.

Second Schoole. [II.ix.1593.] *4. Rhetorike & Languages. Persian, Arabian Tartarian.*

Here also they begin to learne to wrestle, to shoot in a Bow, to throw the Mace, to tosse the Pike, to handle their Weapons, to runne, &c. And in these Exercises in their severall Orders and severall Places, they spend whole houres, being severely punished if they shall in any wise seeme to grow negligent.

5. Bodily Exercises.

They spend other five or sixe yeere likewise in this Odah, from the which (being become men, strong, and *Third Schoole.* fit for any thing) they are removed to the third Odah, where (forgetting nothing of what they have learned before but rather bettering themselves) they also learne to *6. Horsmanship and Activitie.* sit a Horse, and to be quicke and nimble in the Warres: Moreover, every one of them (according to his inclination *7. Trades.* and disposition) shall learne a Trade, necessary for the Service of the Kings person, viz. to make up a Terbent, to shave, to paire nayles, to fold up Apparell handsomely, to keepe Land-spaniels, to keepe Hawkes, to be Sewers, to be Quiries of the Stable, to be Target-bearers, and to waite at the Grand Signiors Table, and the like Services, as it is also used in the Courts of other Kings and Emperours. So that having beene in these Offices foure or five yeeres, they become men able to teach others.

And whilst they are in these three Schooles, they are but indifferently apparelled, having their two Vests of Cloth per annum, somewhat fine, but their Linnen is such as the others weare, and so they must be contented to be under the correction of their Masters, who are so severe, that for every fault, or for suspition only of Dishonestie, *Punishments.* cause them to bee punished with an hundred blowes on the soles of the feet, and on the Buttocks, insomuch that they leave them oftentimes for dead. Neither are they permitted whilst they remayne in these three Oda's, to bee familiar with any but themselves, and that with great modestie too: so that it is a matter of great difficultie *Closenesse.* for any Stranger to speake with them or see them; which if it be obtayned, it must be by expresse leave from the Capee Agha, who causeth an Eunuch to bee there present, so long as any Stranger shall bee in the company of any of the said youths. Nay, when they have occasion to goe to the Bagno, or the like necessary businesse, they are very narrowly lookt unto by the Eunuches, to keepe them by all meanes from any filthy Actions: And if they shall be found guiltie, or accused of any fault, they are most *Bed-chambers.* severely punished for it: And in their Bed-chambers

(which are long Roomes, and hold about fortie or fiftie in each of them; for they sleepe neere one another upon the Sofas) there are every night Lampes lighted, and Eunuches lying by them to keep them in awe, and from lewd and wanton behaviour.

Sewing in Leather, &c.

Some of them also doe learne Mechanicke Arts, as sewing in Leather (which is in great esteeme amongst the Turkes) to mend Guns, to make Bowes and Arrowes, and Quivers, and the like; from which Trades they often have both their Sir-name and their Reputation too; For they are exceedingly beloved, who are diligent and flye Idlenesse.

Tryall of Religion.

And the Eunuches make great tryall of their constancie in Religion, searching (as farre as in them lyes) their hearts, to see how they stand affected to Turcisme: For the time growing neere, wherein they are to passe to the fourth Odah, which is the chiefest and last, and from which they are called to businesse of great import; they would not then have them at all remember that they were formerly Christians, or to have any desire imaginable to turne to their first beliefe; least they should by some stratagems and politike carriage, prove disadvantageous to the Turkish Empire. So then, all possible proofe and triall being made, and they found to bee most strongly perswaded in themselves of the truth of that Religion, they then are preferred to the fourth Odah, where they are once more registred: For all they which are of the third Odah are not translated to the fourth at one and the same time, but only such as have gone through all the Degrees in the three former, and are become fit for Service: And there is an Account kept apart of them which come into this fourth Odah, for they are immediately ordayned for the Grand Signiors owne Service, and have their pay encreased, some more and some lesse, unto eight Aspers per diem, and their habits changed from Cloth to Silke, and Cloth of Gold of great price: but continue still with their heads and beards shaven, only they suffer some lockes to grow on each side from their temples, which

Fourth Schoole.

Preferments.

hang downe below their eares, for a signe that they are they which are neerest to the preferment of comming into the Kings Chamber.

Neatnesse. They must be very cleanly and neat in their Apparell before they come about the Grand Signiors person; many of them accompanying him ever when he goeth abroad upon pleasure: And they may freely converse with all the great men of the Serraglio, and with the Bashawes also, and are often presented with great gifts by men of great qualitie, to keepe in their favour, hoping that they may become men of great command, and bee able to stand them in stead upon divers occasions. Now out of these young men (after they have finished the appointed terme of yeeres, and have beene well instructed in all things as aforesaid) the Grand Signior chooseth his Agha's, which are his Gentlemen and serve him only; whose names and places are as followeth.

[II.ix.1594.]

And first	that is,
The Silihtar Aga.	The Kings Sword-bearer.
The Chiohadar Aga.	Hee which carrieth his Yagmoorlick.
The Rechiubtar Aga.	Yeoman of the Stirrope.
The Mataragee Aga.	He which brings him water to wash.
The Telbentar Aga.	He which brings him his Turbant.
The Kemhasir Aga.	He which washeth his Linnen.
The Chesneghir Bashee.	Chiefe Sewer.
The Keelergee Bashee.	Chiefe Butler.
The Dogangee Bashee.	Chiefe Falconer.
The Zagargee Bashee.	Chiefe Huntsman.
The Muhasabegee Bashee.	Chiefe Accomptant.
The Turnakgee Bashee.	He which pareth his nailes.
The Berber Bashee.	Chiefe Barber.
The Hamaromgee Bashee.	Hee which washeth the King in the Bath.
The Teskeregee Bashee.	Chiefe Secretarie to his Majestie.

All which are of the eldest sort of them; and are alwayes in his Majesties presence, holding downe their heads, for they may not be so bold as to looke him in the *Gesture.* face, and standing with their hands acrosse before them, in token of the greatest Humilitie and Reverence that

may bee imagined: Neither are they permitted to speake at all to the Grand Signior, nor in his presence to one another; but if the King shall command or call for any thing, they are wonderfull speedie, and readie to obey. These all doe execute their Offices distinctly as aforesaid, *Waiting.* and attend in places appointed for them; that they may bee the better able to performe their Services, and the more readie to obey at every becke; and at the houres of Dinner and Supper they waite in the Roome, taking the meate from the hands of the Under-sewer at the doore, and so his Majesties Table being made readie (which is *Great Turkes Table.* of a Bulgar Hide) upon a Sofa, they bring in the meate which is set thereon orderly, dish by dish, by the chiefe Sewer before the King, and is taken off againe as his Majestie shall appoint.

The Grand Signior is very well pleased, and takes great *Exercises.* delight in their Service and company, making them ride on Horsebacke, and playing with them at severall Sports, at such time as hee is well disposed, ever gracing them with the bestowing gifts on them, of Vests, Chicquines, Swords, *Gifts.* and other such like Presents, as come to the hands of the King before, by way of gift: And besides those favours, his Majestie useth to bestow upon them the dispatching of Ambassies for other Countries, which is a Merchandize *Ambassages conferred.* held by them to be of a great price, and bringeth in a great profit with it: For one of them having his Commission from the Grand Signior, for such or such a Prince, presently thinketh with himselfe, what that Prince usually doth present the Ambassadour withall, and so accordingly agreeth with a Chiaush, or one of such like qualitie, to undertake the Ambassie, who must give for the same as they can agree betwixt themselves, either in readie Money, or otherwise at his returne, as he shall thinke best for his profit, and so he forthwith giveth expedition to the partie chosen.

These sorts of Presents, prove wonderfull beneficiall; *Vassall Princes.* for, in the establishing of the Princes of Valachia, Bugdania, Transilvania, and of the King of Tartarie (to all

which Princes the Grand Signior, sendeth Ambassadors for confirming their Possession of the said Dominions) they reape great benefit, it being specified in the Canon, how much every one is to disburse for being honored with that Solemnitie.

And this the Grand Signior doth of policie, to the end his Agha's may become rich, laying up Money by them to serve for necessary Expenses for themselves, furnishing them with divers things by that meanes against such time as they shall goe forth of the Serraglio: which is only when his Majestie thinkes fit, and that most commonly on a sudden; either to be Generall at Sea, Bashaw of Cairo, Aleppo, Damascus, Babylon, or of some other Provinces; giving also to some of them a Musahib, that is, as it were, a Companion, who hath liberty freely to talke with him, and to goe out and in unto him when he pleaseth; The which Title and favour (of Musahib) proves to be of so great Reputation, that it is esteemed above any other sort of employment, for it is very rare, and only bestowed on such Subjects as have deserved well of the Emperour.

Their going forth of the Serraglio to the chiefe Offices.

Musahib.

And this hath beene a course used of old by the Grand Signiors Progenitors, that so they may have some trustie Subjects abroad, that may give notice of the carriage of the Bashawes in their severall Regiments, or of any other, if so be they should attempt any thing that might bee prejudicial to the Crowne; that so the King by cutting off their provision and the like meanes, may anticipate their Plots and Designes. But if his Majestie be not pleased, so highly to exault some one of the aforesaid Agha's, as to be of the Degrees alreadie named; he then makes him Beglerbegh of Grecia, or of Natolia; Agha of the Janizaries, Spaheeler Agasee, which is Head over all the Spahees, Imrohor Bashee, which is Master of the Horse; or at least a Capigee Bashee, which is Head over the Capigees.

Other Officers.

[II.ix.1595.] Now, the Grand Signior having bestowed any of the said places upon them, they leave the Serraglio, and carrie with them all their estates, both money and goods: and

oftentimes other young men of the other Odhas, which are let goe through their owne hastinesse, and great importunitie, not willing to stay out their time; but losing the Kings favour are content with small pay and lesser reputation, to goe along with the said Aghas.

Such as goe out upon the greatest employments, are accompanied forth of the Serraglio by the chiefe Vizir, who also presenteth them, and giveth them entertaynment for three or foure dayes in his house, untill such time as they can bee provided of houses of their owne, whither afterwards they repaire, and set their families in order, taking also unto them such as are come out of the Serraglio, with them for Assistants and Ministers in the charge assigned unto them; they also accept of the service of others which come in by gifts, which likewise redounds to the benefit and advantage of the great ones.

Order in succession.

Now, they which succeed in preferment, those that are gone out of the Serraglio upon the aforesaid employments; are (as the custome commandeth) such as are next in yeeres unto them, and of the longest standing; neither can this course be altered, unlesse by some sinister accident, or evill behaviour they faile thereof: So that it is alwaies knowne amongst themselves, who is next capable of publique employment; nay, the businesse is so orderly carried, and their course so regular, that even they of the third Odah doe know what their future fortunes will bee, if they live to enjoy them: And indeed all of them live in hope, and desire that the Grand Signior would often be pleased to send them abroad, that they may the sooner be out of their hard service in the Serraglio, and enter into the state of ample government.

They are most commonly of five and thirtie, or fortie yeeres of age before they are sent abroad. And because they come out of the Serraglio with their Beards shaven, they are faine to stay within doores for some few dayes to let them growe, that they may be fit to come amongst other great men, with which staying at home they are very well contented, for that in that time they receive the Pre-

Presents from great persons whiles they stay.

sents which are sent them from all the Sultanaes, of Vests, Shirts, Linnen-breeches, and Hand-kerchiefs of all sorts richly wrought, and of great worth: and from the Bashawes and other Great men; Horses, Carpets, Vests, Slaves, and other things fit for the erecting of a House and Familie. The which Presents are made the greater and richer, by so much the more as the partie to whom they are given, is knowne to bee favoured and beloved of the King. Now, so soone as their beards are growne, they goe abroad, and beginne their visits; First, to the chiefe Vizir, and then in order to the other Great ones, till they have beene with them all, and last of all, offer their service to the Capee Agha, in all humble manner, acknowledging that all their best fortunes and honours have beene conferred upon them by his meanes; and promising for ever, all dutifull respect unto him for the same; but this complement with the Capee Agha is performed without that Gate on the Kings side, which is kept by the Eunuches; for they may not come no more within that Gate, unlesse they be called for by the King, for to treate of things belonging to their employments before their departure.

Comming abroad, and visitings.

Capee Agha.

They all strive to gaine the love of the Capee Agha; that he may bee a Protector and Patron unto them, to possesse the Grand Signior with a good opinion of them in their absence; he being the chiefest in the Serraglio, and alwaies neerest to the King.

§. VII.

Of inferiour persons, as Buffons, Mutes, Musicians; of white Eunuches, and of the Grand Officers of the Serraglio.

BEsides the Women, and Ajamoglans of this Serraglio, and the aforesaid Youths last spoken of; there are many and divers Ministers for all manner of necessarie services, and particular functions: there are also Buffons of all sorts, and such as shew trickes,

Buffons, Mutes, &c.

Musicians, Wrestlers, many dumbe men both old and young, who have libertie to goe in and out with leave of the Capee Agha; And this is worthie the observation, that in the Serraglio, both the King and others can reason and discourse of any thing as well and as distinctly, alla mutesca, by nods and signes, as they can with words: a thing well befitting the gravitie of the better sort of Turkes, who care not for much babling. The same is also used amongst the Sultanaes, and other the Kings Women: for with them likewise there are divers dumbe women, both old and young. And this hath beene an ancient custome in the Serraglio: wherefore they get as many Mutes as they can possibly find: and chiefly for this one reason; that they hold it not a thing befitting the Grand Signior. Neither stands it with his greatnesse, to speake to any about him familiarly: but he may in that manner more tractably and domestically jest and sport with the Mutes, then with others that are about him.

Discourse by signes.

It followeth now, that I speake of the White Eunuches; who, as the Blacke ones are for the Service and Attendance of the Sultanaes, and for the keeping of their Gate; so are the White Eunuches appointed for the King and his Gate; And the chiefe and most ancient of these, attend only the most trusty and important employments, both about the Kings Person and his Houshold: of which the first is the Capee Agha, for he is the Chiefe of all the Eunuches; and is High Chamberlaine. The second, is the Hazinehdar Bashee, who is the Chiefe Treasurer for the House. The third, is the Keelergee Bashee, who is the Chiefe Butler and Master of the Wardrobe. The fourth, is the Serai Agasee, who is the Keeper of the Serraglio. Now of these foure olde Eunuches, the Capee Aga (as I said) is principall in Authority, and in greatest esteeme with the Grand Signior, for, none but he can of himselfe speake with his Majestie, neyther can any Messages, Writings, or Petitions, be sent in (ordinarily) but by his hand and meanes; He likewise doth alwayes accompany the Kings person whither so ever

White Eunuchs.

[II.ix.1596.]

The Chiefe of them Capee Agha, or Chamberlaine.

2. Treasurer of the House.

3. Master of the Wardrobe.

4. Keeper of the House.

Capee Aghas Priviledges.

he goeth, both without and within the Serraglio. And when he goeth to his Women, also he accompanieth him to the very doore, which leadeth in unto them, and there he stoppeth, and so returnes to his owne Lodgings againe; alwayes leaving some bodie to wayte at the said doore, that when the King is ready to come away againe, they may call him. This Capee Agha hath for his ordinary *Pension.* Pension eight Sultaneens per diem, besides Vests and other necessaries as many as he will; he getteth great store of Money, and (indeed) more than befits a man that hath so small occasion of expence as he hath, by vertue of his place; for that both they of the Serraglio, and those abroad of what condition or degree soever they bee, to obtayne his favour and furtherance in any businesse, doe *Presents.* present him with all that they can imagine may give him content, whatsoever it cost.

Treasurer. The second, is the Hazinehdar Bashee; and he hath the charge of the Treasurie, which is within the Serraglio, he having one Key of it and the King another, the doore being likewise sealed with the Kings Seale, which is never taken off, but when the King himselfe gives order for the *Treasure.* opening of the same. In this Hazineh are all the Treasures which have beene layd up by the deceased Emperours; and into this commeth no other Revenue of the Crowne, saving that from Egypt of sixe hundred thousand Crownes *Outward Treasurie.* per annum; all the other Revenewes going into the outward Hazineh, out of which all Expences are borne, both ordinary and extraordinary. But there is not any thing taken out of the aforesaid inward Hazineh, unlesse it bee upon extreame necessitie, when the Grand Signior is not otherwise provided, to appease the out-cries of the Souldiers for their pay; or for some other the like occasion: Notwithstanding, it is done with this Proviso, that the Defterdar bee bound to make it good againe to the *Household-Treasurers Office.* utmost Aspar. This Agha's charge is to keepe an exact Accompt of all the Treasure that is brought in or taken out of the same: nor may any goe into the said Hazineh, but only the Hazinehdar, and such as hee shall take in

with him when occasion shall require. And when there is any Gold or Silver taken out, it is all put into Leather Bags, and so brought before the King, who disposeth thereof as he thinketh fit. He hath also the charge of all the Kings Jewels, of which he keepeth a Book by himselfe, that hee may know what Jewels the King gives away, what Jewels are given to the King, and what are likewise for his Majesties owne wearing; And the Capee Agha dying, hee succeeds him in his place.

The third, which is the Keelergee Bashee, keepes the account of the Kings Wardrobe (viz. of all his Houshold-stuffe.) Into which Wardrobe are all the Presents brought, which are given to the Grand Signior, as Cloth of Gold, Silkes, Woollen Clothes, Furres of all sorts, Swords, Feathers, Raw Silke, Carpets, and whatsoever else may serve for his Majesties owne use. Of all which things he keepes particular Notes, to the end he may at any time see what is given to the King, and what the King gives away to others: The which is a very painfull employment, inasmuch as his Majesty doth every day, aswell take as give a great number of Vests, and other the like things: But the businesse is so well ordered and carefully lookt unto, that there doth not follow any confusion at all. This Eunuch hath divers Servants under him; and stayes alwayes (for the most part) within the Serraglio; his Pension is a thousand Aspars per diem, besides Vests, and other such Presents which are given him in abundance from time to time; he also is much favoured and graced by the King, for that he is to succeed the Hazinehdar Bashee, in case hee the said Hazinehdar should dye; and is well esteemed of and reverenced by all, aswell without as within the Serraglio.

Wardrobe.

Busie employment.

Pension.

The fourth, which is the Sarai Agasee (who is an Eunuch as the former are) hath the care and looking unto the Serraglio, nor doth he ever goe out of it in the Kings absence; but is very vigilant, not only in seeing all things readie for the daily Service of the same; but also to looke over all the Roomes and to eye the Officers, marking

Keeper of the Serraglio.

whither they exercise themselves in their severall Functions, as befits them to doe. And because he is old, and his businesse great, he hath liberty to ride within the wals of the Serraglio, as the three former Agha's are also permitted to doe; for which purpose they have a Stable of Horses within the Garden for their use alone; his Pension is eight hundred Aspars per diem, besides Vests and Furres, as many as hee can well have occasion to weare; and is to succeed the Keelergee Bashee, and so cursively the Capee Agha if he out-live the rest.

Riding liberty.

Differing Priviledges.

And although all these foure Eunuches may weare Terbents in the Serraglio, and ride, (being the chiefe next the King himselfe in authoritie, within the Serraglio) and are reverenced and respected of all men; yet the three last viz. Hazinehdar Bashee, Keelergee Bashee, and Sarai Agasee, may not of themselves speake to the Grand Signior, but onely answer when any thing is asked of them: howbeit they alwayes attend (with the Capee Agha) the person and service of the King, with all the other Eunuches under them, and the aforesayd Aghas; And they foure onely governe the Kings Houshold affaires, giving order for all things needfull and necessarie, as well for the Dayes as for the Nights provision.

[II.ix.1597.]

Eunuches guelding.

All the Eunuches in the Serraglio may bee about hundred in number, what with old ones, middle aged, and young ones: they are all guelt and cut cleane off, and are chosen of those Renegado youthes which are presented from time to time to the Grand Signior as aforesayd: few or none at all are guelt and cut against their will, for then (as the Master workman in that businesse sayth) they would bee in great danger of Death; wherefore, to get their consent thereto, they shew unto them the assurance they may have (in time) to become Great men, all which must bee done at their first comming into the Serraglio, for it is a worke not to bee wrought upon men of yeeres.

Education in the foure Odahs.

They are brought up with the others, and are taken out by turnes of the fourth Odah, for the Grand Signiors service, as well as those which are not Eunuches.

His Majestie also employes some of these his white Eunuches in the government of all the other Serraglios and Nurseries of young Lads, as well in Constantinople, as in Adrianople, Bursia, and in divers other places, (in each of which there are commonly two or three hundred Schollers) that by their overlooking them (together with the helpe of other Ministers) they may bee brought to an excellent Discipline, by which they may prove men of good manners and reasonable Learning. *Other Seminaries.*

And it so falleth out oftentimes, that the Grand Signior (to give way to the other inferiour and younger Eunuches, who expect that they shall succeed in order the aforesayd Officers) sendeth forth some of the ancientest and of the highest ranke, into great employments, as to bee Bashaw of Cairo, or of some Provinces in Asia, and sometimes Vizirs of the Port; for the Eunuches generally prove Subjects of greatest judgement and fidelitie; their mindes being set on businesse rather then pleasure. And for that they are more trustie then any other servants of the Serraglio, the Capee Agha committeth such things as the Grand Signior would have kept for curiositie, unto their custodie; who for that end have places made of purpose to lay up such delicacies as are presented to the King; as great peeces of Amber Greece, sent from the Bashawes of the Morea, Muske, Treacle, Mithridate of Cairo, Terra figillata, Balsami, Boloarmeno, and other things of great value; Cups also of Agat, Christall, and Jasper, Turkesses, and other precious Stones; all which are so neatly and orderly kept, that indeed it is admirable; they likewise lay up his Indian Presents of Zeva and Civet, of all which things his Majestie and his Sultanaes make daily use, the Eunuches who are the keepers of the sayd Dainties, being first made acquainted therewithall. *Their advancement.* *Fidelitie.*

There is in the Serraglio a very large place, in which are kept all the goods which fall to the King, as well by them which are put to death as by those which dye of naturall Diseases, of which the King will bee Master. And the *Goods of the Deceased.*

goods being brought into the sayd place by the chiefe Defterdar (whose particular charge it is to see them brought thither) and the King in presence of his Assistants having seene and viewed it all; maketh choise of what he thinkes fit to reserve, and for to give away; the rest is cryed in the Serraglio, to the end if any one there have a will to buy, hee may have a good penniworth: and the surplusage is carried into the publique Bezisten, a place somewhat resembling the Paune in our royall Exchange: where it is cryed up and downe, the Cryer still naming the most that hath beene alreadie offered; and is at last sold to him that bids most, nor may hee that bids money goe from his word, at least if hee bee able to performe and stand to it. Now the money is delivered to the Hazineh-dar Bashee, and is put into the outward Hazineh: And although the goods did come from out of the Houses of such as dyed but the day before of the Pestilence; the Turkes neverthelesse buy them, and use them as if the Disease were not infectious at all; affirming that their end is written in their Forehead, and it cannot bee avoyded by any humaine Rule or Policie.

The Bezisten.

No feare of Pestilence.

§. VIII.

Of blacke Eunuches and Black-moore Girles and Women: of Physicians, and of the Kings Children.

NOw as concerning the Blacke Eunuches, and Black-moore Wenches, which serve the Sultanaes and the Kings Women; It is to bee noted that the Blacke Eunuches, whilst they are Boyes, are for the most part kept and taught among the other youthes of the Serraglio, untill they bee come to age and made fit for service; and being taken from thence they are appointed for the Women, and set to serve with others at the Sultanaes Gate (all under command of the Kuzlar Agha, that is to say, the Master of the Virgins) being allowed a Pension of fiftie or sixtie Aspers per Diem, and two Vests of Silke

Their Education.

[II. ix. 1598.] *Kuzlar Agha. Pension.*

per Annum, with Linnen and other necessaries sufficient for their use, besides divers gifts they receive from Women strangers at such times as they let them goe in to the Kings women: they are named by the names of Flowers, as Hiacynth, Narcissus, Rose, Gilly-flower, and the like; for that, serving the Women, their names may bee answerable to their Virginitie, sweet and undefiled. *Names.*

The Black-moore Girls, are no sooner brought into the Serraglio after their arrivall at Constantinople, (for they come by Ship from Cairo and from thereabouts) but they are carryed to the Womens lodgings, where they are brought up and made fit for all services; and by how much the more uglie and deformed they are, by so much the more they are esteemed of, by the Sultanaes; wherefore the Bashaw of Cairo (who for the most part sends them all) is alwayes diligent to get the most il-favoured, cole-blacke, flat-nosed Girles that may bee had throughout all Ægypt, or the bordering Countries, to send them for Presents to the Grand Signior, who bestowes them upon his Women. Now after their comming, if they shall bee disliked by reason of some Infirmitie, then are they sent into the old Serraglio, as the White women are, when they are unfit for service or misbehave themselves; all which is done by the Kings order and consent. *Negro Girles.* *Esteemed most for uglinesse.*

The aforesayd blacke Eunuches, by occasion of being sent with Messages to the Grand Signior from the Sultanaes, may passe through the Mens lodgings to carrie little notes to the Capee Agha, that hee may deliver them to the King; or for to fetch any thing from any of the Officers of the Serraglio, or to speake with a friend at the Gate; but otherwise they may not goe forth of the Serraglio from the Kuzlar Agha, without expresse licence from the Queene. They likewise are to goe about and doe all other businesse for the Sultanaes in the Womens lodgings, which White Eunuches cannot performe, for they are not permitted to come there; nor any man that is White (but the King onely) may see and come amongst the Women. Insomuch, as when by reason of some one *Priviledges.* *No White man may come amongst the Women.*

Physicians visiting the sicke women.

of them being fallen sicke, it is required that the Hekim Bashee (who is the Kings Physician) should come thither; they must necessarily first have leave of the King for his entrance, and being admitted to enter by the Sultanaes doore, hee seeth none but the Blacke Eunuches (all the other Women being retired into some withdrawing roomes) who bring him into the Sicke womans Chamber; and shee being closely covered from head to foote with Quilts and Blankets, holdeth out her Arme onely, so as the Doctor may touch her pulse, who when hee hath given order what shall bee done, goes his way immediatly by the same way that hee came.

But if she which is sicke be the Queene or one of the Sultanaes, then her arme and hand which shee holdeth out of the Bed for the Physician to feele her pulse, is covered with a fine piece of white Silke or taffata Sarcenet, for her flesh may not be seene; neither may the Doctor say any thing in her hearing, but being gone out of her Chamber, prescribeth what medicine hee thinkes fit; which for the most part (according to the common custome of the Turkes) is but onely some kinde of loosening Sherbet, for they seldome use any other Physicke; neither doe I hold their skill sufficient to prepare Medicines for every Maladie. But in case that shee should need a Chyrurgeon, shee must then doe as shee may without any scruple; for there is no remedie to conceale her skinne from him. And as for the other Women which are not Sultanaes, or at least which are not well beloved of the Grand Signior for some peculiar vertues; they needing a Chirurgion are sent into the old Serraglio to bee cured.

Physicke meane.

The Kings Sonnes by the Queene.

The Kings Sonnes which are borne unto him by his Queene, are Nursed and brought up together by themselves, by choise Nurses which are found abroad without the Serraglio; But if hee have also Sonnes by other Sultanaes (as commonly every Grand Signior hath) then those are brought up apart and not with the Queenes, so that every Mother careth for her owne Children, and that with great jealousie; yet they may play together till they come

Mothers care.

to bee of sixe or seven yeeres of Age; being much made of, sumptuously maintayned, and Apparelled all alike at the Kings charge, and their Nurses are well rewarded for their paines. They live among the Women till they come to bee of nine or ten yeeres of age; and about fourteene they are Circumcised with a great deale of pompe (especially the eldest Sonne) and solemnities throughout the whole Citie; for the Circumcision of the Turkes Children, are like the Christian Weddings, there being used at them, great Feasting, Banquetting, Musicke, and bringing of Presents. *Circumcisions solemnitie.*

From five yeeres of age untill ten (during which time they live amongst the Women) they have their Hojah (that is, their Schoole-master) appointed them by the King to teach them; which Hojah comes into the Womens Serraglio every day, and is brought into a Chamber by the Blacke Eunuches, (without ever seeing the Women at all) whither the Children come accompanied with two old Black-moore women Slaves, and are taught for so many howers as their Tutor is permitted to stay, and so hee departeth. *Hojah or Schoolemaster.*

As for the Daughters, they are but sleightly looked after; nor is the King so tender over them; for, as they are not suspected for any thing that may concerne the State in future times, so likewise are they not much respected; yet they are well provided for by the Grand Signior their Father, in case they live to bee fit for Husbands. *Kings Daughters.*

After the Prince (next Heire to the Crowne) is circumcised; if his Father thinke it unfit to keepe him any longer with him at home in the Serraglio, hee provides all things fitting to send him abroad that he may see the World the better to enable him for to governe the Empire after his Fathers decease; and sends along with him one of his principall Eunuches for to be his Over-seer and a helpe unto him, besides many Servants to attend upon him, all which hee chuseth out of his owne Serraglio: hee allowes him likewise sufficient meanes to maintayne [II.ix.1599.] *The Prince sent abroad.*

him like a Prince (as he doth also by the rest of his Sonnes if he have a purpose to send any of them abroad) and so all things being well ordered for him, having taken his leave of his Father and Mother (who present him with many gifts; as also the Sultana's, and all the Bashawes, and great men of the Port doe) he departs for Magnesia, a Citie in Asia, there to reside in the Government of that Province; in which hee hath not the Supreame Authoritie, but governes only as his Fathers Deputie. And should hee passe the limits of his Commission, hee would quickly fall into disgrace, and suspition of Rebellion; as heretofore it hath hapned unto divers: wherefore the Eunuch which was appointed for to bee his Over-seer, is bound to give continuall advice to the Grand Signior and the Vizirs, of all Occurrences according to the Canon: and likewise to receive from Constantinople such Commandements as are to bee obeyed in those parts where the Prince resideth; so that all things in a manner, are swayed by the discretion of the Eunuch.

Magnesia his Residence.

His Commission.

§. IX.

Provisions of Victuals, Cookes, Kitchins, Diet of the King, Queene, and others, and of their manner of Service.

Victuals and Cookes.

ALL the victuals in the Serraglio, (for the most part) are dressed by Agiamoglans, brought up to Cookerie; howbeit there are belonging more then two hundred Under-cookes and Scullions to the Kitchins that are therein, besides their principall Officers, as Sewers, Caters, and such like: all which are carefully to looke to their severall Kitchins, and not any one to trust another with his businesse.

Kings Kitchin and meales.

The Kings Kitchin beginnes to worke ordinarily before day, for, his Highnesse rising betimes, there must be alwayes something readie for him, and oftentimes he eateth three or foure times a day. Hee dines commonly at ten of the clocke in the fore-noone, and sups about sixe

at night, aswell in the Summer as in the Winter. Now when hee hath a will to eate, hee tels the Capee-Agha of it, who forth-with sends an Eunuch to give notice of the same to the Chiefe Sewer; and he having dished the meate, brings it in dish by dish to the Kings Table; and so his Majestie sits downe after the common Turkish fashion with his legges acrosse, having a very rich embroydered Towell cast before him upon his knees to save his Clothes; and another hanging upon his left arme which he useth for his Napkin to wipe his mouth and fingers. He is not carved unto, as other Princes are, but helps himselfe; having before him upon a piece of Bulgar leather (which is in stead of a Table-cloth) fine white Bread, of three or foure sorts, very new and well relished. He neither useth Knife nor Forke, but only a wooden Spoone, of which there are two layed before him, the one serving him to eate his Pottage, and the other to sup up certaine delicate Sirrups withall; made of all sorts of Fruits, compounded with the Juice of Limons and Sugar, to quench his thirst: he tasteth of his dishes one by one, and as hee hath done with them, they are taken off againe; his meate is so tender and delicately dressed, that (as I said before) he needs no Knife, but puls the flesh from the bones very easily with his fingers: He useth no Salt at his Table, neither hath he any Antipasto; but immediately fals aboord the flesh, and concludes with a Tart or some such like thing: And so his Dinner or Supper being ended, hee washeth his hands in a Bason of Gold, with the Ewer all set with precious stones.

His sitting at meate.

Not carved.

No Knife nor Forke. Two Spoones.

No Salt nor Antipast.

His Majesties ordinary Diet (as I have beene told by some of the Aschees) is halfe a score rosted Pidgeons in a dish, two or three Geese in a dish, Lambe, Hens, Chickens, Mutton, and sometimes Wilde-fowle, but very seldome: and looke what hee hath rosted for him, so hee hath the same quantitie boyled, almost of every thing; there being very good sawce for every dish, and other ingredients very pleasing to the pallat. He hath likewise Broths of all sorts, and divers Purcelaine dishes of Pre-

His diet.

serves and Sirrups, and some Tarts and Pyes, after their fashion made of flesh: and having made an end of eating, hee drinkes one draught of Sherbet, (not drinking above once at a Meale) which is brought unto him in a deepe Purcelaine dish covered, standing upon a flat under dish, of the same Metall.

Drinking once.

No words. All the while that he is at Table, he very seldome or never speakes to any man, albeit there stand afore him divers Mutes and Jesters, to make him merrie, playing trickes and sporting one with another Alla Mutescha, which the King understands very well, for by signes their meaning is easily conceived. And if peradventure he doe chance to speake a word or two; it is to grace some one of his Agha's standing by him whom hee highly favoureth, throwing him a Loafe of Bread from his owne Table, and this is held for a singular grace and speciall favour: and hee dividing it amongst his companions, they accept of it at a second hand, as a great honour done unto them, in regard it came from their Lord and King.

Mutes and Jests.

[II.ix.1600.]

His favour.

Dishes and covers of Gold. The dishes for his Highnesse Table are all of Gold, and so likewise are their covers; they are in the custodie of the Keelergee, who attends at the Kitchin; and so are all the yellow Purcelaine dishes (which are very costly and scarcely to bee had for money) in which the King eates in the Ramazan time, which is their Lent, and lasteth a whole Moone, and the Moneth it selfe is so called: In which time they never eate in the day, but only in the night, not making any difference in meates (excepting Swines flesh and things strangled, of which they are forbidden by their Law to eate at any time.) The King seldome eates fish, unlesse it be when he is abroad at some Garden House by the Sea-side with his Women.

Yellow Purcelaine for Ramazan, or Lent.

Remainders. The meate which remaynes of that which was at the Grand Signiors Table, is immediately carried to the Agha's Table which waite upon him; so that they (what with that and their own diet together) are wondrous well to passe. Now whilst the Agha's are eating, the King passeth away the time with his Mutes and Buffones, not

speaking (as I said) at all with his Tongue, but only by signes: and now and then he kicks and buffeteth them in sport, but forth-with makes them amends by giving them Money; for which purpose his pockets are alwayes furnished.

Capee Aghas diet.

In the meane time also the Capee Agha eates in a Roome apart, such meate as is prepared for him in his Kitchin, being farre inferiour to the Kings diet, and with him doe eate the Hazinehdar Bashee, the Sarai Agasee, and sometimes some of the Kings Physicians, whom he cals in for to beare him company; and such other Eunuches which are Keepers of the Serraglioes abroad, as doe come to visit him. And the remainder of his diet, with a fresh supply from the Kitchins, serves Diman' in mano, all the other white Eunuchs.

Diet for the Odah youths.

In this Interim likewise, is meate sent to all the other Odahs, for the youths there; which is two Loaves apiece per diem, and a little boyled Mutton, and Pottage of Rice mingled with Butter and Honey, which consists more of Broth then substance, it being but thinne of Rice, and so little flesh put in it, that it is well if it give but a taste thereof when they soppe their bread therein.

Queene and Sultanas diet.

On the other side is meate carried in by Blacke Eunuchs, to the Queene, to the Sultanas, and to all the other women, wherein is observed the same order as is aforesaid with the King. Insomuch as that in the space of an houre and halfe all is dispatched.

Queenes Service in Copper.

The Queenes Service is in Copper dishes tinned over, but kept very bright and cleane, and some also of white Purcelaine: howsoever it is to bee understood, that for her owne mouth shee may be served as she pleaseth, and so questionlesse may all the Sultanas, although their ordinarie allowance be no other then Copper. For oftentimes the King is amongst them a whole day together, eating, sporting, and sleeping; of which there is no notice taken, nor may any one looke into his actions; where amongst themselves they make him delicate and sumptuous Banquets (over and above the ordinarie meales of

King with his women.

Dinner and Supper) of sweet Meats and Fruits of all sorts; having daily an abundance presented unto them. They drinke their Sherbet mingled with Snow in the Summer, of which there is a great quantitie preserved yeerely for to serve the Serraglio, but at a very great charge. For the Snow doth stand the Port in more then twentie thousand Chicquines per annum, in Gifts and Ceremonies, and other Expenses, at the fetching it in from the Hils; and in putting it under ground in Houses made of purpose for that use.

Snow mixed with Sherbet, at a deere rate.

They doe not ordinarily use Comfets, nor Cheese, for the Turkes doe hardly know how to make them; especially Cheese (which although they doe make of it) it never prooves good: So that the Sultanas, and all great Personages eate none but Parmezan, of which the Bailo of Venice doth alwayes furnish them, and that very plentifully, for they love it well, and eate heartily of it when they goe abroad upon pleasure or a hunting.

Comfets and Cheese not used.

For the provision of the said Serraglio, all things are prepared in great abundance, and every particular provision is assigned to particular persons to take care therefore, so that there is never any want of things necessary.

Order.

The first and best sort of Bread (which indeed in very white and savourie) is for the King, the Sultanas, the Bashawes, and other great ones. The second sort for them of a middle ranke. The third and last sort (which indeed is very blacke and course) for the Agiamoglans and others of base qualitie.

Bread of three sorts.

The meale whereof the best sort of bread is made for the Grand Signior and the Sultanas, is brought from Bursia, made of the Wheate of that Province of Bithinia, growing in the Kings owne ground. And the yeerely provision thereof is about seven or eight thousand Keeloes, which makes almost so many Bushels of ours here in London: the which Wheat makes the best flower that comes to Constantinople, for that it is also ground at Bursia, and those Mils are far better then any that are neere Stanbol.

Meale from Bursia.

Quantitie.

Now for the other Wheate which they spend, it all comes (for the most part) from Volo in Grecia, where there is a great deale of Land belonging to the Crowne; a great part of which Corne is yeerely spent in the Armado, made into Bisket at Negroponti: and some part of it is sold to the Raguseans and others, who come with their shipping to lade it thence, but they must bring their Authoritie with them from Constantinople. There is likewise brought yeerly to Stanboll of the aforesaid Wheate, thirtie five, or fortie thousand Keeloes, which is laid up in Magasins that serve for that use, and is afterwards ground, and spent in the Serraglio, for the service of the same. Nor is it any wonder that the Serraglio consumes so much Corne; for, besides the Servants as aforesaid; all the Sultanas and great Personages, with divers others, have their daily allowance of bread from the Keeler (that is) the Pantrie, or from his Highnesse Bake-house; scilicet, every Sultana, twentie Loaves: every Bashaw ten: to the Muftee eight: and so to divers others a severall proportion, even to one Loafe a man. All which is by the Commandement and discretion of the Chiefe Vizir: the severall allowances beeing set downe in the Chiefe Butlers Bookes, or else in his who is the Overseer of the Bake-houses: Every Loafe being as bigge as three penie Loaves of ours here in London, but very light and spungie, and easie of digestion.

Volo wheat. [II.ix.1601.] *Quantitie.* *Pantry allowance.*

The Rice and Lentils, and all other sorts of Pulse (of which there is a great quantitie spent) is brought yeerely from Alexandria in the Galeons, which make two Voyages per annum, and bring out of Egypt, not only the said Pulse, but also all sorts of Spice and Sugar, and a great quantitie of Preserves, and pickled meates, which the Turkes much delight in. And as for Sugar, there is spent an unspeakeable deale in making of Sherbets, and Tarts; which not only the Serraglio useth, but are also ordinary Presents; from one Bashaw to another, and from one friend to another; insomuch that it is a thing to be admired, to see so great a quantitie so suddenly consumed.

Rice, Lentils, Pulse from Alexandria. *Spice and Sweet meates.* *Expence of Sugar.*

Little Spice. True it is, that there is but little Spice spent in the Serraglio, nor indeed any great store among the Turkes (Pepper only excepted) for inasmuch as Wine is not an ordinary drink amongst them, they therefore avoide such things as provoke a desire thereunto. Howsoever in the Store-houses of the Port, there is provision of all sorts of Spices and Drugges for whatsoever occasion should happen, that may require the use of them.

Egyptian fruits. There likewise comes from Egypt great store of Dates, Prunes, and other dryed Plummes of divers sorts, which the Cookes use in their dressing of meate, aswell for rost as boyled, and indeed they make delicate dishes of them.

Hony whence. The Hony (of which the Port spends a great quantitie both in their Broths, boyled meates and Sherbets also for the common sort of people) is brought from Valachia, from Transilvania, and from Moldavia, aswell that which is presented to the King, as that which comes for particular mens Accounts; yet that which is used in the Kings Kitchin comes from Candie, and is farre better and purer then the other.

Oyle of Grecia. The Oyle (of which there is an unspeakable consumption made) is brought from Modon and Coron in Grecia, the Sanjackbegh of that Province being bound to see the Port sufficiently furnished therewith: howbeit that which is spent in the Kings Kitchin is brought from *Of Candie.* Candie, it being sweeter, cleerer, and in every respect better then that of the Morea.

Butter from Bogdania, &c. The Butter (of which there is also spent a very great quantitie, in that it is used almost in all their meates; especially in Pillawe) comes out of the Blacke Sea, from Bogdania and from Caffa, being put into great Oxe-hides and Buffalo-hides, and so laid up in Magazines, for the yeerely provision of the Kings Court, but commonly they have so much that they sell part of it into the Citie, as they doe likewise the Oyle, Honey, &c. which is Beggleek (that is, for the Grand Signiors Account) when they have more of them then they thinke they shall spend; and make a great benefit of it. The Turkes know not what

belongs to fresh Butter, there being little or none at all made about Constantinople; neither doe they eate much Milke, except it bee made sower, which they call Yoghurd, for that it being so turned sower it doth quench the thirst; and of that both they and the Christians doe eate a great quantitie. They eate also some store of Kaymack (that is, clouted or cloded Creame) but that is only for the better sort, for it is a meate of too high a price for the vulgar. *No fresh Butter. Little Milke eaten.*

Now as for flesh, every yeere in the Autumne, Winter drawing nigh; the Bashaw causeth the Provision of Basturma to be made for the Kings Kitchins; and they make it of Kowes great with Calfe, for then say they, the flesh is most tender and savourie: they use it in the same manner as Christians use Swines flesh, for they make Puddings and Sauceages of it, and the rest they boyle and dresse after other fashions. *Provision of flesh. Kow Beefe.*

This sort of dryed flesh, after that it is sufficiently dryed with hanging a moneth or better in a Roome, and little or no Salt used about it, will last the whole yeare, and eate very savourly: and it is in such use amongst the Turkes, that there is scarce a house of any fashion or account, but doth yeerely make provision of it, and it is held a very thriftie and sparing course; but they doe not all make their Basturma of Kowes great with Calfe, for there are some which love the other better, which is made of Oxen and Bullocks; and they can buy it farre cheaper. *Dryed and hanged.*

The Bashaw hath the oversight of that which is prepared for the Kings Kitchins; and there are ordinarily spent foure hundred Kowes per annum, for the said provision of Basturma. The other flesh which is daily spent in the Kitchins of the Serraglio (as I was told by one of the Aschees) is as followeth: Sheepe, 200. Lambes, or Kids when they are in season, 100. Calves, 10. Geese, 50. Hennes, 200. Chickens, 100. Pigeons, [II.ix.1602.] 200. There is but very little store of Fish spent in the *Fish.* Serraglio: yet sometimes the Aghaes for dainties will eate some; the Seas thereabouts doe exceedingly abound with divers kinds, and they may easily take as many as they

please: but the Christians are well served with Fish in the Markets, and at reasonable prices; and the common sort of Turkes doe beare them Companie.

Fruits. The Grand Signior (nor any of the Serraglio) cannot want for Fruit; there being in time of yeere so many Presents thereof brought thither continually; besides what comes from the Kings owne Gardens (which are many, and neere the Citie) every morning in great abundance, and excellent good; the Gardeners selling the remainder at a place in Constantinople, where onely the Kings Fruit is sold; and bring the money weekely to the Bustangee Bashee, who afterwards gives it to his Majestie, and it is called the Kings Pocket-money; for he gives it away by handfuls, as he sees occasion, to his Mutes and Buffons.

Skullery. The furniture of the Kitchins in the Serraglio, as Ketles, Cauldrons, and Skillets, &c. are almost all of Brasse, and they are so neatly kept, and of such a largenesse, that there cannot bee a braver sight of that nature. And as for the Dishes, they are of Copper tinned over, but so often new forbished and trimmed, that (they being daily used) it is wonderfull to behold their continuall brightnesse; and of these they have a great number, but

Losse by pilfering. the King sustaynes great losse by them: for, there being such a companie of people served daily from the Kitchins with meate both within and without (especially upon the foure Divan dayes) there are so many of them stolne, that the Defterdars (weighing the losse and charge of those Dishes) have often beene almost resolved to make them all of Silver, and so to consigne them to the custodie of the Sewers and Butlers, who should from time to time give account of them, and looke the better to them: but finding it a thing so costly, not any Defterdar (as yet) hath performed it, nor adventured to beginne.

Wood and Fewell. The Wood which is spent in the aforesaid Kitchins and in all the Serraglio, are almost an infinite number of weights, (for at Constantinople the Wood is all bought and sold by weight) there being for the account of the Serraglio (which they call Begleek) above thirtie great

Caramusals, which doe nothing else at one time of the yeere but sayle into the Blacke Sea, there to lade at the Kings Woods: It is a businesse which costs but little (in respect of the worth of it) for they have it for the cutting downe; and the bringing and unlading of it requires little or no charge at all; for they are to make so many returnes per annum for the King, but receive no fraight: and the Masters are to see it unladen at their owne costs and charges, receiving only a discharge, but no recompence at all.

§. X.

Apparell, Bedding, Sicknesse, Hospitals. Inheritance; Kings expences, Recreations, receiving Petitions, Stables; Ramazan Solemnities.

THe Grand Signiors Apparell, is nothing different in fashion from other mens, saving in the length of his Vests, and the richnesse thereof; nor are his shooes shod with Iron at the heeles, as other Turkes weare them, but are raised and painted like childrens shooes, with knots and flowers. *Fashion of Kings apparell.*

And as for his Lodging; he sleepes upon Matteresses of Velvet and Cloth of Gold: In the Summer in Sheets of Shash embroydered with Silke sowen to the quilts: and in the Winter betwixt Coverlets of Lucernes or of Sables, wearing all night a little Terbent on his head; And when he lies alone in his owne Lodgings, he is alwaies watched by his Pages of his Chamber, by two and two at a time, changing every three houres; one of them standing at the Chamber doore, and the other by the Bed side to cover him, in case the clothes should slide off, and to be neere hand, if his Majestie should want any thing: And in the same Chamber where he lies, there are alwaies two women that attend with burning Torches in their hands; nor may they put them out till such time as the King is risen out of his Bed. *His bedding.* *Pages watch.* *Two Torch-women.*

The habite of the women is much like to that of the *Womens habit.*

men for they weare Chacksirs, and Buskins, and have their Shooes shod with Iron at the heeles. They sleepe as the men doe, in linnen Breeches, and in quilted Wast-coats; having thinne and light ones for the Summer, and more thicke and warme ones for the Winter.

No Close-stooles. The Turkes never have any Close-stooles, or such like inplements in their Chambers; but having a will to that businesse, they rise and goe to their Privies, made in places apart, where there doe alwaies stand Water-pots ready, that they may wash when they have done; nor *No Paper, &c.* may they use Paper in that service, as we doe.

Stipends. The severall stipends which the Grand Signior alloweth to those of the Serraglio, (of what degree or condition soever they be) are payd out of the outmost Hazineh; and the chiefe Defterdar (who hath a Booke as well of the names of the Stipendaries, as of their stipends) is bound [II.ix.1603.] to send once every three moneths, to all the Odahs in severall bagges, so much money as their pay imports, and there they share it amongst them: The like he doth also by the women, and the Agiamoglans, paying them in good money. And against the Biram, which is their Carneval, hee sends them their Vests, their Linnen, and such like necessaries, of which he never fayles them; for, they wanting them, if he should disappoint them, they would so complaine against the said Defterdar, that it would bee his utter overthrow; for hee should bee sure (at the least) to lose his place.

Serraglio. Heires. When any one dieth in the Serraglio, his Chamber-fellowes are made his Heires, and that which he left is divided amongst them. And if any great Eunuch die, all comes to the King; for they are alwaies very rich, by reason of the manifold gifts which come to their hands: But if any Eunuch of the Serraglios abroad, or in places of other government should die, then two thirds of his estate falls to the King by Canon, the other third part being to *Testaments.* bee disposed of according to the Testators will; and that is onely when the King gives way unto it, and will not out of his supreme authoritie take all to himselfe, as he

useth to doe by all great rich ones, the Kings person being held the principall and most lawfull Heire of all; they being accounted as slaves which have received their livelihood, goods, estates, and all that they have enjoyed, meerly from his greatnesse and bountie. And to this end there is an Officer, called the Beytilmawlgee, who so soone as any one dies, makes inquisition for their estates, and so certifies the Defterdar thereof, leaving the execution to him, if it be in matters of import. But the Beytilmalgee for his owne private gayne, doth oftentimes conceale a great part of the estate of the deceased, parting the same betwixt the kindred and himselfe. *Beytilmawlgee.*

When any ordinary person falls sicke in the Serraglio, he is carried from his Chamber in a Cart which is covered and drawne with hands; and is put into the aforesaid Hospitall or Lazaretta, where he is lookt unto after the Turkish fashion; and kept so closely, that none may come to the speech of him but with great difficultie; and growing well againe, he is carried backe in the same manner to his owne chamber where he was at the first. *Hospitall.*

The expences of the Serraglio are very great, as any one may gather by what hath beene already said; besides, there are other charges of great consideration which the King is at, by reason of the Queene, the chiefe Vizirs, the Generals of his severall forces, and the great Defterdars: All whom he doth present according as he seeth fit upon divers occasions; as at the times of their going forth, or at their returnes from their employments abroad; The which Presents are of Vests, some unlined, and some lined with very costly Furs; Swords, Bowes, Plumes and Brooches, Girdles all set with rich Stones, and in fine many other things of great value; and some but of lowe price, according to the qualitie and desert of the partie to whom hee is pleased to shew his liberalitie. Nay, the Hazinehdar Bashee without (who hath the keeping of the Cloth of gold and silver of Bursia) doth affirme, that in that one commoditie, to make Vests of, there is spent yeerely two hundred thousand Sultanines; besides what *Kings expences.* 200000. *Sultanines spent in Vests of Cloth of gold and silver.*

he disburseth for the buying of Venetian Silkes and Wollen clothes, of which the Serraglio consumes a great quantitie, they not wearing (for the most part) any other.

Neither would this alone serve the turne, for besides all this, the Gr. Signior gives away all that which is given him by strangers, and a great part of that which comes to him of the spoyle of the dead, of which he is Master, as hath bene shewed before. And surely, should he want these helps, the King could not continue in that humour of giving Presents, long, as he doth, to his wenches, to his Bashawes, and to all such as are at any time to kisse his hand. Neverthelesse, true it is that the greatest part of things of great value, in time, come againe to his hands; for, his Sultanaes, Bashawes, or other rich men dying, hee becomes Master of all, or (at least) of the greatest part of their estate. And so much of such things, there is a continuall ebbing and flowing in the Serraglio.

Ebbing and flowing from and to this Ocean.

The Queene also gives much away; for, as shee is presented by many, so is it fit, that shee should in part make some compensation: and to that end, shee hath an allowance of Vests, and other things in abundance; besides, shee hath libertie to dispose of many of those which have beene worne by the King.

Queenes expences.

Vizirs Vests.

The chiefe Vizir is likewise a giver, as well whilest hee is in Constantinople, as when he is upon departure as Generall of the Armie: and to that end, before he departeth, hee hath allowed him from the Hazinehdar Bashee, a great number of Vests and other things, that he may be provided when he is in the field with Presents; according to the Turkish custome, which (in all businesses, and upon every occasion) is, to give and take.

Kings Kaik.

The King (if he please) may at any time goe abroad either by water or by land: when hee goes by water, he hath his Kaik of sixteene or eighteene bankes; with a very sumptuous Poope, covered over with rich embroydered crimson Velvet, under which he himselfe sits, and none but he, on cushions of Velvet and Cloth of gold; his Aghaes standing all on their feete, and onely the Bustan-

gee Bashee, who steeres the Kaik, may now and then sit downe, that he may handle the Helme the better. Now the Bustangee Bashee, by reason the King talkes much with him in the Barge, (at which time, least any one should heare what they say, the Mutes fall a howling like little Dogs) may benefit or prejudice whom he pleaseth; the King being ignorant of divers passages, and apt to beleeve any information, either with or against any Subject whatsoever. His Kaik is rowed by Agiamoglans, which are brought up to that exercise, and indeed they manage the businesse with a great deale of dexteritie.

Mutes howling.

[II.ix.1604.]

When he goeth forth by land, hee alwaies rides on horse-backe, and goes out (for the most part) at the greatest Gate, especially, at such times as he goes to the Moschea which is upon the Friday (it being their Sabboth) and is accompanied into the Citie by the Bashawes, and other great men of the Port, besides many of his owne servants which goe by his stirrop, and divers Solacks with their Bowes and Arrowes, for his Guard. And as he rides along the streets, he salutes the people with nodding his head, who againe salute him with loude shouts and prayers of prosperitie and happinesse; and for recompence, hee oftentimes puts his hand into his Pocket, and throwes whole handfuls of money amongst them.

His going out by land.

Gratulations and gratifications.

Now, they of the Serraglio, which goe by his stirrop, have charge to receive such Petitions as are preferred to his Majestie, as he rides along: and many poore folkes, who dare not to approach nigh him, stand afarre off with fire upon their heads, holding up their Petitions in their hands; the which the King seeing, sends immediatly to take the said Petitions, and being returned home into his Serraglio, reades them all, and then gives order for redresse as he thinks fit. By reason of which complaints, the King oftentimes takes occasion to execute Justice, even against the most eminent in place, before they are aware, without taking any course in Law against them; but causing a sudden execution of what punishment he pleaseth upon them. Which makes the Bashawes that

Petitions.

they care not how seldome the Grand Signior stirres abroad in publike, for feare least in that manner their unjust proceedings and bad Justice should come to his eare. And indeed, they alwaies live in great feare, through the multiplicitie of businesse that passeth through their hands, and in danger of losing their lives at a short warning; which makes them, use the Proverbe; that, He that is greatest in Office, is but a statue of Glasse.

His great Stable. The Grand Signior, for the use of his houshold, hath in Constantinople neere unto the Serraglio an exceeding large Stable of a thousand Horses and upward: And the Imrohor Bashee, which is Master of the Horse, hath the charge of them, together with an Under-Imrohor for his assistant; besides many ordinary Groomes, which are to looke to them and see that they be kept in good case. Now, the said Imrohor Bashee and his Deputie, are to see the Kings servants provided of Horses, at such times as they accompanie his Majestie abroad, either a hunting, or for other sports.

Other Stables. Besides this Stable, hee hath divers others in other places, for his owne service, and for the use of his Gentlemen, at such times as he or they shall come thither; namely, at his Gardens, and Houses of pleasure abroad in the Countrey, to which his Majestie useth to goe very often: but these Stables have not above eight or ten Horses a piece in them, for to those houses hee carrieth but few followers with him.

Hee hath also Stables for his Stallions for race, in Bursia, Adrianopoli, and in divers other places; from which are brought very stately Horses; besides such as are continually sent him for Presents, from Cairo, Bagdat, Arabia, and from other places from the Bashawes, and also such as fall to his share by the death of great persons; all which are Horses of great price, and kept for his owne use. And because there must bee a great number of Horses for ordinary services for the baser sort of his servants; he is therefore furnished with lowe priced Nags out of Valachia.

Besides these Stables of Horses, the Grand Signior is provided of five thousand Mules which serve to carrie Pavilions, Chists, Water, and all other necessaries for travell: but because the Vizir (going out Generall) makes use of a great part of them, there is seldome that number complete at home. And should the King himselfe goe out to the Warres, his very houshold would use a thousand of them, besides their riding Horses; for, the Emperours of Turkie are alwaies almost as well accommodated in their Voyages abroad, as they are at home in the Citie: and indeed, the generalitie of the Turkes are very well fitted against such times as they are to goe forth, especially for long journeyes. *Mules.*

The Grand Signior is bound by Canon of the Empire, that upon the first day of the Byram, which is their Carnevall, the Ramazan being ended, which is their Lent, hee shew himselfe publikely, and let all the great men, and the better sort of his owne servants, kisse his Vest: wherefore upon that day, early in the morning, being richly clad and set forth with his best Jewels, he comes out at his Serraglio Gate, that is, out of the Eunuches Gate, in the third Court; and sets him downe upon a Persian Carpet of silke and gold, in a certaine place (close by the aforesaid Gate) which is onely for that service, and doth not stirre thence untill all have kissed his Vest in token of their reverence and dutie; The chiefe Vizir standing close by him, and telling him the names of such as hee thinkes fit, to the end the Grand Signior may take notice of them: Now, to some of the Doctors of the Law which are of high degree, the King raiseth himselfe up a little, to honour and receive them; and to some he shewes more grace and affection, then to other some, and indeed more then ordinary. *Publike appearing at Ramazan.* *His honour to some.*

Now, this Ceremonie being ended he goeth to the Moschea of Santa Sophia, accompanied by them all; and at his returne taking his leave, hee retires himselfe to his owne Lodgings, where he dines alone, as he doth upon other dayes; notwithstanding upon that day he maketh *Going to Santa Sophia.* [II.ix.1605.]

a very solemne Banquet in the Divan for the Bashawes and other Great ones; and a very great Dinner in the Court yard, for all such as did accompanie him, and are there present. Then his Majestie observing the ordinarie Custome, sends to present the Chiefe Vizir with a very rich Vest, lined with a very costly Furre, and doing the like by the other great ones of the Port, (though with Vests of farre lower price) hee also extends his bountie to all his Aghas, giving them Swords and such like things; and to the Sultanaes costly Jewels, and other Gifts to many others of the Serraglio, giving (as wee say) New-yeeres Gifts, to all.

Gifts to the Grandes.

Three dayes Solemnitie.

Fire workes and Shewes.

Every night during the three dayes of the Byram (for it is but for three dayes and so it ends) hee causeth Shewes to bee made of Fire-workes, and such like, which continue untill Morning, and that the Sultanaes may see them, the King comes of purpose into their companie to be merrie with them, and is more free and familiar then at other times; and hee gives free libertie for mirth and sports Day and Night throughout the Citie, during those three dayes.

Presents to him.

To these Festivals, all the Sultanaes which live out of the Serraglio, are also invited, who both give Presents to the King, and take Presents from him. Likewise in these three dayes the King is presented by the Bashawes and Great men, and indeed with Gifts of great value, for every one strives to exceed another, thinking thereby to winne favour. The Sultanaes also are not behinde hand, for they present him, with Shirts, Handkirchiefes, Linnen breeches, and such like things of good consideration, the which the Grand Signior afterwards makes use of for his owne wearing.

The same Byram of three dayes is kept in all his Dominions, and throughout the Citie of Constantinople, even in every Turkes house; the Streets being at almost every corner set out with Devises, and Swings of divers sorts very artificially made; where old and young are solaced, and giving two or three Aspers to them which

owe the Swings, they may have sport sufficient. But during this Feast, it is somewhat dangerous for the poore Christians and Jewes to walke the streets; for, the Turkes being then somewhat insolent and full of Wine, doe put them in great feare of doing them some mischiefe, if they deny them money when they demand it of them; And so they doe likewise in another Byram, which is called the little Byram, and comes three Moneths after the other.

Christians awed.

Little Byram.

§. XI.

The Old Serraglio, and Womens lives therein: Of their Marriages and Children, Slave-selling, Witnesses.

HAving oftentimes mentioned the old Serraglio, which is as it were a dependent of the Kings Serraglio, it will not bee amisse briefely to make some kinde of relation of it.

The Old Serraglio.

This is a very large Serraglio, immured with a very high Wall; the Buildings are faire, it hath many Inhabitants, and is about an Italian mile in Compasse, being seated in the noblest part of the Citie. It was the first Serraglio, which Mahomet the second built for to dwell in with all his Court, when hee tooke Constantinople; It hath but one Gate (which is of Iron) belonging unto it; the which Gate is kept by a Companie of white Eunuches, and no men may come in thereat, unlesse it bee to bring in such necessaries as they want, at which times they cannot see any of the Women. Now the Women which are therein, are those which are put out of the Kings Serraglio, viz. such Sultanaes as have belonged to the deceased Grand Signior, those Women likewise which through their evill behaviour and conditions are fallen into disgrace with the King, and such as are Infirme or Defective, in what should belong to Women fit for the companie of a King; and none else are there, but for some of the aforesaid causes. All which are governed, and lookt unto by an

Who are therein.

Woman Overseer.

old Woman which is made their Over-seer, and taketh care to see them used according to the Custome of the House, and that they have their Food and Cloathing, with their severall stipends; all which is farre short of what they had when they were in the Kings Serraglio; howbeit such as have beene Queenes and Sultanaes, live out of the common ranke in their Lodgings apart; and although they are out of the Kings sight and (as it were) out of favour, yet they are reasonably well served.

Now the greatest part of the sayd Sultanaes (Queenes excepted) if they bee any thing rich, may (with the Kings leave by the old Womans solicitation) goe foorth and marrie, and carrie with them all that which they have kept and stollen. For at their comming forth of the Kings Serraglio, if they have ought of any great worth or value that is knowne, the Cadun takes it from them, and restores it to the Grand Signior. So that I say, if they have any thing to bestow themselves withall, they cunningly make it knowne abroad, to the end that some men of qualitie may become Suitors for them, and make them a good Joynter.

Conveniences thereof.

In the said Serraglio, they have all the commoditie of necessaries that may bee, as Gardens, Fountaines, and faire Bognoes, and the King hath some roomes also [II.ix.1606.] therein readie furnished: for sometimes hee goeth thither to visite his kindred, as his Grandmother, Mother, Aunts, Sisters, &c. who for some of the aforesaid occasions were put out of his Serraglio.

The other Women of this old Serraglio, have but meane allowance; and had they not somewhat of their owne to helpe sometimes, they would passe but coursly; so that they are faine to betake themselves to their Needles, by which they reape a reasonable benefite, and have divers Jewes women who frequent their companies, and sell their labours for them.

Hard state.

Seven Wives, Slaves unlimited.

A Turke (if hee please) may take seven Wives at Kebin: besides hee may have as many Slaves as hee will,

and the Children of the Slaves are held as truely begotten and legitimate, as those of the Wives, and have as much right to the Inheritance of what the Father leaves behind him: Nay, a Bashaw having married a Sister or a Daughter to the King, and having Sonnes by them; those Sonnes may not rise above the Degree of a Sanjack Begh or a Capoogee Bashee, to the end they may bee kept under, being allyed to the Crowne, that so being but in meane places, they may not bee apt for revolution. But their Brothers which their Fathers beget of Slaves, may come to bee Bashawes, for they are free from suspition, in regard they are not of the Bloud Royall: And hence it is, that those Children which had a Sultana to their Mother, are so often seene to bee in lower Degree then the others; for hee which is borne of the Slave, is above him which is borne of the Sultana; yet with the Children of the other Subjects it is otherwise, for they are equals.

Bashawes Sons kept under, if of royal Bloud.

The parties Married, may upon divers occasions specified in their Law, leave one another, especially when they cannot agree together. And if the man put away the Woman, hee is bound to allow her the Joynter or Dowrie, which hee promised her when they were Contracted: but if the Woman forsake the Man, shee can recover nothing, but departs onely with a small Portion, such as shee brought with her into her Husbands house.

Divorces.

Now in case a Turke take Slaves for his use, hee may not sell them againe, but they become members of the Familie, in which they are to remaine till they die; but if they proove barren, they may bee sold from hand to hand, as often as their fortune so betides them.

Slaves sold if barren.

The Turkes may buy of all sorts of Slaves of every Religion, and use them as they please (killing onely excepted) which the Christians and Jewes there may not doe; for they have libertie onely to buy Christians and Jewes.

There is for this purpose in Constantinople a Bezisten, that is, a common publike Market, where every Wednesday there are bought and sold Slaves of all sorts, and

Bezisten.

every one comes freely, to buy for their severall uses; some for Nurses, some for Servants, and some for their Lustfull appetites; for they which make use of Slaves for their sensualitie cannot bee punished by the Justice, as they should bee if they were taken with Free women, and with Turkish women especially.

Manner of selling Slaves. These Slaves are bought and sold, as Beasts and Cattle are; they being viewed and reviewed, and felt all about their Limmes and Bodies, as if they were so many Horses, then they are examined of what Countrey they are, and what they are good for; either for Sewing, Spinning, Weaving, and the like: buying sometimes the Mother with the Children, and sometimes the Children without the Mother, sometimes two or three Brothers together, and againe, sometimes taking the one and leaving the rest, using no tearmes of love, regard, or honestie, but even as the Buyer or the Seller shall thinke, will best turne them to profit. Now when there is a Virgin that is beautifull and faire, shee is held at a high rate, and is sold for farre more then any other; and for securitie of her Virginitie, the seller is not onely bound to the restitution of the money (if she prove otherwise) to him that bought her: but is for his fraud fined at a summe of money. In the Bezisten there sitteth an Emeen, that is, a Customer, who receives Custome of the buyers and sellers; which amounteth to a reasonable summe in the space of a yeere.

Restitution if not a Virgin.

The Bashawes and other Subjects, though by Marriage they become Uncles Sonnes in law, or Cousens to the Grand Signior, may not by vertue of their Affinitie, challenge any more familiaritie or freedome with his Majestie, then if there were no such matter of Kindred betwixt them, but onely what may well befit their Office and Dignitie, they remayning still Slaves as the others doe: nay, their servitude is thereby increased, and they loose a great part of their former Libertie; for they must be very obsequious to the Sultanaes whom they have Married, and turne away the greatest part of their other Women and Slaves (if they have any) and must with

No benefit by Affinitie to the King.

Losse by it.

patience support all their imperfections: so that for this reason, few Bashawes of worth and judgement seeke after such Marriages, for they are both chargeable and bring Discontent: but when the King commands, they (as his Slaves) must submit and obey, though their vexation and charge increase never so much thereby.

Rites of Marriage.

The Ceremonie of Turkish Marrying, is nothing else, but in the presence of the Cadee (who is the Justice) to make Hoget, that is, a Writing expressing the Vow and good liking of the parties to bee Married, with a specification of the Dowrie, which the Husband is to make to the Wife; all which is done in presence also of Witnesses, which are true and honest, and not to bee denyed. For in Turkie it is not permitted that every one that will, should beare Witnesse; but onely such men as are Free, of a good Age, that can say the Namaz, and have some knowledge in the Law, knowne to bee men of civill life, and which drinke no Wine: for the Witnesse of a Turke which drinkes Wine is nothing worth, and thus their Law commandeth; But for all this, Corruption is so crept in amongst them, that now in Turkie (especially in Constantinople) there are (to the outward appearance Grave and Honest men) more false Witnesses, then in any other part of the world besides; and who are they? (at least the Chiefe of them) but a certaine sort of Emeers, that is, such as pretend to come of the Race and Stocke of Mahomet, which weare greene Terbents: and certayne poore Cadees out of Office, and these are they which for money doe use that detestable Trade, which our Knights of the Post doe practise heere with us. And hence it is that Ananias are so commonly framed, for they can stoutly (and that with ease) outface the poore Christians and Jewes: nay, for a Bribe they will not spare their owne generation, in bearing false witnesse, or raysing calumnies against them: For the Turkes being naturally given to Covetousnesse, not fearing God, but altogether inclined to Rapine (although without question there are many very honest men amongst them) when they meete with a fit

Who may bee Witnesses.

[II.ix.1607.]

Emirs false Witnesses.

Turkes covetous and dangerous.

opportunitie, they will play the Rogues with any man, bee hee of what condition soever; wherefore it proves dangerous to have any dealing with them, for that they with that tricke will easily free themselves from any Obligation or Agreement before made; for, Judgement there, consists onely of the force of proofe by Witnesses, so that a man had need to be wondrous circumspect in his proceedings with Turkes, especially in matters of Covenant.

Force of Evidence.

§. XII.

Of their Religion, Opinions, Persons, Times, Places and Rites sacred.

THe Turkes beleeve in Almightie God, that hee is the Creator of the whole Universe, and the gracious Redeemer of all good men in the day of Judgement, that hee is in the highest Heaven, served with especiall Angels, having from the beginning cast out the Disobedient ones; for whom as also for Wicked men hee made Hell. And as they affirme, everlasting Life to bee in these two places, viz. Heaven and Hell: So they confesse and wayte for the Resurrection of the Bodie to bee re-united with the Soule, at such time as the fearefull Trumpet shall bee sounded by Mahomet, at the commandement of the Great God of the Judgement.

Resurrection.

They beleeve also, that Life everlasting in Paradise, is such a happinesse, that it consists onely in the delighting and pleasing of the Sences; and that they shall have there, the use of Naturall things in all perfection, without making any difference, injoying perfect health, and free from all manner of trouble. And on the contrarie, that in Hell, the use of the aforesayd things shall bee in unquenchable Fire, and shall have a most bitter and loathsome taste. And this is all that they attribute unto them, either for the reward of the Blessed, or the punishment of the Reprobate.

Sensuall Paradise.

They say moreover, that the power of God is such, that having at Mans Creation prefixed and appointed a

Fate.

set time for his end, it is impossible that the wit or device of mortall Man, should bee able to divert or prevent it. Wherefore in the warres, or in other occasions, they are so much the more bold, resolute and couragious; saying, that their End is written in their Fore-heads, and it is not for them to goe about to avoyd it, so that if they dye, they dye.

They also affirme Gods Power to bee such, that after mens Bodies are risen againe, hee will give them such an agilitie, that they shall bee able in a moment to passe from one Heaven to another, even to the farthest parts of them, to visite and imbrace their Wives, Mothers, Brothers, and others of their Kindred, the Heavens being all transparent, being of Diamonds, Rubies, Turkesses and Christall.

Agilitie in the next Life.

Transparent Heavens.

As concerning Gods Throne or Seate of Majestie; they affirme, that every one cannot behold it, by reason of the brightnesse of the beames which comes from his Eyes, and by reason of the unspeakeable splendour proceeding from his glorious Face, and that the Angels and Prophets onely, have the grace to injoy that sight.

Gods Throne.

These are the principall foundations of their Religion, upon which they build the course of this their present temporall Life, and by which they hope to obtaine a Life everlasting and happie; affirmed by their Prophet, to bee full of the delights and pleasures of this World, but enjoyed in all perfection and excellencie, in a Supernaturall and Incorruptible manner.

They say, that Almightie God sent foure Prophets into the World, to instruct, governe, and save Mankind; each of them being holy, pure, and undefiled, to wit, Moses, David, Christ, and Mahomet; and that God sent to every one of them by his Angell Gabriell a Booke, that they themselves being first perfected, might the better know how to instruct the people. To Moses he sent the Teurat, that is, the Old Law; to David the Zebur, that is, the Psalmes; to Christ the Ingil, that is, the Gospell; and to Mahomet the Kurawn, that is, the Alcoran, (as wee call it.) And that the three first Prophets with their

Foure Prophets and Bookes.

people, did faile somewhat in the Lawes given them by God: But Mahomet comming last, brought a Law, more [II. ix. 1608.] true, plaine, cleere, and sincere, in which all such as beleeve should obtayne the love of God; but they say that other Nations continue still in their errours, and having sucked of their Mothers Milke, doe not embrace the Truth; For which fault being (by right) deprived of Heaven, they have no other meanes to recover, and to come thither at the Day of Judgement, but by Mahomets protection, who is the only Intercessor and Mediator unto the Almightie God: And standing in the dreadfull Day of Judgement at the gate of Paradise, he shall be sought unto and entreated by the other Prophets to save their people also, and his clemencie shall be such, as to make Intercession for them, so that the good Christians and the good Jewes shall by his meanes obtayne everlasting Life, with perpetuitie of sensuall delights as aforesaid, but in a place apart and inferiour to the Turkes, they being beloved of God, and more deare unto him then others. The *Womens Heaven.* women also shall come into Heaven, but shall be in a place farre inferiour to men, and be lesse glorified.

All the Prophets are held in great honour amongst them. They call Moses, Musahib Alloh, that is, a talker with God; and Christ, Meseeh, Rooh-ulloh, and Hazrette Isaw, that is, Messias, the Spirit of God, and venerable Jesus: and Mahomet, Resul Alloh, that is, the Messenger of God. When they talke of Christ Jesus, they speake very reverently of him; and confesse that the Jewes through Envie apprehended him, and maliciously condemned him, and led him along to put him to death; but the Angels being sent from God, tooke him away from them in a Cloud, and carried him into Heaven, at which the Jewes being astonished and vexed, tooke one that was there present, and crucified him in his stead; not being willing to have it knowne that Jesus was the Messias; he being in Heaven in company of his Brethren the Prophets, beloved of God, and serving him, as the other Prophets doe.

The Ministerie of their Religion (or rather their confused Sect), is as followeth. They have first a Muftee, that is to say, an Expounder or Declarer of Cases in Law; who amongst them is as an Archbishop is with us, for he is also the Primate over the Church; and must be a man very expert in the Lawes, and one accustomed to Justice, chosen by the Grand Signior himselfe, the which Muftees charge is to oversee, and heare such things as are belonging to the Law, or to the Church. And although he hath not an absolute command over the Muftees of the other Provinces, yet with his subtiltie he prevailes with the King, and effecteth what he list, especially when he hath the Chiefe Vizir to friend, who in degree, dignitie, and authoritie is his Superiour. Under the said Muftee there are two Cadeeleshers, that is to say, Judges of the Armies, one of Grecia and the other of Natolia, who also being men of the Law, and they which alwayes succeed the Muftee, have the oversight of all the other Cadees, who are Justices; of which there is one in every Citie and Towne, to doe Justice and end Controversies betwixt man and man, and to punish Offendors. But they are changed every three yeeres, and others put into their places by the Cadileschers, with order from the Grand Signior.

The Muftee.

Cadeeleschers.

Cadees and their orders.

Amongst the said Cadees, they have also their orders; scilicet, those of the first ranke, and they are called Meulaws, which signifieth Lords, and they are employed in the principall Cities, the other are but Cadees, and they get employment as they can by their vertues: and good carriage in former places. Now the Cadeeleschers have Bookes lying by them, wherein are exactly set downe the Revenewes of every Cadeelick, so that by that meanes they know the better how to furnish them; none of them surmounting above five hundred Aspers per diem.

Bookes.

This order of Turkes amongst the rest, hath only this Priviledge, which is, that they cannot be put to death; so that if any of them by committing some notorious crime against the Law, should deserve death, it must be done by absolute command from the Grand Signior, and that

Priviledge.

very warily and secretly, but this hapneth very seldome or never.

Their continuance. The Muftee and Cadeeleschers are changed at the Kings pleasure (for there is no Office in Turkie during life) howbeit their ordinary Residence is three yeeres; their chiefe Fortune depending wholy in their continuance in the grace and favour of the Chiefe Vizir.

Turbants. All the aforesaid men of the Law, that is, the Muftee, the Cadeeleschers, Mulaes, and Cadees, weare their Turbants farre bigger then any other Turkes, and made up after another fashion, in token that they ought to be reverenced above others. And although their habit be in fashion like other mens: yet in this there is a difference, for they weare much while Chamblet, and the finest cloth, but no silke at all.

Muftees office. The principall charge of the Muftee, is to Answere to all such Propositions as are made unto him, of matters in generall, upon Cases concerning conscience, and the Rites of Turkish Justice and Law, the which Answeres are of few words, very briefe, and they are called Fetfa's, that is, Declarations, or Judgements of the Muftee; with which he may compell not only the Cadees and Bashawes to the performance of the contents thereof, but the Kings owne person is also bound to see them executed; for in conclusion, they seeke altogether to amplifie their Sect in honour of their Prophet; the Muftees Fetfa being in high estimation, in asmuch as it is upheld very stoutly by the whole order of the Cadees.

Priests and Clerkes. Then next they have a Governour of the Moscheas, called the Mootevelee, and Eemawms, which are Parish Priests, and next to them Muyezins, which are as our Church Clerkes; all which are employed in the Service of the Moscheas, calling the people to Prayers, burying the [II.ix.1609.] dead, reading upon the graves of the dead, and to conclude, performing all such Offices as are any way belonging to the Church, for the good of the people.

Prayers five times a day. They pray five times a day (aswell in the Moscheas, as in their Houses, or wheresoever they are) that is, at foure

of the clocke in the morning; at noone; betweene three and foure in the afternoone; betweene seven and eight at night; and at mid-night: and upon the Friday which is their Sabbath, at nine of the clocke in the fore-noone also which makes sixe times, and upon that day there are more Muyezins which cry in the Steeples, then upon other dayes: for at all those houres, in stead of Bels, the people are called to Prayer by the voice of one or two men in the Steeples or Turrets adjoyning to the Moscheas, of a reasonable height, by which voices they are stirred up to the prayse of God and Mahomet: and may prepare themselves for their Prayers. And because the Muyezins which cry, can heare no Clockes (for they have none in their Churches) they use Houre-glasses, by which they are directed aswell in this Service, as in other ordinary matters. *Hower-glasses.*

In every great Moschea there are Mudereeses, which are Readers; that teach divers Schollers the common Prayers, and instruct them in the Service belonging to the Moscheas, being paid for their paines out of the Revenues of the said Churches. *Readers.*

The condition of them which are to pray, is only to be corporally cleane; it being unlawfull for any one to enter into the Moscheas, or to pray, if he find that he hath any naturall pollution or carnall uncleanenes about him, be it of what condition soever, or of never so small moment: wherefore for their clensing, every one is bound either to wash himselfe in the Bagno, if it bee for carnall commerce, or else for other sorts of uncleanenesse with cold water, every Citie and place abounding with Bagnoes, both publike and private, and every Church-yard with very faire Fountaynes for the use of the common sort. Now immediately after every one is clensed and come into the Moschea, the Eemawm, which is the Parish Priest, beginnes to pray, and all they which are present imitate him in gesture: for, of themselves a great part of them would not else know how to performe that businesse. For their Prayers consist chiefly in rising up, falling *Cleanenesse & purifyings.* *Manner of their Prayers.* *Their gestures.*

downe, kissing the ground, and sometimes sitting still, one while touching their eyes, sometimes their faces, then their beards, then their heads; saying some few words in the prayse of God and Mahomet, the Churches being all matted under-foot, and in some places there are Woollen Carpets spread for the better sort of people.

Their length. The said Prayers according to the houres, are divers; some longer, and some shorter, none of them being above an houre long, only that Prayer of the Evening in the time of the Ramazan, which is their Lent, which is longer then the other Prayers: they pray after their Eemawm, for he is their Guide, and esteemed of if hee have a good voice, as wee esteeme of our Singing men. They also *Preaching.* use preaching upon every Friday in the Ramazan: And when they will pray for any good successe in the Warres, or curse any Rebell; they have a custome then to goe a *Procession and Cursing.* Procession along the streets by two and two, but without any Lights or any such thing in their hands; and as they goe along they prayse the Name of God, and reade very long Prayers which they have for those purposes, the people still crying Amen, making one whole dayes worke of it, and then they hold that Rebell or Enemie, whosoever he be, to be without all doubt, accursed.

In the time of trouble or affliction, They publish in the *Other Convocations and Prayers.* most eminent places a Convocation of all the chiefe men in the Citie (and of the common people also, such as will come, may) to pray in the fields which are for that use, therein imitating the Jewes, and being all come together, divers of their Santons of esteeme for their Holinesse, make Sermons of exhortation, to Fortitude, Patience, and to the love and feare of God: But if those troubles continue still, they then use the Prayers of forty houres, and of fortie dayes in the chiefest Moscheas built by the Emperours; the which Prayers are made by a company of men, who are belonging to the said Moscheas.

Muftees Revenew. The Muftee hath his Entrada apart, in Land of about sixe thousand Sultanines per annum: but being put out of his place, falling into disgrace with the King, and leav-

ing the Entrada to his Successor, he hath then but a thousand Aspars per diem pay: as the Cadeeleschers have when they are in Office.

Ramazan Ceremonies.

All the Ceremonie which they use in the Ramazan, which is their Lent, is no other but to abstayne from eating and drinking in the day time, they having leave to eate all the night long, (that is, from seven a clocke at night to foure in the mourning) and what they please without making any difference of meates; At twilight they light the Lampes in the Steeples, which burne till morning: the Eemawm of every Parish taking especiall notice who is often wanting from Church, especially in the Evening, and who drinkes Wine, or eates in the day time; for, besides, that they should bee held dispisers of the Law, they should bee most severely punished if they were found in any such fault. I remember once that Nasooh Bashaw being Vizir Azam, and riding through the streets in the Ramazan, espied a Turke that was drunke with Wine; so forthwith he caused him to be brought unto him, and without giving him any respite to recover his wits caused a Ladle full of boyling Lead to bee powred downe his throate; and the Wretch perished immediately.

Example of severitie.

The King useth in the Ramazan aswell as in the times of troubles and afflictions, and so doe the Bashawes and other great men, to sacrifice divers sorts of beasts, aswell at the Sepulchres of such as have beene holy men, as at the Moscheas. Now some were wont to doe it privately, but the Kings have still commanded that their Sacrifices be done publikely in the streets, and at the gates of the Citie, dividing the flesh of the beasts amongst the people, giving some also to the Bashawes themselves, and to the other great men of the Port. The said Sacrifices are used very often, for by that meanes they thinke to appease Gods wrath, and regaine his love and favour.

[II.ix.1610.] *Sacrifices.*

Beads.

Those Turkes which are professors of Humilitie and Devotion, have their Beades longer then other men, and carrie them in their hands into the Moscheas, and as they

walke up and downe the streets: but passe them over very quickly, for, whereas the Papists say the Ave Maria, so they say only Subhawn Alloh, that is, God is pure and true, and sometimes Alloh Ekber, that is, God is great.

Pilgrimage. Mecca Temple. They goe also many of them to Meccha on Pilgrimage, and to Hierusalem also, which they call, Gudds' il Shereef, to Meccha, to visit the Temple which they say was built by Abraham, in the which Temple Mahomet in the time of Idolatry did hide himselfe: And they affirme, that when he was almost fortie yeeres of age, he received the Alcoran from God, and that from that time the Mussulmanlick beganne, that is, the true Beliefe: and shortly after hee dyed; and his Sepulchre is visited by all such as goe the said Pilgrimage. And when they goe to Jerusalem, they goe not to visit Christs Sepulchre, for, they say hee did not dye, but they goe only to see the places which he most frequented, as being a miraculous Prophet, who raysed the dead to life, healed the sicke, and wrought such like Wonders. They goe likewise to the Valley of Jehosaphat, for they say that in that place shall bee the Resurrection at the Day of Judgement. Now such as have gone the said Pilgrimage, and returne home again to their Houses, are ever after called Hagees, that is, Pilgrimes, and are much reverenced and esteemed of. There are also divers Turkes, who forsaking the World, leave all that they have, and goe to live neere to the aforesaid Valley for devotion, and for that they would be the neerer to the place of Resurrection, supposing thereby to get a great advantage to themselves above the rest at that day.

Circumcision The greatest Ceremonie (for Pompe and Solemnitie) which is used amongst the Turkes, is that of the circumcising their children; wherein they differ from the Jewes in this one particular; for the Turkes never circumcise them till they be past ten yeeres of age, following the example of Ismael whom they imitate, alleadging that Abraham loved and esteemed him and not Isaac, and would have sacrificed him. This Circumcision is done without the Church, because of the shedding of bloud;

all the Kindred and Friends being invited unto it, in token of joy and gladnesse: They use the like to those which turne from any other Religion and become Turkes, who in token that they imbrace the Religion of Mahomet, hold up their fore-finger, saying these words, La illaheh il Alloh Muhamet resull Alloh, that is, there is but onely one God, and Mahomet is his Messenger.

There are in the Cities, and by the High-wayes also, in most places of the Grand Signiors Dominions, for the benefit of the Inhabitants and Travellers, divers Hawnes with their Fountaynes. There are Hospitals also in the Cities, and Colledges for the bringing up of youth, where they may learne to reade and write, all the Moscheas built by the Emperours, and other great Moscheas also, having great Revenewes for the mayntayning of the said Colledges and Hospitals: For the Emperours by Canon may not build Moscheas, but in memory of some notable Conquest, or memorable Enterprize, by which the Church may bee provided for; nor Sultanas neither, unlesse it be the Mother to that Emperour who reignes at that time when shee goes about it; for the building of which, they are at an infinite charge, and they dedicate them with great Solemnities, to the said Enterprize, be it what it will be. *Moscheas and Hospitals. Limited.*

In the Moscheas there are some very costly pieces of worke, and frames of great beautie; aswell for the largenesse and neatnesse of the places for Prayer, as also for the beautifull Porches and large paved Courts which compasse the said Moscheas; adorned with very stately Pillars, and Fountaynes built all of curious Marble; besides their Colledges and Hospitals to which belong very large Revenewes; Insomuch that some of those Moscheas may be well compared with the richest Churches in the World: They are built all of wonderfull faire stone, with their Cabiloes covered all over with Lead, the Pillers being of Porphir or some such costly stones, and the Basis thereof all whited: the Pillers shine extraordinarily in time of Prayer, by reason of the abundance of Lampes which are burning; the which Lampes are curiously *Magnificence.*

fastned into round Iron hoopes in compasse as bigge as the hoope of a But, upon which there are divers rounds of Lampes one above another, and are let downe by Copper chaines from the Roofe of the Church; and in every Moschea there are three or foure such clusters of Lampes, according to the greatnes of the Church.

There are no Benches, nor any thing to sit upon; only a little place raised from the ground for the Priest; and another right over against it (but somewhat lower) for the King at such times as he comes to Prayer; all the rest sitting upon the ground, as ordinarily they use to sit in other places: wherefore the Pavements (although they are [II.ix.1611.] of very bright and cleane stone) are covered with very fine Cairo Mats, which are kept very cleane: for, besides the Grand Signior, no man may come into the Church with his shooes on; but must leave them at the doore, or else give them to one of their servants to keepe.

Sicknesse fatall, and death.

When any one is extremely sicke, and as they thinke, past hope of recovery; then the Imawm comes to use comfortable words unto him, and prayes by him: and being dead, they wash him all over, and then having wound him up in a Sheete, and layed him in his Coffin with his face downward, they carrie him to his Grave, with his head foremost. If the partie bee a Man or a Man-child, they set a Turbant upon the Coffin: and if it bee a Woman, then they set a Filiawn takya upon the Coffin, that is, such a Cap as the women weare, with a

Funerall.

Brooch and Feather in it. They are accompanied to the Grave by the Church-men, and their owne kindred, (but no women) using no lights at all: but the Muyezins sing all along as they goe, calling upon the Name of God, and their Prophet Mahomet, and pray for the health of the Soule departed; and at their returne there is a Banquet made for the companie for their paines.

Tombes of the Emperours.

The Tombes of the Emperours most commonly are built upon the ground, close by their Graves which are covered either with extraordinary fine Cloth, or with Velvet; having Turbants set upon them of the fashion of

those which the Emperours weare, with Brooches and sprigs of Feathers in them: and there stand Candlestickes both at the head and at the feet of the said Graves, and two Lampes burning continually both day and night. Now, these Tombes are for the most part built in little Chappels close by, but not adjoyning to the Moscheas of the said Emperours. And in the said Chappels there are Muyezins, who by turnes, doe continually read in the Alcoran, and pray with their Beades, for the glorie of the Emperours deceased. The Vizirs, Bashawes, and other Great men also (imitating the Kings) doe the like; but with lesse pompe and charge: And they which have not burying places neere the Moscheas, may make them neere their houses and be buried there, or else in any part of the Citie, provided that the ground be their owne.

Common Tombes.

The common sort are carried out of the Citie, and buried in the fields which serve for that purpose; having one stone set up on end at the one end of their Grave, and another at the other end; upon which is graven the Name, Countrey, and Degree, and any thing else that they please, of the parties deceased.

Religious Turkes.

Amongst the Turkes there are no Religious houses, nor Monasteries: onely the Teckehs of the Meulevees, (which are an order of Derveeshees, that turne round with Musike in their Divine Service:) for, for the most part, they are all bred up to Armes, and very few can reade and write: Nay, it hath beene sometime seene, that a Bashaw (which had not his education in the Kings Serraglio) hath sate in the Deevan, and hath not knowne either to write or reade; but hath beene enforced to learne to write a few words of course, to under-write Commandements, and the like. And amongst the Turkes, he that can but reade and write, is held a learned fellow, and esteemed of farre above others.

There are also divers which professe a kinde of living, out of the common custome of the world; being clothed wonderfull poorely and raggedly, with a kind of Felt caps on their heads; they begge for their living, and lie

in the courts of the Moscheas, and in such like places; and these are accounted very holy; for they pray much in the view of the world, and live alwaies (in outward appearance) in the love of honestie; preaching this doctrine, that it is unpossible perfectly to arrive unto and gayne the Love of God, but by the ladder of humane Love and Innocency: and for this cause they betake themselves to that course of life, that they may be in charitie with all the world, and bee accepted for it of God, in Heaven. Under which colour of holinesse they live at ease, and deceive the World (every one being bountifull unto them) and play the Villaines in secret, as well as any other. Besides them, there are also some, who like Hermites, live in solitary places, neglecting the World; conceiving that course of life to excell all other, for Innocency and Holinesse.

Womens Religion. As for the women, there is no heed or reckoning made of their Religion at all; for they never goe to Church: so that, if they happily have a will to pray, at the houre of Prayer, they doe it in their owne houses. But their honestie is much looked after, the Imawms of every Parish being bound to hearken diligently after their deportment: who if they discover any thing that is amisse, they must reveale it to their Husbands, that they may put them away: or else, to their Fathers or Kindred, if they bee unmarried, that they may take some course for their amendment.

And although the Women may not bee conversant with other Men then with their Fathers, Husbands, or Brothers; and live in Lodgings apart by themselves, and goe alwaies with their faces covered: yet, they being extraordinarily given to the sport, and very dishonest; taking the opportunitie of their Husbands absence at the Warres, or in some long Journey; under colour of going to the Bagnoes, and going covered withall; they goe whither, and to whom they list; knowing, that the worst of it is, but to bee put away, if so bee it should bee at any time discovered.

LETTER FROM SULTAN OSMAN

A.D. c. 1620.

I have hereunto added a Letter, sent by Sultan Osman the late murdered Emperour, to his Majestie, by Husein Chiaus; and translated into English, by Master Robert Withers. [II.ix.1612.]

ALthough in this transitorie world, the King or the Beggar should enjoy the longest terme of life that might bee, and obtayne all that his heart could wish; yet it is most certaine, that in the end hee must depart, and be transported to the World eternall: and it is well knowne unto the Wise, that it is unpossible for Man to abide for ever in this World.

The occasion of this Prologue is, that the immortall, omnipotent, and onely God, hath through his Divine will and pleasure, called unto himselfe Our glorious Father of blessed memorie, Sultan Achmet Kan, who in Life was happie, and in Death laudable, and departing out of this momentary World, to be neere the mercifull Creator, being changed into perfect glorie and eternall blisse hath his habitation on high, and his rest in Paradise.

This paternall Empire and Monarchicall Kingdome hath almost untill this present blessed time beene alwaies hereditarie, from Grand-father to Father, from Father to Sonne, and so cursively in that manner: but having regard unto the age and yeeres of Our Great and Noble Uncle, Sultan Mustafa, hee was preferred and honoured to sit on the Ottoman Throne, and being settled for some time, tooke care for the affaires of the Empire, and for all that might concerne the people both in generall and particular.

But he having beene many yeeres retired in solitarinesse, and given to Devotion and Divine obedience; being also as it were wearied with the cares of the Empire; of his owne accord with-drew himselfe from the Government: for that the Diadem and Scepter of the Empire of the seven Climates, was the true Right and Inheritance of Our most Excellent Majestie, of the which (with the meeting and consent of all the Vizirs, and other Deputies of

State, of the Primate, of the Mussulman Law, and of the other honourable Doctors, of the Souldiers, and of all Subjects both publike and private) the almightie God hath made a high Present and worthie gift unto us. And in the happie day in the beginning of the Moone Rebea-il-evel, of this present yeere 1027. in an expected time, and in an acceptable houre, was Our blessed and happie sitting established upon the most fortunate Ottoman Throne (the Seate and Wisedome of Salomon) In the Pulpits of all the Moschees (the Congregations of the Faithfull, and devotion of the Mussulmen) throughout all our Dominions, is read to Our Imperiall Name, the Hutbeh. And in the Mints where innumerable summes of money are coyned, as well upon the Silver as the Gold, Our happie name and marke is stamped.

And Our most powerfull Commandements are obeyed in all the Parts and Dominions of the World: And the brightnesse of the light of the Sunne of Our Justice and Equitie, hath caused the darkenesse of Injuries and Molestations to vanish away.

Now, seeing it hath beene an ancient custome of Our most famous Predecessors to give notice of the same to such Princes as are in sincere friendship, and that doe continue it with the House of great Majestie, and our Imperiall Court: Wee also have written these our Princely Letters, and appointed for their Bearer, the choyce amongst his equals, Husein Chiaus, (whose power be great) one of the honoured and respected Servants of Our magnificent Port, the refuge of the World; to the end that such newes might cause great joy of Our most honourable Assumption. And We doe hope, that when they shall come to your hands (in conformitie of the well grounded friendship upon the sure League, Articles, and Writings, which hath beene established of old with Our most Royall Race, and permanent Empire) you will manifest infinite joy and gladnesse, and certifie as much to the Rulers and Governours of the Dominions and Countries under you, that they may know, that the Articles of Peace and League,

and the points of the Oath which are firme, and to be desired on both parts, from the time of Our Grand-fathers and Predecessors of Royall Stocke, 'now in Paradise (whose soules God enlighten) Undoubtedly during the time of our Raigne shall be observed with all respect. And let there not be the least imagination of any want of due observance of the signes of friendship on Our part, or by any manner of meanes on your part, for the violating the foundation of the Peace and League.

The ensuing Letter was written by Halil Bashaw, Chiefe Vizir and Generall in the Persian Expedition, at his returne in Aprill, 1618. to Sir Paul Pinder, Ambassadour for his Majestie. Englished by Master Robert Withers.

TO the Courteous Lord of the Nation of the Messias; both Great and Honourable among the people of Jesus, and the true Determiner of Christian Affaires: Our good Friend the English Ambassadour, whose latter dayes bee with all felicitie, to whose Noble presence (after our many kinde Salutations tending to all good affection and manifestation of Joy, worthy and beseeming our Friendship:) our loving advice is this. That if you desire to heare of our State and beeing, you shall understand, that after wee departed from the happie Port, with the Armie for the Warres of Asia, wee arrived and wintered in [II.ix.1613.] Mesopotamia, and remooving thence in the Spring with all the Mussulman Host (alwayes victorious) wee went to Van, from which place untill wee came to Tauris, the Mussulman Armie went on alwayes sacking and destroying all those places and Townes of the Persians, which wee met withall by the way in those parts, where were burnt, pillaged, and ruined, some thousands of Villages; and tormenting all those people that came to hand. And when wee were come neere to Tauris, the Generall of the Persian Forces (of perverse Religion) called Carcighai Han, (the accursed) retyred himselfe into the sayd Tauris, where

beating up his Drummes in every Quarter, made a shew that hee had a will to Fight; so wee sent a little before us, some Tartars and others of our Armie, to hearken out and take notice of the Enemie, who meeting with seven or eight hundred Persians of note, put them to the Sword, very few escaping, and that with great difficultie and hazard. By which, the sayd Generall finding himselfe unable to resist the power and furie of the Mussulman Host, or to stay any longer in the sayd place; the very same day that wee arrived there, the sayd Generall having spoyled all the Citie, fled away; So wee tooke the place, ransackt it, and burned all the Buildings, Towers, Gardens, and whatsoever else wee found within it: And thus the great Citie Tauris by Divine favour and Grace became ours. Then forthwith wee sent after the Enemie, the Tartar, with some Beglerbeghs, who overtaking them gave them Battell, and albeit some of ours did fall, yet they which fell of the Enemies side were innumerable. And so going forward towards Erdevil (their obscure residence) about ten dayes Journey of Countrey, wee went burning and spoyling it, and killing all the Persians that wee met. That indeed there was so much Honour and Glorie wonne, as that all the ancient men of the Countrey doe affirme, there never was seene the like; Insomuch, that from the Confines unto Erdevile, twentie dayes Journey of Countrey, was on that manner by us destroyed. Thus afterward, the King caused to emptie the sayd place of Erdevile, and fled into a place called Hulchal, and caused his Armie to goe to the top of a high Mountayne, from whence having sent three or foure times Men of qualitie unto us, seeking and intreating for Peace, with promise to give yearely to our Emperour, a hundred Somes of Silke, and all such Places as are upon the Confines, made in the time of Sultan Solyman, except Der ne, and Der Tink; and wee were contented with the Peace, and his Ambassadour is upon the way comming toward us. And so wee returning the same way againe alwayes spoyling, wee came to Erzerum. And this our present Letter is written unto

Of these Wars see before in Sir Thomas Roe.

you, for the respect and preservation of our Friendship: And even as our Amitie hath ever beene hitherto sincere and firme, so likewise by the Grace of God at our arrivall in the happie Port, it shall bee in like manner maintayned and continued, that more cannot possibly bee. And so God keepe you in health.

To the Reader.

I Heere present thee, Reader, many Voyages and Observations of Master John Sanderson Merchant; worthy of good welcome, though not in so due place as wee could have wished. But this, and the former, and all in this Booke from the tenth Chapter forward (enough to have made another large Booke) thou hast as I could, and not as I would; who could not order them before I had them. I have therefore presented them to thee as an Appendix to the former Worke, and a Review of Africa and Asia, (some fresh Drops after a great Shower, and faire Gleanings after a goodly Harvest) all intended to entertaine thee with varietie of Speculation and Discourse, as thou returnest thorow those long Seas, from the Indian to the English shoares. In which respect there is some Methodicall correspondence hitherto, and especially of this last with the former, both having Constantinople for their Centre, and diversly representing the same to thy view: that giving thee the Court, this the Citie; that the Government, this the Places and Countries governed. And if Jerusalem come often in our way, remember our intended worke is of Pilgrimes, which (bee they Jewes, Turkes, or Christians,) have conspired in the acknowledgement of her Antiquities and Holies. Neither doe wee much trouble thee with repetitions of the same things which others have before delivered; present Pilgrime by reason of his Jewish Associates, his Greeke Guides, and Quarrels with Father Guardian and his Popish Friers, presenting many notable rarities. I have not shortned him (as some others) both for his request, and for his owne brevitie and pithie Passages. The letters following will (I hope) give

thee good content, as the testimonies of many English Travellers in those parts, some of which thou mayest finde elsewhere mentioned in this Worke.

[II.ix.1614.]

Chap. XVI.

By the permission of Almightie God.

Sundrie the personall Voyages performed by John Sanderson of London, Merchant, begun in October 1584. Ended in October 1602. With an historicall Description of Constantinople.

§. I.

His first Voyage to Constantinople, and thence to Cairo, and to Tripoli.

IN the good Ship called the Merchant Royall, wee set sayle from Gravesend upon Friday the ninth day of October, 1584. The fifteenth to Harwich. The eighteenth to the Ile of Wight. The fifteenth of November wee arrived at Cape Saint Vincent in Portugall, and [a] went there ashoare. The foure and twentieth, wee passed the Straights of Jeberalter, at the Ingenies wee stayed and watered. The next day arrived at Grand Maliga, where we were three dayes. The nine and twentieth, wee passed by Motrill, and beheld the Mountayne Salabrenna, which is continually covered with Snow: of the same they carrie to Lishbourne to mixe with their Wine, which Citie is esteemed to be three hundred miles from thence. The thirteenth of November, we passed Cape de Gate. The third of December, wee came to Cape de Faro; heere the Ship Charitie overtooke us.

The tenth of December, wee came to Sardinia. The thirteenth, wee came to Maritina, and in sight of Cape Bona in Barbarie. The fifteenth to Sicilia, wee saw Mount Etna and Mongebella [b], which then flamed out of the top,

[a] *We were shewed the Monastery and fine adorned Chappell; a decked Altar; and the golden Image of Saint Vincent, which stood on the right hand below the steps of the Altar. About five or sixe yeeres after, as is sayd, Sir Francis Drake did throw that Image over the Rocke.*

[b] *Then flamed, and since I have divers times passed by it, but onely now the smoke is seene on the top of that Mount Mongebella.*

although upon the same was also Snow: then to Cape Passara. The foure and twentieth of December, wee arrived at Cefalonia, and stayed there three dayes. The nine and twentieth, wee were in Zant Road, and went ashoare the first of Januarie. The seventh, wee put from thence, and the eighth at mid-night the Ship came a ground, so that for halfe an houre we were in great danger. The twelfth, wee arrived at Petras in Morea, where wee stayed a few dayes; and at that time onely I noted of memorie Saint Andrews Chappell, wherein the Greekes say, his Bodie lyeth buried.

The nine and twentieth, I tooke Shipping in the Charitie, and came the first of Februarie backe to Cefalonia: and passed Serigo (where faire Hellen was borne) and Cape Angelo. The fourth, the winde being contrarie, wee anchored betweene the Ilands of Milo and Argentiera: set sayle and with contrarie weather and calmes, came to the Ilands Pattynos. The eleventh, from thence driven a little backe againe, yet we arrived in [c] Sio. The fourteenth, there stayed foure dayes: the weather yet unprosperous, wee put into Port Dolphin, which is in the same Iland three leagues distant from the Towne of Sio, there we went up to a Mountayne (hard by a Towne called Gardamulo;) where the Poet Homer lyeth buried.

The three and twentieth, wee put out; and the seven and twentieth, wee passed by old Troy; some of the ruinated Walls yet standing. Then wee passed two great Castles which are called the [d] Dardinelli, a little within them is a very old ruine of a Towne called Heritho, which is reported to bee the place where the Turkes first planted themselves in Europe; then to Galipoli, so to Rodesto; and the ninth day of March wee arrived in Constantinople.

[c] *Sio for the pleasantnesse is called the Great Turkes Garden, in that Iland are many tame Partridges, and there groweth Mastick, the bodies of those Trees are crooked, and cragged, not much thicker then very old Vine bodies, the leaves are somewhat like Mirtle leaves, rather longer and narrower, there are no Masticke trees in all the world, but those in Sio, as some doe say.*

[d] *The Dardinelli. These two Castles, our Schollers will have to bee those of Hero and Leander, yet sure they are eighty leagues, before you come to the mouth of the Black Sea. These are very formall and very strongly built Castles, double furnished with excellent good and great Ordnance, the one standing on Troy side, the other right opposite, on Europe side, the passage is about a league, little more or lesse.*

In the time of my there being, I went to see the chiefe Monuments which are described at large in a Booke I translated out of Italian, presented me by a Jew Doctor. Amongst the Beasts I did at that time see three Elephants: also the Great Turkes Dogges, and manner of [c] keeping them are worth the sight, for they have their severall attendants as if they were great Horses, and have their clothing of cloth of Gold, Velvet, Scarlet, and other colours of Cloth, their sundry Couches, and the place where they are kept, most cleanely; It is in Asia some foure miles off by water toward the Blacke Sea.

[c] *My Lord Souch when hee was there, as Master Barton sayd, did like exceeding well of this place and attendance of the Dogs.*

I was likewise at the mouth [f] of the Blacke Sea, where upon a Rocke standeth a white Marble pillar, as is reported, set up by Pompey. On the mayne on Europe side within little of the sayd Pillar is a Lanthorne, which standeth high and is so great, that fortie men may stand in it: it is Glased, and they light in it many Lamps every night, that the Shipping bound from the Blacke Sea, may know where they are.

[f] *In my company at that time, was an ancient English Gentleman, called Captayne Austel.*

[II. ix. 1615.] In a Gallie with the Beg of Alexandria, I departed from Constantinople the ninth day of October, 1585. we put into Galipoli, Troy, Lemnos, Mitelin, Sio, Samos, and divers other Ilands in the Archi-pelago, and came [g] to Rhodes, a most strong place, and much exceeding great Ordnance there, upon the two Rocks where the Collosses (one of the seven Wonders) stood, are now two high Turrets; the Towne double ditched, and triple walled on the land side.

[g] *At Rhodes I did fall overboord: a Flemming taking mee by the hand, out of a little shelboat, a Blackmoore Sculler, by meanes of the Turkes, and the helpe of God, I was taken againe into the Gally, after I had beene in the bottom of the Sea. The Beg came by as I was shifting, & laughingly said, that now God had washt me; because I would not wash in the Banias as we came by the way.*

From thence we crossed the Seas in sixe dayes very prosperously, and arrived in Alexandria of Egypt, the second day of November. That Citie and Land standeth so lowe, that were it not for the Pharos, and some sight of the tops of Palme trees, you may bee upon it before you bee aware; which is very dangerous for the ships that come thither: for in my time divers were cast away; amongst

A.D. 1585.

other, a great Argusie of Venice, called the Gallion Bon [h]: and an other Venetian ship leaped over a Rocke, very miraculously escaped, having over-shot the Port of Alexandria. That said ledge of Rockes lieth out into the Sea a little beyond Bickier.

From Alexandria I went the nineteenth, and came to Grand Cairo the nine and twentieth; passing by land a day and an halfe and a night to Rosetto; and there embarked up the River Nilus, our Boat being drawne along the shoare by the Water-men Moores, we passed many Towns and Villages. Very pleasant is that travell onely the heate troubleth, and some feare of Theeves which continually robbe on that River, and alike on the Land. Many famous matters I was shewed in the way, as the old ruines of Conducts of Nilus to the Citie of Alexandria: for, there are no Springs, nor provision of fresh water but what commeth from Nilus, which I say, hath in time past beene conducted five and twentie or thirtie miles to fill the Cisternes under the Citie. For Alexandria is built upon admirable marble Pillars all vaulted underneath, every House having his sundry Cisternes, the water formerly having come in; and now is upon Camels backs in Leatherne Budgets brought thither: they fill them in the moneth of August, when Nilus is at the highest; and that water they drinke of all the yeere.

The same remayneth, though standing, yet sweet, one whole yeere: towards the end of the yeere it is heavier then at the first, cleare as Crystall, and not so unwholsome to drinke, as when it is but few moneths old, so againe towards August they cleanse their Cisternes to take in fresh. There are store of divers Fruits: small Fig-trees I have seene not above a foot and halfe from the ground, having divers ripe Figs upon them. There are also some few Cassia trees, Locusts, and Capers; but very many about Cairo; all the whole Land full of Date trees. In

[h] *There dwelt in Cairo, a Jew called Emanuel Serolus; who ever much joyed at all mishap that he heard of. And did eate Swines flesh: much given to mirth, and many times using to our house, I questioned him of his Religion, at a collation of Bacon; he said, that hee was of all Religions: that if any entred Heaven, them he would follow. I asked, why he did so rejoyce at the losses and crosses of other men. Why, Signior Giovanni, sayth he, I lost* 60000. *Chequins in good Gold at the third bastinado upon my feet, taken from me by the Devill Basha, after the decease of my companion; and* 60000. *more, if I had so many, I would lose, before I would suffer three such other blows; and better then Gold it is to my heart, when I heare that others with my fortune take part.*

Alexandria is Saint [i] Markes Church, a Church at this day of Christians, and there is a noted place at the entrance of the said Church, where Saint Marke preached. There are divers Pillars of Name within and without the Citie. Within the walls is an old ruine of the Castle where Cleopatra was stung to death: there is also a ruine of a high Castle, called the Pharos, one of the seven Wonders.

In the way as I passed, wee rode over the Plaine where Pharo pitched his Tent, the spaciousnesse whereof was admirable, being marked out to this day with foure great stones: eight dayes wee were going up Nilus, and arrived at Bollacco, the Port Towne of Cairo; which is [k] a mile and a halfe from the Citie, from whence also they fetch all the water that serveth that great Citie.

Cairo is much bigger then Constantinople; many things notable are within and about this Citie, which others no doubt report, and are not beleeved; as are the twelve Store-houses, where they say, Joseph kept the Corne the seven deare Yeeres: some say, the same was reserved in the Vaults of the Pyramides. I went twice to a place ten miles from Cairo, called the Matarea, being yet solemnely visited by Christians; it is where Joseph and Mary remayned with our Saviour. There is a Spring of water, which, as they report, hath beene ever since; and likewise a plot in a Garden, where growe sprigs that yeeld Balsam. The Papists come often to this House a Massing, in great devotion; and observe a place like a Cupboord, where they say our Saviour was laid, and alike a great cros-bodied wilde Fig-tree in the Garden, with the water wherein our Ladie washed our Saviours clouts.

At Cairo I was shewed how, and of what sorts of Serpents, the Moores doe make their Treacle: I did there also see both wilde and tame Gattie Pardie (Cats of Mountaine, as wee call them) little and great Monkies, Bragons,

[i] *There lieth one John, a Christian, which the Gusties do make account of. Hee was long since carried about Cairo, upon a Camels backe, bound with his armes spred abroad upon a Crosse of wood; and on the top of his shoulders neere his necke, were two Lamps burning in his flesh, yet for all this torment, he all the way cried, Christos, Christos, Christos: sum Christiano, & moro Christiano. This was to mee related by an old Custie Priest, whose name was Comous; and a Serivan also hee was of the Custome-house Alexandria.*

[k] *There are ever Boyes ready with Asses to let for Cairo; so that, wee hire them, and presently pay the hire, about a penie matter: and when we come to Cairo, turne off our Asse without more care; for the Asse knows his place and home: the like we doe when we ride to the Castle, to the Bashaw and Cadielesquiers, who doe thereabout inhabit.*

Muske Kats, Gasels (which are a kind of Roe-bucke) bodies of Momia, and live Crocodiles both of land[1] and water, which have beene offered at my gate to be sold. Some I have bought at some times for my recreation of most of these sorts; for there I remayned eighteene moneths. Once I caused a [m] Villaine to rippe a Crocodile, which was of some two yards and a quarter long, the same was a female, which had in her panch above an hundred Egges yellow like the yelkes of Egges, and just of such bignesse: out of the said Crocodile he tooke a piece of thicke round skinne about the bignesse of a Cockes stone; wished mee to lay the same up untill it was dry; which I did, and the dryer it was, the sweeter it savored; no Civet had ever better smell: such he said was in all those old female Crocodiles; yet being flayed, the flesh before it be cold, savoreth badly. More I could say of Beasts and Fowles of that place, but I will not talke how [n] they hatch thousands of Chickens, and sell them by measure; neither of the Doves that carrie Letters from Alexandria to Cairo; neither of the Estridge Henne, when she layeth, how shee goeth round twice or thrice looking up into the aire, and in a moment delivereth her Egge: this I [o] did see in the middest of the Cadilesquiers yard.

There is a place called Isbichia, adjoyning to Cairo, some sixe or eight acres in bignesse, as I take it; it hath in former times beene compassed with very faire houses. The yeere that I was there, at the cutting in of Nilus (which was in August, 1586.) it is overflowen; wherein they fish the first two moneths or more, that the water is sinking into the ground: then in the mudde they sowe their Wheate, and reape it at three or foure moneths end; then groweth it with Grasse, wherewith they feed their cattell three moneths: and the last season of the yeere, untill they againe let in Nilus, they a little labour it, by reason of making channels for the water; and sowe and set Radice, Carrots, Turnep, Lettice, and such like. They

[1] *The land Crocodiles are about three quarters of a yard in length, scaly, and of a fiery Dragons colour. Some of the Moores doe make Pursses of their skinnes, after they are dried and rawed.* [II.ix.1616.]

[m] *A poore fellow, a Christian of Egypt, called Hawat.*

[n] *Though indeed I have beene among the Ovens, and have seene that manner of hatching.*

[o] *And* 100. *others, Turkes, Moores, Jewes, and Christians; wee stood a distance off, in a round ring: the Estridge in the midst did before us all lay her Egg, and did presently rise up and left her Egge; which was taken up, and presently carried to the Cadylesker, and delivered to him in his Judgement Hall: he sitting on his banke of Judgement.*

reserve of the water for the last encrease, in a great Well which is built in the middest of the said place. This should bee admirable for such as have not seene nor heard of the like.

There is also a great Plaine of sand, going to the Matarea, (this Matarea is the place where Mary and Joseph kept the Child Jesus, when Herod sought his life) wherein are many [p] pieces seeming to be of rotten Wood, as of wracked Ships or Boats, and taking them up, they are very weighty Stones, which also is marvellous.

[p] *I brought, to Tripoly from Cairo, a Libbet; of about a cubits length; for a muster; but in time of my sicknesse, it was stolne from mee.*

The eight and twentieth of Aprill, 1586. I went to see the Pyramides and Momia, being of three Gentlemen of Germanie entreated to accompanie them. The next day wee returned. These Pyramides (one of the seven Wonders) are divers, but especially two of a like bignesse, at the bottome each a thousand paces about; one of them open, that in wee went with Waxe-candles lighted, and up to the top, where standeth in a square roome, a Tombe hewed out of blacke Marble or Jet, wherein they report, that Pharo should have beene buried, which pursued the Children of Israel: it is above a [q] mans length and uncovered: I say the Jet Coffin. The roofe of the said Pyramides is of five stones, five and twenty foot long and five broad, each stone: the stones on each side are of admirable greatnesse, and impossible to thinke how they were carried up so high. It is also marvelous in the foundations, which are upon mightie Pillars, they are well called one of the seven Wonders. There is likewise a huge Figure [r] of a Head of stone, standing upright to the necke out of the ground.

[q] *The two Germane Gentlemen and my selfe, did in sport spread our selves in that Tombe at that time.*

Sphynx.

The Momia, which is some five or sixe miles beyond, are thousands of imbalmed bodies; which were buried thousands of yeeres past in a sandy Cave; at which there seemeth to have bin some Citie in times past: we were let downe by ropes, as into a Well, with Waxe candles burning in our hands, and so walked upon the bodies of all sorts and sizes, great and small, and some imbalmed in little earthen Pots, which never had forme: these are set at the

feet of the greater bodies: they gave no noysome smell at all, but are like Pitch, being broken; for I broke of all the parts of the bodies to see how the flesh was turned to drugge, and brought home divers heads, hands, armes, and feet, for a shew: wee brought also 600. pounds for the Turkie Companie in Pieces: and brought into England in the Hercules: together with a whole [s] body: they are lapped in above an hundred double of cloth, which rotting and pilling off, you may see the skin, flesh, fingers and nayles firme, onely altered blacke. One little hand I brought into England, to shew; and presented it my brother [t], who gave the same to a Doctor in Oxford.

[s] *A whole body as it was taken up from the other bodies: It is contra banda, to sell of them, but by friendship, which William Shales had amongst the Moores, he having their language as perfect as English, with words and money the Moors will be entreated to any thing. This body of Momia, after our arrivall was carried to the house of Sir Edward Osborne in Filpot lane in London, and there it was with the 600. pounds till they were sold to the London Apothecaries.*

The three and twentieth of September, the Emir Hagge, which is the Captaine of the Caravan, goeth out of Cairo towards Mecca, with very great shew; all the Citie comming out to see him and the rich covering which is carried with great pompe, to cover the Sepulchre of Mahumet their Prophet; all or most of the Rogues of Cairo (which they call Saints [u]) attending it out with great devotion, and some goe with it to Medina; and they are the holiest men of all, who have beene twice or thrice there.

One grave old man, who had a long grey beard, I saw led with great ceremonie at that time out of the Citie, who had but one eye: and I likewise did see the same man returne backe againe with the aforesaid Emire, and had left his other eye there, having had it pluckt out, after he had seene their Prophets Sepulchre, because he would see no more sinne. Many of the Turkes and Moores Women, and other, came about him, to bid him welcome, rejoycing of his returne to Cairo; and they who had kissed his hand, arme, or garment, thought themselves very happy.

Another of their Saints went about the Citie continually starke naked, covering neither head, foot, nor any part of his foule fat body, no nor his most filthie foule circum-

[t] *Doctor Sanderson Arch-deacon of Rochester.* [u] *These Saints, in certaine companies doe goe before the Vesture, in a round ring, leapingly lifting up their legs, and wagging up and downe their heads, crying, Holloh, Holloh, Holloh, Holloh, even till their mouthes bee of a white fome, with breathing out only, Holloh, Holloh, Holloh, &c. Foul-foole Saints.*

cised member: yet have I seene divers, as hee passed along, at divers times (yea women) kisse his naked armes and hands. On a time at Bullaco, going over Nilus, he going in a passage Boat, in which I with others went over; a Moore in the companie seeing him come, layed him a piece of an old coat to sit on; but when he felt it under him, he layd it aside, and sate on the bare boords: so hee ever did on the stones, earth, and sands. This man was in Cairo before I came thither, and I know not how long after.

[II.ix.1617.] This great fat lubberly beast would goe through the streetes, and take off the stalles to eate, bread, little baked meates, and fruit and roots, and no bodie denied him, but counted themselves happie that he would so doe. He would not touch money of any sort, a very kinde of scorched Bacon hogge, hee was as fat as he could goe. Other of those Saints of Cairo goe but halfe naked, and some of them very leane Rascals.

The said Caravan of some foure or five thousand Camels, meeteth with the Caravan of Aleppo, Damasco, and Jerusalem; so that when they are all joyned, it is thought they passe above twentie thousand, but I thinke not so.

The last day of May I departed from Cairo to Bullacco, the fourth of June arrived in Rossetto, and the sixt in Alexandria: From thence the tenth of August, 1586. beeing Tuesday, we had fraighted with Wine, Wood and other Provision, a Barke called a Jermi, and purposed for Cairo by Sea. We set saile and came in sight of the ruines of the Mossolia.[1] This was a huge Sepulchre, built by a great Queene for her Husband, which is held to bee one of the Wonders; then to Bichier, where are the ruines of a Towne, and is at this present a very strong Castle planted with Brasse Ordinance, so we arrived to the mouth of Rossetto, where Nilus and the Sea meeteth together and mingleth, raising bankes of sand under water. We missed [m] the channell and strooke and broke our Barke, we were marvellously saved, holding fast by the Barkes Boate; leaping into the same after a Turke had cut the shippes

[1] *Mausoleum.*

[m] *That jolly Turke who had saved himself in the Boat with us. As we were going up Nilus towards Cairo, talking of the danger which we had escaped, to me he said, Asserum Asserum Chelibie: twas well done Gentleman, I heard you pray aloud, but you saith he, to William Shales oldie were halfe dead, why said I, we did not pray as you did to Mahumet, but we prayed to Christ, Gusel, Gusel, Wel, wel twas wel done (saith he) for every*

shrouds (my selfe, my companion William Shales, our Cooke and the said Turke with my two Roe Buckes, our two Janizaries, and our other Servant a Christian swamme to shoare, and by swimming many were saved, and some upon plankes of the ships and chists, five only drowned: upon the Iland, wet as we were, we reposed badly all night. In the morning came to shoare divers of the Turkes luggage, and a Sapetta of mine, wherein were our Bookes, and my Apparell recovered by a Moore an excellent Swimmer, and our Wine wee saved which boyed to the shoare some seven Buts, all else whatsoever lost. That morning came Barkes out of Rossetto, to take in all that was recovered, so to Rossetto wee came, housed our Wine to be sent after us; and up along Nilus to Cairo we went, where we arrived the eighteenth day.

The first of December I departed from Bullaco, and so upon an arme of the River to Damiatta, where I arrived the third day, recovered the goods which was sent us from Tripoly, and came thence the fift day in my company one [n] Englishman, and my Janizarie, Drogman Jew, and other Attendants. That morning comming along by a little Iland, wee espied eight Sea-horses,[o] which were in bignesse like great Swine, rather bigger; headed like a Horse, only their eares round like a Camels, they arose one by one as we came neere them, and plunged into the water. A Spahi, which is a Cavaliere Turke, tooke his Bow and shot at them, did hit one upon the head, and he snuffed up out of the water, making a great noyse. But we set eye no more upon them.

Other matter at Damiatta worth the noting, I remember not: only that there are great gardens, full of Adams figs, some doe so call them, these are also called [p] Mouses; their growing is upon a great huge stalke, no wood of bodie, but the fruit comming out amongst the leaves in great bunches, some eighteene or twentie more, and foure on a short stalke. These figs are commonly five or sixe inches long, joyning close to one another in the bunch, and formed like a little Cowcumber: when they

man to pray aloud, as (holloh) God hath taught him, this was a wel mannered, manly and civil Turke, who tooke our kindnesse (for his passage) thankfully although he had suffred shipwrack in our company.

[n] William Lawnder a Garbler, who was sent with those goods.

[o] Hippopotamie. Those of Damiatta doe say, that these Sea-horses doe for a season keep thereabouts, and in the night time doe come in and eate of those Mouses, Lettice, & other hearbes.

[p] They are ordinarily sold in Cairo, and we commonly did eat of them, as of other fruit after, or rather toward the end of our meales.

are ripe they are blackish greene on the out-side, and within yellowish mellow, they eate like a kind of a ripe mellow Peare, but more lushious and a little drier, not Sugarie sweet. They peele easily, the leaves are of divers lengthes and bignesse; the bigger sort longer then a man, and about a yard in breadth: some lesser and some bigger; this is very true.

There are about Cairo, a kind of tree called Pharohs figge trees, the hugest sort of all others in Egypt, yet yeeld worst fruit, and weighed worth nothing, neither for [q] firing nor other to my remembrance, though some of the trees as bigge, and more spreading then our English Okes; the figs or fruit thereof very small ones and wild: every yeere the poore Villaines climbe the trees, and with small Knives cut every figge on the tops, I say a little round piece away when they are greene, so afterward becomming ripe, the poore people eateth of them. The Cassia tree is also great and spreading, and very goodly to behold, those long blacke Truncheons among the greene leaves, aloft the Timber, seemes all threddie, as it were, and corkie; but they doe lay the logs at length, mingled with stone for the strengthening of their wals and buildings.

[q] *Wood in Grand Cairo is extraordinary deere, that and the Wine we spent stood us in more then all our other Expences, and house rent, & Servants wages.*

But of all in Egypt, the Palme tree is to be preferred, which yeeldeth Dates to eate alone, and in Cheeses, as it were, and a kind of drinke that they call Sherbet, Seafatches, of the branches, stalkes, frames to lay their Beds upon, and to inclose bailes of Spices and other goods in stead of chists, Serons, and Baskets for many uses, and Fannes to coole and to keepe off the flyes and dust: Mats, Hoopes, and coards of divers sorts, timber, straw and stubble.

The Moores in those Orchards of Date Trees, tye a Rope about the bodie of the Tree, and their middle, for it is all body from the Root to the toppe branches. (Knobbed by the meanes of the yeerely breaking off of the old branches, except the branches and fruit that spring at the top) they yeerely goe up to pare and breake of the out-side branches. The fruit being young, springeth out

in a long codde, at opening of which, the Moores takes of the Male Seedes, and puts into the Females; so it commeth to perfect fruit: otherwayes of themselves, they say, they yeeld but wild Dates; this I have beene told, and I doe beleeve it. I doe beleeve also that as they say, the Plague comming into some of their Orchards of Date Trees, that one infects another: and many doe dye of the Plague. [II.ix.1618.]

Nilus water I thinke also to be the profitablest and wholsomest in the World, by being both Bread and Drinke to them: for Bread there could be none without it; no Rayne falling in Egypt to that purpose: yet I have seene it rayne there, but it hath beene very little, as it were a small showre, at a time this River doth cover the Land, and fatten it, whereby it fructifieth abundantly. It breedeth no manner of disease in the bodie, as divers other waters doe: it hurteth not to drinke thereof either troubled or cleere; for being brought to our Houses one mile and halfe or two miles off, it commeth in warmer then bloud, and troubled seeming sandy; standing all night in our Jarres of Earth, it is very cleere and coole in the morning, and so continueth in the House be the weather never so hot.

We were there much troubled,* alike, with flyes and dust: for the streets of Cairo are all unpaved, except on each side some two or three foot broad before their Houses (the middle way about a foot lower then those Pavements) and the Horses, Camels, Asses, Mules, Men and Monsters, make such a stirre passing to and fro, that what stranger soever commeth thither, in short time will wish himselfe further off. So much by the way.

**Most part of the yeere at the hottest time, we have a Servant all the while we doe sit at meate, to fan away the flyes from the dishes, and our Trenchers.*

Now I say, from Damiatta, I arrived againe in Cairo the thirteenth. The nineteenth, I went being invited by the Venetian Consul once more to the Pyramides, where wee were feasted and returned home at night. The twentieth of March 1586. we set from Cairo being three English, and our Servants, a Jew, a Turke, and Christians, arrived in Rossetto the three and twentieth; fraighted a Carmisale

John Sanderson. Will. Shales. Will. Lawnder.

the eighteenth of Aprill 1587. came to Bichier the eight and twentieth of Aprill. I went to Alexandria to see what newes the ship Tiger had brought, who arrived there two dayes before. Backe to our Carmisale I returned the next day.

We set sayle the seventh of May, calmely coasting all the Palestine Sea; and arrived in * Tripoly, the thirteenth being Saturday. The ship Hercules arrived the twelfth of November, being Munday. Three dayes we were in a great storme, and like to have perished in the Bay. To Tripoly we came againe on the Friday. On Saturday came the Tobie of London. Friday the two and twentieth of December, wee departed from thence in company with the Tobie: wee went by Cyprus the foure and twentieth.

The three and twentieth of Januarie, we were ashoare at an Iland by Candie, called Christiana; The five and twentieth, we cast Anchor at Caldarona. The eleventh and twelfth of February, we passed betweene Sicilia and Malta. The thirteenth, to Pantalerea. The fourteenth, we were in the sight of Cape Bon on Barbarie side. The fifteenth, we saw Goletta, a Rocke a little off of Carthage. The last of February we arrived in Argier, set saile from thence the second of March. The sixt, came in sight of Cape de Gat. The seventh, at night we passed by Gibberaltare, and so through the Streights; From Suta wee were espied, they shot twice; In the morning wee had Cape Sprat, about sixe leagues a sterne. The eleventh,

* In Tripoly standing upon the Tarras, John Eldred, W. Shales, Nicholas Salter, Samuel Stone, W. Lawnder, Robert Gold and others, wee did at two sundry times see two spouts: one of them appeared at first sight little bigger then a great Conger, but comming from the cloudes downwards did, to our sight appeare, watering as through a spout of Glasse, and fel with great force upon the Sea in the Ports before us: the other did so come downe and suckt up the sand on Tripoly banke, that to our eyes appeared in the Skies a cloud of sand. All the whole time of ships being in the Port, I had a very great sicknesse, & departed in her for England, before I had thorowly recovered. Many deceased at that time in Tripoly, as I have elsewhere at large related. Where we found such a fall, that staggerd the Mariners, Master and all.

wee were as high as Cape Saint Vincent. The nineteenth, wee were even with Cape Finister, from thence caped North North-west. The two and twentieth being Friday, we came to the Soundings, threw the Lead at night and found ninetie two fathome; then we caped North-east and by East. The next day in the morning we found seventie fathome, and at noone fiftie five.

The next day we fell with Portland, which was the first of England we had sight of, then to the Downes, and so to Gravesend, from thence in a Wherrie to Black-wall, so by land to London, the nine and twentieth of March, 1588.

§. II.

His second Voyage to Constantinople, with other his Travells.

THe fourth of June being Saturday, I departed from London in company of Deputie Edgerton and others. Sunday we passed from Gravesend in a Hamborough Barke fraighted by the Ladie Drurie, who in the same was bound over with her two Daughters and divers Attendants to Sir William Governour of Bargen up Zone. Sir Henry Palmer in a ship of the Queenes guarded the Barke to Flushing, where wee arrived upon Munday; to Middleborough with the Deputie and others went presently, and two dayes after had a Court called on purpose to make free my selfe and my companion Thomas Calthorpe. Upon Thursday we departed thence and came to Flushing; went aboard a small Barke that Evening. And in the Morning were at Sandwidge, lodged at Knowlton, Master Calthorpe being sicke, yet departed in the morning, and were in London on Saturday night. Thus were wee eight dayes on this Voyage, and eight dayes after Thomas Calthorpe departed this life.

In September, 1590. we set sayle in the Samaritan of Dartmouth, bound for the East India, victualled for thirteene moneths at the least, and well manned; John Davis [II.ix.1619.]

Captayne and Pilot, Edward Reve [f] Master. About the Maderas we were overtaken with a great storme; in which extremitie we lost our Pinnasse consort, but afterward met with an English ship who had saved our men. We had before that storme been in divers fights with Spaniards, and braved by a couple of French at unawares; in that Voyage of one hundred and five men and boyes we lost only one: a very hot fight we had with an Armado of Spaine, she gave us seventeene great shot over night, and in the morning fought some foure or five houres, shee shot downe our top-mast, and thorow our sailes and ships fortie times, yet no hurt to any of us in person, except a poore fellow which was touched on the legge with a great stone shot, which shot rested in the ship: the next day an ill Surgeon cut off the legge above the knee, in which torment of cutting, sawing and searing, the poore Wretch died in his armes. This joly Spaniard left us; for if he had durst he might have laid us aboord: with this fight and the extreame storme we had before passed, our Samaritan was so crasie and leake, that all in generall tooke our turnes at the Pumpe, made foure or five hundred strokes in a Glasse for many dayes and nights together. With the said water we watered our fish, so were we forced to returne for England, where at Falmouth we arrived in February, and so to Dartmouth, in that Voyage we went ashoare only at Safia, Santa Crus, and the Maderas, as I remember.

The thirteenth of September, 1591. I went out in the [l] Tobie, the first of October to Tilburie, then to Lee. The fourth to Gorend, wee departed thence the eighth, and arrived at Dartmouth, Munday the eleventh. From thence we set saile the sixteenth, being Saturday the last day of October, wee arrived at the Streights mouth. The eleventh of November, [m] we entred the Streights. The thirteenth and fourteenth, we saw Grand Maliga, Velis Maliga, Salabrica, Cape Negro. The five and twentieth, we came in sight of Maritima, the next day of Sicilia and Malta. The twentieth of December, we arrived in Cephalania, there remayned six dayes, and came to Zant the

[f] *A little rich Reve, Dier, and others of Dartmouth were Owners, victualers, & voluntaries, were Randall Cotton, Jo. Arundell, Thomas Moore, Edward Rivers, I my selfe and others, who all came home by crosse and losse, for which our God Almighties mercies, his holy Name be ever magnified.*

[l] *A strong and good old ship.*

[m] *Off and on 11. dayes at the mouth of the Streights of Giberaltar before wee could enter. The next yeere after a younger Master making more speed, imbayed the ship & broke her, and drowned himselfe with griefe and anger.*

thirtieth. The first of Januarie, we were at Patras in the Moria, thence the Tobie went the thirteenth to Zant for her lading. Thursday the foure and twentieth of Februarie, by land we departed Petras, that night to Postigia, Sunday Vasilago and [n] Corinth. Tuesday at a Casale, and so to Thebes, which they now call Tiva.

There grow abundance of Aniseeds, it hath a most delectable situation, so doth Corinth stand most gloriously where we aboad two dayes: wee also were in sight of Athens. Then wee came to Negroponto, where we fraighted a little Turkish Vessell, imbarked [o] our selves and goods, and on Friday departed for Constantinople, sailed by Macedonia, but had no sight of the Citie Thessalonica, it is up in the Gulfe now called Salonica, it was the chiefe Citie of Macedonian Philip, Father of Great Alexander: then we passed divers Ilands in the Arches, as Taradano and others; were ashoare at Troy, passed two great Castles, called the Dardanelli, and came to Galipoli, the seventh of March. Upon Palme Sunday we arrived in Constantinople, where then I remayned sixe or seven yeeres, in which time I had the view of many Animals, as Elephants, tame Lions, tame spotted Cats as big as little Mastiffes, great and small Deere, Ro-bucks tame; but these are brought out of Egypt. The admirablest and fairest beast that ever I saw, was a Jarraff, as tame as a Domesticall Deere, and of a reddish Deere colour, white brested and cloven footed; he was of a very great heigth, his fore-legges longer then the hinder, a very long necke,

[n] *Corinth where we lodged three nights by reason of some misrule committed going betweene Vasiligo and that place; by Jeffer, our Chaous, R. Gold the Consul and Will Aldridge, I went before with the goods for feare of the worst, and was in Corinth five houres before they came, Robert Gold came first into the Carvasera with his Giamberlake all to bee slashed, then in came the Chaouse cut in the arme a deepe wound, and Will. Aldridge with his forehead wounded; which in the said William was dressed for the present by a Surgeon of Corinth, so with some satisfaction to the Cadie, we were permitted to passe on our Voyage.* [o] *Consul R. Gold, W. Aldridge, Joh. Sanderson, our goods, our Chaouse, two other Servants Turkes, and two or three Christians, Greekes, our Attendants. Memorandum, that many Englishmen old and young, have in my remembrance turned Turkes, as Benjamin Bishop, George Butler, John Ambrose, and others, but to turne Greeke I never heard of any except that Consul at Petras, who did cause the Greeke Priests newly to baptize him, which they performed, and did name him John Gold; being at the very instant demanded (by an honest Englishman) his meaning, his answere was, that as he had lived in credit amongst those Greekes, so his purpose was to be carried to his Grave with credit, a very notable Whoremaster, one of the cutters of the Cabina in Turkie.*

and headed like a Camell, except two stumps of horne on his head. This fairest Animall was sent out of Ethiopia, to this Great Turkes Father for a Present; two Turkes the keepers of him, would make him kneele, but not before any Christian for any money. An Elephant that stood where this faire beast was, the keepers would make to stand with all his foure legges, his feet close together upon a round stone, and alike to us to bend his fore-legges. Many things passed also worth the noting, as the deposing and placing great Rulers, the contention of the Souldiers many times, once for their pay which the Spahies demanded in the time of Sultan Marrat, who not being answered, as they desired, made an uproare in the Court, that the Vice-Royes were glad to hide themselves in the Turkes Lodgings for feare of their lives; and most of the Houshold Servants of the meaner sort, came out with Spits, Tongs, and other Kitchin tooles to end the fray, who cleered the Serraglio of the Spahies: at that broyle were slaine of all sorts [p] some two hundred or more. Not long before they had the Beglerbegs head (whom the Great Turke especially loved) given them, which they spurned about the Court.

[p] *This was at my being there in M. Harbornes time, before I was sent to Cairo.*

Other strange actions I could speake of, and of their cruelties, but I am loth to wearie you with many particulars. Only the crueltie of that government may be marked in this, for at this Great Turke his taking possession of the Empire, were strangled all his living Brethren, which were in number nineteene. They are brought one by one before him, and hee seeth them both alive and dead. I did see [e] them carried to buriall, the next day after their dead Father. That Great Turke Sultan Morat left also foure or five Women with Child, two of which brought Sonnes; who also at their Birth were deprived of life; the Daughters all live. It was crediblie reported, that hee had buried thirtie Children in his Life time, and had at his Death seven and twentie Daughters living, so it appeareth hee was Father of eightie one Children.

[II.ix.1620.]

[e] *One Master Winckfield an ancient English Gentleman, being then in my company with others.*

This new King Sultan Mahomet, went to the Warres in

Hungarie against the Christian Emperour, the first yeere of his Raigne, our Ambassadour worthy Edward Barton, attended him (with also an ancient Greeke, a Galatean called Signior Matteo, who had many yeeres beene Servant and chiefe Interpreter for the Emperours Ambassadours,) to whom the Great Turke had before his going presented two and twentie Christians, which had layne in Prison in Constantinople three yeeres: they were the late Ambassadours Houshold, who had beene resident there for the Christian Emperour when the Peace was broken. The Great Turke also gave Commandement that through his Countrey, their charges should bee defrayed, and alike allowed foure Coaches and a Chaouse, to conduct them to the Emperours Court. The chiefest cause of our Ambassadour his accompanying the Great Turke, was, to have concluded a Peace betwixt those two Great Potentates, as formerly hee had done, betweene the Poles and the Great Turke deceased; which had beene most easily performed, had it pleased her excellent Majestie so to have commanded. The Ambassadours absence was sixe moneths, from July to January, which space I remayned his Deputie in Constantinople.

After the Ambassadour was fully resolved to goe with the Grand Signior, some few dayes before his departure, hee went with me John Sanderson to Hassan Bassa, Eunuch, who governed the Citie of Constantinople in the Great Turkes absence. And taking his leave of the sayd Hassan Bassa Vice-roy, hee recommended mee unto him, as his Deputie; praying him so to respect me in his absence. The Vizier promised all kinde respect and regard of mee; saying, Volo volo hosh Gediet, Welcome welcome, Hosh Geldie, I will, I will, Elchee Ambassiater, and so I kist his Hand, and then the Ambassadour kist his hand, and wee departed his presence.

When the Great Turke went out of the Citie towards the warres, it was with wonderfull great solemnitie and notable order, too long to describe particularly; but I remember a great number of Dogs led afore him well

manned, and in their best [g] Apparell; his Hawkes by Horsemen also carryed in great number. Tame Lyons and Elephants, with other Beasts of many sorts, but especially, the Jarraff before spoken of, being Prince of all the Beasts, was led by three chaynes of three sundry men stalking before him. For it is the custome, that the Great Turke in person going on Warfare, most or all in generall, the chiefe Men and Beasts, attend him out of the Citie: and at his returne, it is lawfull for all their Women both of high and low degree, meane and great, to meet him without the Walls: at other times the Women of any account or credit, never come in multitudes among Men. By a Letter dated in October 1596. the Ambassadour advised me of all passed that imported the taking of the Citie Agria, and after overthrow of the Christians Campe. Copie of which Letter I sent for England, to the Right Honourable her Majesties chiefe Secretarie Sir Robert Cecill.

[g] *Cloth of Gold, Velvet, Scarlet and Purple cloth.*

See Sup. 1. 8.

The Turke returned with great Triumph, entred at Adrianople Gate, three or foure miles without which Gate, and so along within the Citie to the Gate of the Serraglio, which is at least foure or five miles further, all on both sides the way as hee should passe through, the people his Subjects (Turkes, Jewes, and Christians) held in length whole peeces of cloath of Gold, Velvet, Sattin and Damaske, of all sorts and colours, and for three dayes together Feasted, keeping open Shops and Houses day and night, in Joy of his Victories and safe Returne. Two or three miles before his entrance, I did meete our Ambassadour with a fresh Horse, and about twelve or thirteene attendants: the Ambassadour by Ebrehim Bassa, the Vice-royes appointment, did stay in the way to take his leave of the Grand Signior, which was thus performed: Sultan Mahomet made a stand with his Horse, and upon Horseback, Hee, and the Ambassadour saluted, hee sate still, our Ambassadour did alight and kist his Hand; then got upon his Horse, hee saluted; the Great Turke re-saluted him, saluted me also, and all our Ambassadours trayne,

and so turned his Horse: and over the Fields we came to the Vines of Pera, before he was come into Constantinople.

For the whole full and fine discourse of the Citie Constantinople, I referre to a little Pamphlet that was presented mee by a Doctor Jew Poet, which sayd Discourse hee gave me in Italian, I immediatly translated the same into English, the seventeenth and eighteenth of August, 1594. I gave it at that time both in Italian and English to a friend Master Edward Rivers, since which, the Copies have beene dispersed, and it may bee some fantasticall will attribute it to himselfe both Author and translater. For five yeeres past, one in England required it of mee, but I had left the Copie amongst my papers at Constantinople, where at my last beeing I found that scribled originall in English, but the Italian was common amongst them, it hath beginning on this manner. Paussania a Captayne of the Lacedimonians, &c. I have written it againe in the end of this Discourse, and alike followeth a true Relation of my three Moneths travell, from Constantinople to the Holy Land, and backe againe to Tripoli Sirria, over the highest Mount of Libanon. Many worthy things passed [II.ix.1621.] in this my long abode at Constantinople. Amongst other I note the extraordinarie esteeme was had of the Ambassadour afore named, with them all in generall, both Christians, Turkes, and Jewes. By meanes chiefly of the Turkes Mothers favour, and some money: hee made and displaced both Princes and Patriarches, befriended Viceroyes, and preferred the suites of Cadies who are their chiefe Priests and spirituall Justices. The Hoggie, a very comely, grave and wise Turke, who was Sultan Mahomets Schoole-master, (and I may well say Counseller) was a very true friend, and an assister of Master Barton, in all his businesse with the Grand Signior, and had a Catholike Roman Christian Corrupter about him, a Consull, by name Paulo Mariani, who was hanged by the necke in his Consuls Robes at Grand Cairo, under the chiefe Gate of the Citie; upon whom the Moores in the morning had great pitie. For Monsieur de Brevis the French Ambassadour,

had procured the Execution to bee performed in the night, to prevent the Moores who ever favoured Mallem Paulo (Master Paul) as they commonly called him.

From Constantinople, I departed the three and twentieth of September, 1597. having in my time there remayning, beene at divers notablest places within the Citie, and on all the confines of the same, as when I accompanied the Ambassadour towards the Warres, rid on the way with him some thirtie or fortie miles. And alike was often at the Blacke Sea, which is eighteene or twentie miles off. At the entrance of the said Sea, are remayning ruines of the old Castles Sestus and Abidus; but the Schollers of our Age affirme, those neere Troy ruines, to bee they, time having eaten out the ruines; and so the true remembrance of the other too at the very mouth of the Blacke Sea, though I was shewed a marke of a peece of a Rocke upon Asia side, where the Lover was Drowned in swimming from Europe side to his beloved. And then I say, in Anno 1585. was there to bee seene on each side, some very old appearance of Castles foundation walls, though in a kinde as it were covered with Earth and Grasse, which remembreth to us the Storie of Hero and Leander. And other two great Castles at halfe way, one esteemed the chiefe Prison in Turkie, except the seven Towers within the Citie wall. I was also at Colcos Ile, and other Ilands thereabout. And alike divers times wee went over into Asia to Calcedon, &c. At Calcedon now called Scutari,[e] my selfe and attendants being five, well Horsed and a sumpter Horse, there wee remayned two dayes, at Curtall one, Gibs one, Dill one, Giourkie one, Isnike two, Gini Shar two, Auc Biuke one, Bosuke one, Eschi Sheer one, Sidie Batal one, Bajat one, Bulvadin two, Auke Shar five, Ilgin two, Guarchi one, Casal one, Conia (Iconiam where Barnabas and Paul preached) I remayned two dayes, Siml one, Caribonar one, Regli one, Uluckislia one, Cadengighen one, Sareshik one, Casale di Turkie one, Adina two, Missis, Tharso one, where Paul was borne; Court Colacke one, Bellan one, Curdi Casall one, Juni one, to

[e] *Natalia. Caramania. Silicia. Surria.*

Alepo one. Dayes foure and fortie, in companie of Court Vizeir, who went to Governe in Alepo, where I remayned some three moneths. The one and twentieth of Februarie, wee were in Antiochia, where wee beheld an admirable Wall, edging up upon the Mountayne having very many Turrets, some say as many as there are dayes in the yeere, the River Orantes is at the bottome of this Hill, and runneth close along the nether part of the Citie wall. Entring in at one of the by gates, there is a place of excellent Spring water, where many were Baptised that became Christians at the [f] Apostles Preaching.

The fourteenth, wee came to Alexandretta, there are the ruines of an old Citie built by Great Alexander, the Turkes call it Scandarone.

The three and twentieth, wee departed thence in a great Venetian Ship called Navi Ragazoxa, and arrived in Ciprus the sixe and twentieth of the said February. At my being in Ciprus, I went to the chiefe Cities, Nicosia which is in the middest of the Iland, and Famagusta a very strong Citie and Port for their Gallies: before a Towne called Larnica, we rode with our Ship. At the Salinos,* there is the Church that Lazarus built, and likewise the Greekes say, that the Mother of Constantine lyeth buried in a Mountayne in that Iland, which is called Santa Elena.

The tenth of Aprill, 1598. wee set sayle from Ciprus in the sayd Ship, and arrived in Venice the two and twentieth of the same.

The foure and twentieth of May, I departed from Venice, to Trasino Castle, Franco, Sismon, Grinio, Lienico, Trent, Alavis, Enia, Boldax, Clusa, Maols, Luke es Bruke, Sefield, Patakerk, Ambrega, Sanga, Lansberg, Augusta, now called Osburge, Danower, Fetling, Dinkselspill, Perte, Herbtshouson, Martigall, Pissiche, Miltiburgh, River of Maine, Valstat, Ostum, Pobohouson, Franckford, Ments, Elfni, an Almes house Ervels. Mistorne a little Castle upon a Rocke, where at this day they report that the Bishop of Ments was devoured of Rats, for hoording up Corne when the Poore starved with want thereof. Snikwere,

[f] *There at that place, some affirme, that the three thousand also, at Peters Sermon, were converted and Christened in that Spring water.*

**Where they make great store of Salt. Fine white salt. Slavonia. Italie. Germanie: Friesland. Brabant. Holland. Zealand.*

Gesinan, Rodersen, Bubard, Andernough, Bon, Cullen the thirteenth of June, in their chiefe Church they reserve a Monument of the ᵉ Three Kings, so much talked on. Sons, Nues, Druselthorp, Keserswert, Ruer Wert, Berk, Wesell, Emrick, Sniks Sconce, Nemingham, Tele, Wercam, Kercam, Dort, Viana, Camfire, Middleborough, Flushing. The eight and twentieth, from thence imbarked in a man of Warre a Flushinger, who set us ashoare in the Downes the nine and twentieth of June, the same day arrived in England, and so from Sandwich to London by Land.

ᵉ *There they are within a double Grate beyond the quier behind a battlement, where also I did see the Picture of Christ drawne naked, stripped so artificially and just the bignesse of a man, that it made mee to weepe. Our Lady was more lower in the Church, an Image in a blacke sattin Gowne.* [II.ix.1622.]

§. III.

The third Voyage of Master John Sanderson to Constantinople.

FRom London to Gravesend, the eleventh of Februarie, 1598. The fourteenth, tooke shipping in the Hector, lay at Tilburie two dayes. To the Downes the seventeenth, lay there eight dayes, came to Dartmouth the third of March, rid there foure dayes, and came to Plimouth the eighth. Set sayle three or foure dayes after, and in May, 1599. arrived in Alexandretta, having touched at Argier and Zant by the way. In the sayd moneth of May wee departed, coasted all along the North-side of Ciprus, passed close by the seven Capes, came and cast Anchor at Roades, I went also at this time ashoare there. Thence wee went and came with the Ship a ground at Samos, the Iland where Esop was borne; so sayled by Sio and Metelin; were also a ground about Cape Janesarie in some danger, and with much adoe wee came off at last, pulling the Ship off with our Boate and skiffe at the sterne, by strength and labour of the Marriners. Having doubled that Cape, I tooke a small Barke and went to Galipoli, and thence to Constantinople, where the Hector arrived about the fifth of September. At her entrance the Port in tryumph discharging the Ordnance, they lost a Man who was parted in the middle, being busie

about cleansing a Peece in the fore-castle. At this my third and last being in Constantinople, of one of the Coens, an ancient and very learned Jew Priest, I did with much intreatie and my money, get a very old Booke; it was the five Bookes of Moses in foure Languages. I presented it to my Brother, Doctor Sanderson, hee lent it Doctor Barlow, hee to Doctor Andrewes, hee used it in their Translation at Cambridge, and did returne it to Bishop Barlow. The Bishop dyed, and I thinke one Johnson his Sisters sonne hath it, who as I heard had the residue of the Bishops bookes.

I went to visite the Sepulcher of that fore-named Master Edward Barton late Ambassadour, who lyeth Interred (according to his alwayes desire) under an Olive Tree, before the entrance into the Monasterie on the top of Calcos Ile; a Stone of white Marble is layd upon him, Letters thereon engraven of his Title and Decease. Other places I went to also, which I had beene at in former times. And some strange actions, other then formerly the like had happened in their most cruell Executions, I note not.

Yet can I not let passe to relate, that a Jewish woman of the greatest credit and wealth in Constantinople, was brought out of her House and stabbed to Death in the Vice-royes yard, thence by a window in the Serraglio wall where the Grand Signior, Sultan Mahomet stood to see; shee was drawne with Ropes to the publikest place in the Citie, and there (betweene a Pyramed piller erected by Theodosius, and the Brasen tripled Serpent) layd for the Dogges to eate, who did devoure her all save her bones, sinewes of her legges, and soales of her feet. Her head [a] had been carryed upon a pike through the Citie, and alike her shamefull part; also many small peeces of her Flesh, which the Turkes Janizaries and others carried about tyed in a little Pack-thred, shewing to the Jewes and others, and in derision sayd, Behold the Whoores flesh; one slice of her I did so see passe by our doore in Galata. Her [b] eldest Sonne the next day in like manner cruelly stabbed and murthered in the sayd Vice-royes court; dragged

[a] *Master Henry Lillo, the Ambassadour and my selfe went of purpose and thus did see these two, Mother and Sonne.*

[b] *He was a goodly Gentleman Jew, some few dayes before, I had shewed him our Ship, and had talked with him at his Mothers house, and Master Paul Pinder and my selfe, were with his Mother, to whom shee delivered for the Ambassadour, to send the Queene a Stafana, of Rabines from the Sultana, and another of Diamonds from her selfe, with teares in her eyes I well remember.*

thence and layd by his Mother, but was so fat and ranke that the Dogges would not seaze upon him, or else they were satiate with the Womans flesh the day before, who was a short fat trubkin. So together with his Mothers bones the next day was this body burned in that place. Her second Sonne became Turke to save his life; so would his dead Brother, if hee could have had the favour. The third Sonne a young youth, their wrath being appeased, they permitted to live. This was an act of the Spahies in spite of the Great Turkes Mother; for by the hands of this Jew woman shee tooke all her Bribes, and her Sonnes were chiefe Customers of Constantinople; who tooke all the gainefull businesse into their owne hands, doing what they listed. The Mother and Children were worth Millions, which all went into the Great Turkes Cofers. After this their Mala Pasqua, for it was at their time of Passeover, the chiefest Feast of the Jewes.

After this, the Spahies had a great fling at the Head of the Capie Agha, who was the Great Turkes chiefe Servant and Favourite, but by meanes partly of the Admirall Sigallogli, alias Sinan Bassa, Vizeir, and fiftie thousand Duckets of money amongst them, they were for that time pacified. But since my comming away it is written mee, that they have got his Head and the Heads of one two or three more, and forced the Grand Signior to come foorth and see the Execution done. I thinke not good heere as I said before, to note their Crueltie in sundrie sorts of Executions, yet some I cannot let passe. Their usuall punishment for Adulterous women, is binding in a Sacke and so throw them into the Sea. Seven I have seene so used one Morning, in the time that the Eunuch Hassan Bassa governed Constantinople, when the Great Turke was at the Warres. But for such crueltie and other actions, the [c] Queene Mother got his Head at her Sonnes returne.

[c] *The Queene Mother, with the Grand Sultana, and other of the Grand Signiors women, walking in their Serraglio, espyed a number of Boates upon the River hurrying together. The Queene Mother sent to enquire of the matter; who was told that the Vizier did Justice upon certaine Chabies, that is Whoores. Shee taking displeasure sent word, and advised the Eunuch Bassa, that her Sonne had left him to Governe the Citie, and not to devoure the Women; commanding him to looke well to the other businesse, and not to meddle any more with the Women, till his Masters returne.*

The commonest Death for men is Gaunshing; which is, [II.ix.1623.] to be stripped into their Linnen breeches, with their hands & feet bound all foure together at their backs, and so drawne up with a rope by a pullie upon the Gallowes, and let fall upon a great Iron hooke fastned to a lower crosse Barre of the Gallowes, most commonly lighting upon their flanke and so through their thigh, there they hang sometimes talking a day or two together, but if they bee Gaunched through the belly and backe, then are they dead in two or three houres. Thus they use their common Theeves at Constantinople. In Cairo and other parts, they doe Stake them, a most cruell Death, yet speedie or lingring as they list to execute. But Hanging by the necke they use in a favour to any offender who meriteth Death, yet sometimes cutting downe for Dogges to eate. They strangle with a Bow-string their Brethren, Bassaes and other Great men. But for their Religious men false Judges, their Law is to pash them all to peeces in a stone Morter with woodden Mallets. And for their false Witnesses, they are set upon an Asse, with their faces towards the tayle which they hold in their hands, and the Inwards of a Bullocke, powred upon and bound about them, and so ride they through the Citie. And for any found Drunke in the time of their Ramasan (which is a Fast they have one whole Moone in the yeere) their Law is, to melt a Ladle full of Lead and powre it downe their throats; (Their manner of Fast, is to eate nor drinke any thing, neither Water nor other, untill they see a Starre appeare in the Evening, and then they may begin and eate till Morning.) Any chiefe Officer belonging to their Artilerie if hee bee a Thiefe, is bound to the mouth of a brasse Piece and so shot into the Sea; thus I saw one used [d] at Tophana. And alike in my time, a Jamoglaine, found Drunke in their Fast, was used as I have reported. I did see upon the Gaunch Ussine Bassa, the Traytor that first rose in Asia; but hee for a more crueltie had from each shoulder bone a muskell taken out, in presence of the Bench of Vizeirs, the Great Turke also looking out at a

[d] *Tophana, is their Artillerie yard, where is a great Wharfe to take Boate at, it is betweene Raphaghmak and Garlata.*

Lattice over their heads. By reason of that torment he died presently upon the Gaunch, being led from the Serraglio halfe a mile or more before hee was put thereon.[e] Not long before that, a Christian Tributarie Prince called Stephano Vivoyda, being deposed of the Great Turke, after hee had enjoyed the Princedome a yeere; by malice of some Great men who prevayled with the Grand Signior, was brought to the Gaunch, ledde of the Bustangi Bassi.

This Bustangi Bassi is a man of account about the Turke, and the great, but not the common Executioner for the Turke imployes him in strangling [f] Vice-royes; throwing by night rebellious Souldiers into the Sea, and such like. Chiefe Gardner is his Office, having thousands Jamoglans and their Governours at his command: hee keepeth the Caiks, and alwayes steereth when the Great Turke goeth upon the water, whose Caikes are most rich and beautifull to behold, the poope all Ivorie, Ebonie, or Sea-horse teeth, mother of Pearle and Gold, set with all manner of precious Stones. To row him hee hath eightie chosen men, two and two at an Oare, twentie Oares on a side, all in white Shirts and red Caps, coloured Cloath shackshers Breeches, Cordivan leather coloured shooes, who often in their rowing barke like [g] Dogges; the reason I know not, except it bee when they heare him talke (to the Bustangi Bassi who sits at the rudder) that they dare not hearken to his talke. His Court of Dwarfes and Dumme men, alwayes follow (except the very principall who are with him) in another Caike; and many times also his Women.

Now to the Prince I spoke of; this poore Prince intreated for life at the place of Execution. The Bustangi Bassi told him, that if hee would become Turke, hee should see what hee would doe for him. Whereupon hee turned, and uttered to such effect the words [h]; being content rather then dye, to bee Turke; which they call Mussulman. Which done, this cruell Dog told him, that hee was

[e] To see this, Master Lillo the Ambassadour, and my selfe went purposely and did see him on the Gaunch, being starke dead.

[f] He strangled Ferrat Bassa, in the seven Towers, first, after hee had wakened the Bassa, he shewed a little testimony of his authoritie, then turnes the wrong side of the Carpet upwards, so the Bassa sayes his Salah, then with a boxe on the eare hee astonishes him, and the Jemoglans come in presently and strangle him, the Bustangi Bassi found but sixtie Chequins in his pocket, and so thence departed.

[g] I have often heard them upon the water, now and then between times, many of them say, Bough, boughwahe, bough, bough, boughwahe, &c. and then pull some few strokes, and tut againe.

[h] Allah, allah, ill lalah, &c. Being a Mussulman.

glad hee would dye in the right Beliefe, and therefore, whereas hee should have beene Gaunched, now he shall bee but Hanged by the necke. Whereat the poore soule presently repented, and cryed often and aloud upon Christ, and bad all witnesse that hee dyed a Christian.

Here I leave them to their cruelty. Now, the fourteenth of May, 1601. I departed from Sidon, in the ship Mermaid, with my Voyage to Damascus, and the holy Land, and so over the highest Mount of Libanus, to Tripoly; being just three moneths. I leave to bee seene in that my discourse: At Tripoly for passage I remayned untill the sixteenth of Februarie; in which time our people of the Trojan passed some trouble in that bad governed place. Our men of the ship Trojan, were most of them imprisoned in Tripoly Jayle the Castle; and five were in great hazard to have beene executed: for the Emiers people accused them to have robbed a Caramisall of the Emers, of Sope and other merchandise: but as God would have it, the Cadie of Tripoly being a Greenhead, that is one (a holy man) of the Parentage of Mahomet their Prophet: who came Passenger with me to Sidon (in the Mermaid) from Constantinople, he and his having beene well entreated in that Voyage, together with my very often and earnest solicitation, did to his utmost power favour our people so effectually, that every one of them were freed, without further harme, from those false accusing Moores.

The tenth day, the ship Trojan was cast away upon the Rockes in the Road of Tripoly by boysterous billowes, that broke her anchors, and shov'd her on the shoare. The sixteenth I departed in the Edward Bonaventure, came to Scandaron the nineteenth; from thence the fourteenth [II.ix.1624.] of May, 1602. to Limiso in Ciprus, the seven and twentieth; the one and thirtieth wee parlied with two great Ships Spaniards, and two Frigots; they durst not fight, but said they were of Malta. The seventh of June, we espied seven Gallies, which we imagined to be Spaniards bound for Scandaron: now, we were as high as the seven

Capes the eighth, and met thereabouts the Samuel. The tenth, wee passed by Rhodes: Scarpanto, the eleventh: Candia, the twelfth: Cape Sapientia in the Moria, the five and twentieth: Stranalia an Iland, the sixth of July: at Zant the eighth wee arrived: from thence the fifth of August in the Cherubin, to Corfu the fourteenth: from thence the sixe and twentieth in Istria: the one and thirtieth Ottrenta: the seventh of September, Rouina, Pirensa, Cittanova, an old walled Towne at the end of the Gulfe: the eighth of September in Venice.

The fifteenth, I departed to Castle Franco, Carpanet, Grenio, Burgo, River Trent, Neus, Nimarke, passed Ladise the River, Bulsano, Clusa, Sterching, Matara, Churla, River Tine, Mitebant, Ambergam, Sandar, Stadell, River Ligh, Osburgh, alias Augusta, Susmerhausen, Leibham, Olme, Getsingen, Blochenu, Stuchert, Diefenbrunt, Almatingen, Ratstat, Litstinhal, Strosburge, Galsenburch, Caufman, Blanhenburch, Luncuil, Portadi, Saint Nicolo-Nantes, Tull, Saint Tobin, Barloducke, Tanhuer, Russemason, Salon, Fonte, Effael, Momil, Butchier, Fuerti, Sant Giovan, Marne, Meaw, Paris. Dico Paris the nineteenth of October. From Paris to Saint Denis, to Puntoys, the River Alnais. The twentieth, to Maine, Equie. The one and twentieth, to Roan, to Deepe, the two and twentieth. The three and twentieth, from thence in the Vantgard of the Queenes. The foure and twentieth, to Dover; from thence at eleven a clocke in the night. In London the five and twentieth being Monday, at foure a clocke in the after-noone. For all which the Almightie God bee magnified.

§. IIII.

A Discourse of the most notable things of the famous Citie Constantinople: both in ancient and late time.

PAusania a Captaine of the Lacedemonians, wandring through the world with his people, seeking where he might settle himselfe, of the Oracle of Apollo in Delfos it was answered, that they should make their abode over against the blinde, understanding thereby the Magares, who had not the fore-sight to take so faire a situation as they had in Europe, fertile and good; but built in Asia Calcedonia, that now is called Scutari; heere then stayed Pausania with his Calcedonians, 663. yeeres before the comming of Christ, (Tullio Hostillio remayning in Rome) building at that time a little Citie, which hee named Bizantio; whether it were as some say, for the two Seas it hath, or according to others, of a Captaine so named. In the beginning, this was a very small thing, as others of small time were wont to be, subject once to the Lacedemonians, founders thereof; and another time to the Athenians: it flourished in short time with the felicitie of the Countrey in such sort, that Philip King of Macedon, Father of Alexander the Great, being in love with her beauty and riches, resolved with himselfe to conquere the same: laying siege thereto many dayes, and could not take it: notwithstanding that hee enterprised it with a great and chosen Hoast; with whom encountred Leon Sophista, a man of Bizantio, who said unto him: Tell mee, Philip, what injurie hast thou received of Bizantio, that in such fury thou art moved to warre against it? I have not (answered Philip) of thy Citie had any injurie that provoketh mee, but because it is the fairest Citie of Thracia, being enamoured therewith, moved me to conquere it. Those that be in love (answered Leon) and would of their Beloved bee loved, with sweet Musike, Gifts, and such like, doe seeke to obtayne; and not with their Armies

Read hereof Strabo lib. 7.

and Warre to damnifie them. Philip in conclusion departed without taking it.

The same went forward prosperously, and in processe of time was augmented with buildings and riches, in such sort, that then it passed all the Cities of Asia, and in fertilitie was equall to the fairest of Europe. Amongst the beautifullest things, it had goodly to be seene, and most worthie to be praised were the walls, the stones whereof they brought from Milesio, not any of which were carved or graven, but sawed in manner of plankes. This caused that the walls being of many stones, notwithstanding appeared to be but one. And the Citie increased untill the time of Severo the Emperour, that having possession thereof the Tyrant Pesenio (the Blackmoore his mortall enemie) the sayd Emperour was moved to goe and besiege it: hee kept siege thereto three yeeres, in the end they were constrayned through hunger to render to the discretion of the Romanes, which was such, that after they had slayne all the Men of warre and Magistrates, they ruinated the famous walls from the top to the bottome.

Constantine the Great.

It remayned in this calamitie untill the yeere 315. that Constantine the Emperour (surnamed, the Great) was minded to transport the Seat of the Empire of Rome to the East, to the end that with the more facilitie he might [II.ix.1625.] bridle the untamed Persians and Parthians, that hourely rebelled: and for that Rome was so farre off, the Emperours could not come so speedily, to force them to order. After they had searched divers places to this effect, and in some began to build: they were still diswaded by dreames, untill in the end they came to Calcedonia (which as before I have said is Scutary) who having now chosen and designed the place, certaine Egles (as writeth Zonora a Greeke Author) flying thereabout tooke in their bills pieces of the wood of the builders, and hovering about the Streight of Hellispont: they let them fall neere to the ruinated Bizantio, of the which Constantine being advised translated the builders from Calcedonia: and taking it to be the will of the Divine power, and for good lucke, well

liking also the marvellous situation, hee compassed and enclosed in one circuit seven most pleasant Hills, imitating Rome which hath so many) building a wall about, of length, thicknesse, and fairenesse, one of the famousest in the world, with all things needfull, adorned and furnished like unto a Fortresse; the forme thereof Triangle, two parts washed on with the Sea, and the other compassed with Land. *Seven Hils.*

Hee erected also many high Towers, built many sumptuous Temples, and adorned it with infinite other magnificall buildings publike and private, commanding by publike Edict all Princes of the Empire, that every one should build either Palace, or some sumptuous and splendent other Monument, after which for the greater adornment, hee caused to bee brought from Rome divers memorable Antiquities, and amongst the rest the most famous Palladius of old Troy, which hee caused to be set in an open place that was called Placote, and the high Piller of Porfido (which is a kinde of hard Stone) in the same place was erected. At the side whereof was planted an Image of Brasse in likenesse of Apollo, which was of unmeasurable greatnesse, in whose stead hee would have his name written thereon. So greatly was increased the adornment and beautie therof, that not without merit it might have beene called another Rome. The old Writers which saw it in the flower, rather Judged it a dwelling for the Gods, then an habitation for earthly Emperours.

Constantine named it New Rome, but the peoples voyce prevayled, which called it alwayes after the Emperours name Constantinople, the which his Successors daily adorned, and amongst the sightliest Ornaments, was the most proud Palace of the publike Librarie, which contayned above 120000. chosen written Bookes. In the middest of which Librarie, there was the Guts of a Dragon in length above one hundred and twentie foote, upon them written in Letters of Gold Homers Iliads. There were many other worthy things in divers places of the Citie; as the Nimphs Grove, the Market-place of Metall, with *New Rome.* *Librarie.* *Nimphs grove.*

infinite others. There was also most famous Images, as of Juno, Samo, Minerva, Lindo, Venus, Gnido, in such sort that all Strangers who came to it, full of admiration were astonied at the beautie thereof, reputing it a cœlestiall thing.

It suffered divers fortunes under the Greekish Emperours many yeeres, insomuch that through their disgraces it went by little & little declining; so that it came to be *Frankes.* subject to the French and Venetian, in company, the space of five and fiftie yeers, and in the end by the Illustrious *Palealogie.* familie Palealoga Genouesi, was brought out of their hands. Untill long after by a long Siege, in the yeere 1453. the nine and twentieth of May, it came into the hands of the *Ottaman.* most mightie House of Ottaman, and was taken by the Great Sultan Mahomet the second, the eight Lord of Turkes, 1190. yeeres, little more or lesse from the time that it was built of Great Constantine.

It is observed of the Writers, that the first founder was called Constantine, and his Mother Hellen. Likewise hee that lost it Constantine, the Sonne of Hellen. Within the which, Time, the destroyer with his true Teeth, one, Mars with his Sword another, the ordinary Pestilence and continuall Fires, divers Earthquakes, and many over-flowings which it hath alwayes had, hath brought it to such a passe, that now there is not remayning of so many Antiquities, other then scarce the name of Constantinople. And for conclusion, to say thereof that which remayneth, the Citie is scituate in the Province of Thracia, being fertile and mightie in Armes. Insomuch, that it hath of Old time beene called the Countrey of Mars. It is in the Straight of Helespont in Europe, which is distant fourteene miles from Calcidonia (now Scutarie) built over against Asia. At the Point or Sea Euxina, called the Great or Blacke Sea, where Ovid named it Port of the two *Latitude* 45. Seas, being in 45. degrees of Latitude, and in 56. of *degrees Longitude* 56. Longitude.

The mightie Princes of the House of Ottaman, who wanne it of the Greekes, having destroyed all the Temples

and famous Buildings, with their Churches, Sepulchers, &c. They have given it another sort of ornament building them on the top of the seven Hills within the Citie. On the first Hill is to bee seene, beginning from the West towards the Port of Andranople, a fragment standing in memorie of the old Emperiall Palace with certayne Galaries, wast roomes, and pillers within it selfe, doth well shew the great power of Time, the destroyer and overthrower of all, that a Prince of the world, his Palace is now become a Lodge for Elephants, Panthars, and other Beasts. Hard by that Gate in the South street, is a Church newly built by the Queene, Mother of this present Sultan Murat, the same is little but faire and finely contrived. *First Hill.*

On the second Hill, was the Temple and Palace of the Patriarke of Constantinople, a thing worthy the memorie, where was buryed in Chests of fine Marble, most of the Christian Emperours; but about foure or five yeeres since, it is reduced into a Church as now may be seene. *Second Hill.*

The third and highest Hill, hath upon it the Church and magnificate Sepulcher of the Great Sultan Mahomet the second, that tooke the Citie from the last and unfortunate Greeke Constantine, a building worthy of admiration chiefly at these times, in which the Turkes are more practique, then in those times when matters were more grosse and rusticall. Marvellous is the greatnesse and magnificence of it being made in similitude of the Sophia, and hath about it one hundred Houses covered with Lead (of a round cube fashion) ordayned to receive Strangers and Travellers of what Nation or Religion soever they be, where they may rest (as alike at other Churches) with their Horses and Servants, three dayes together if they please, and have their charges borne, not paying any thing for their owne and servants dyet. Besides, there are without the circuit of the Church, other one hundred and fiftie Lodgings for the poore of the Citie, unto whom they give to eate, and to every one of them in money one Asper a day. It hath also a place where they give Sirrop and [II.ix.1626.] *Third Hill. Mahomets Sepulchre and Hospitall.*

Medicines of free cost to all that demand, & another for government of the Mad people. The sayd Sultan Mahomet left for the maintenance hereof sixtie thousand Duckets yeerely rent in that time, which now doth import above two hundred thousand, for they have allowance of the rents of Sofia; to which also besides other revenue belongeth the Basistans and in a manner all the principall shops of the Citie, even untill yee come to the Serraglio of the Great Turke, which payeth Rent thereto 1001. Aspers per diem.

Fourth Hill. The fourth Hill hath upon it the Church and Sepulchre of Sultan Selim, Father of Sultan Soliman, in the same forme and order as the others are; a Building rather firmer

Fifth Hill. then other wayes. The fift Hill hath the Church and Sepulchre of Sultan Bajazet, Father of the above named Selim, with a great Piaza (a void place) which is the spaciousest belonging to any their Churches, and most

Sixth Hill. frequented by the Turkes. The sixt Hill hath the marvellous Church and Sepulchre of the Triumphant and Invincible Sultan Soliman, a Building worthy of such a Monarch, in the best and most traffiqued place of the Citie; which passeth in greatnesse, workmanship, Marble Pillars, and Riches more then Kingly, all the other Churches of the Emperours his Predecessors; a Worke which meriteth to be matched with the seven Wonders of the World.

Seventh Hill. Temple of Sancta Sophia described. The seventh and last Hill hath the sumptuous Temple of Santa Sophia, founded by Justinian the fifteenth Emperour of the East, in the yeere five hundred and thirtie. It was a Building of greatnesse, workmanship, beautie, and riches incomparable, which it is said hee made to match the Building of the Temple of Salomon. In time past this tooke a great part of the Citie, the centre of which Temple is made round in a Cube, like the Pantheo of Rome, which Agrippa built; as that was, so this top is round, but much more large and high, and there are two rankes of very great Marble Pillars, all of one colour and of such thicknesse, that two men can scarce fathome one. Then there are another order more higher, and not so long

nor thicke, that holdeth up the Cube, the which is made within with great Art, after the Mosaicall resemblance with Gold and Azure, the inside of the Temple is all implastered, and over wrought with great Tables of Porfido, Serpentino, and Marble of divers colours; and the cloysters round about are of like vaulting and workmanship, all singular faire, and beautifull, more then ordinary, but of the Pictures of all sorts (as the painted Images) the Turkes have scraped out the eyes. The covering on the out-side is of Lead, the gates (which have beene the fairest in the World) of fine Metall of Corinth.

The quondam glorie.

It was in the time of the Greekish Emperors, the most rich, perfect, and sumptuous Temple, not only of the East, but of all the World; for there were one hundred gates, and it was more then a mile about, compassing the houses of the Canons, Priests, and others; it had 300000. Duckets yeerely Rent. There is now the Sepulchre of Sultan Selim the Second, Father of this present Sultan Morat, his Church for want of place he caused to be made in Adrianopoli, which is also a sumptuous thing.

Selims Sepulchre and Church.

Upon one of the corners of the Citie (a point at the mouth of the streight that divideth Europe and Asia) on the Promontorio, called of the Ancients Christophori, (which is as much to say, Lord of Gold) a name that whosoever gave it, peradventure did foresee as much as now is inclosed in the bosome thereof, and of the Greekes called (Saint Demetrio) is the admirable Habitation (Seraglio) of the Grand Signior, that hath beene in time past a Monasterie of Monkes of the said Sophia, and is foure miles about compassed round with a high Vault, and very faire Towres built by great Mahumet the Second, amplified and decked by all his Successors; it is so replenished with brave Palaces, faire Gardens, Marble Cisternes, fine Fountaynes, sumptuous Banias; that it were an unwise part to describe them, especially in regard that this present Sultan Morat, hath begunne so magnifically to replenish it, for he alone hath built therein more then all his Predecessors together, and particularly he hath beautified with

Seraglio. Of it see the former Treatise.

two faire Lodgings, or as we may say Banqueting Houses, which they call Chouskes, the top coverings of Lead, but under wrought with curious Worke of Bossing, Painting, and Gilding, built of fine Marble Pillars of Porfido, and Serpentino, richly laid with Gold and inestimable expence.

Without the great Seraglio, neere to the point thereof is a little Fountayne, but rich, of white Marble, laid on with Gold of very fine workmanship, (abounding with excellent water) built by this present Sultan Morat, in memory that there he went a Land dismounting the Caike, [II.ix.1627.] when he came to take possession of the Empire; as may be read thereupon written in Turkish Letters. In the chiefest place of the Citie, betweene the Piazza of Sultan Bajazet, and that of Sultan Solyman, there is another Seraglio called of the Turkes Eschi Serrai, as much to say, *Old Seraglio.* the old Seraglio. The same was first builded and inhabited by Great Mahomet the Second (I meane before the above named) it was two thousand paces about, before that the triumphant Sultan Soliman to make his Church tooke away the halfe. It is compassed with a Vault of fifteene yards high without any Turrets, the Virgins of the Grand Signiors remayne there. Thither hee goeth many times upon pleasure, for within it are faire Lodgings, great Orchards, many Banies, cleere Fountaynes, and of old time the deceased Emperours were wont there to hunt.

Many other faire Churches are dispersed through the Citie of great cost and goodly prospect, built with Royall magnificence, as that which Sultan Soliman caused to be made at the death of one of his Sonnes, called Jegni Sultan Mehemet, as much to say, as new Sultan Mahomet, (different from the other of the Great abovesaid) neere thereby are Lodgings of the Janizaries, who are housed in manner of Friers, Guimas, Mosches. And other places for Prayer are there likewise built by many Bassaes, and other great Personages (but not of such importance as those afore nominated) as that of Mahomet Bassa, Daunt Bassa, Rostan Bassa, Mahomet Bassa, and of Messih Bassa

the Eunuch, and now they are a building two new ones, better then the others, one for the excellent Sinan Bassa neere the red Pillar which is by the Lodging of the emperours Ambassadors, the other very faire in Aurat Bazar (hard by the Pillar which they say to bee of Pompey) of the excellent Girahe, Maher Bassa, and divers others very many.

The Jew the presenter of this Pamphlet, saith without number, some Turkes to me have named the number to be 18000. great and small Churches of Turkes. The Patriarch of Greekes, Meleteo, who had formerly beene of Alexandria, and there dyed, told me that there is in Constantinople one hundred Christian Churches, most assuredly within the Citie and Suburbs, I take it there are more: For at Galata, over the water, as may bee compared to Southwarke from London, there are of Popish Churches (wherein are graven Images) foure or five, and two or three Monasteries of Romane Friers; of Greekish Churches and Friers many more, in whose Churches are no graven Images; yet they whip themselves there, as the Papists doe. This I have seene upon a Good Friday as I remember: Bels [m] the Christians are not permitted to have in their Churches. Thus much from the matter of the Jewes Discourse, which is not from the purpose of that therein handled.

The greatest and most famous spacious place of the Citie is that which in time past of the Greeks was called Hippodromo, and now of the Turkes Atmaidan, which is as much to say, both in the one and the other Language, running of Horses, for there they did and doe runne them. In time past it hath beene much more greater, but the many Palaces (that divers great men in processe of time have built) hath lessened it; as the Great Ebrim Bassa, who builded in the time of Sultan Soliman, that faire Palace which is to bee seene; now the Lodging of this other Ebrim Bassa, given him when he married the Emperours Daughter.

Right over against it is another Seraglio, that, also built

[m] *In the Monastery at Caleos Iland (where Master Edward Barton the Ambassador lies buried,) I did see, which they use to knocke upon, with a barre of Iron of a Cubit length: Tinge, Tange; First, upon one side then on the other side, a long piece of flat Iron; halfe a foot broad, an inch and halfe thicke, set edgeling one yard and an halfe from the ground: this they use in stead of a Bell, to call the Friers together in that Greekish Monasterie.*

in my time by the excellent Rostan Bassa, when he married his Daughter unto Ahmat Bassa. In the middest of this great Piazza is to be seene raysed upon foure Dice of fine Metall, a very faire Pyramide of mingled stone, all of one piece, fiftie Cubits high, carved with Heroycall Letters, resembling the Agulia of Rome, in whose top were inclosed the ashes of the unconquered Julius Cæsar, that now Pope Sixtus hath reduced into the middest of the place of Saint Peter: this Monument Theodosius the three and fortieth Emperour of Rome, (by Nation a Spaniard) and eightie of Constantinople, caused to bee erected in memory, that he had conquered the Gothes, the Alani, the Hunnes, and so many Tyrants that usurped the Empires of the East and West, as by the Greeke and Latine Verses there ingraven, yet after so many yeeres is to be read, although a wheele hath carried away some part of the Latine: His foot that is double in the foundation which is two Cubits high, is carved the manner and way they tooke to set up this Pyramide or Obeliske, the which was there raysed by Theodosius in the yeere 390. so that it passeth 1200. yeeres, since it was erected; now that it is in the yeere 1594. and seventie sixe yeeres after that the Great Constantine built the Citie. In the second foundation which is foure Cubits high, are carved the Tyrants round about, who to the said Emperour Theodosius (he also being carved in the middest) on every side bring Presents and render obedience. This Piazza hath also another Pillar very high of squared stone in manner all lineated with the time, and likewise one of Brasse made with marvellous art in forme of three Serpents wreathed together with their mouthes upwards, which is said, was made to inchant the Serpents that on a time molested the Citie. There was betweene the Agulia and the Brasse Pillar, foure very high Pillars equally distant with their foundation and top ornament, the which Sultan Selim, Father of this present Sultan Morat, removed & sent to Adrianople for the Church which he there built. This place had also before the place of Ebrim Bassa some yeeres

An Obeliske.

The Verses were added, so imperfect, that I thought fitter to omit them.

past three faire Images of Brasse, that the victorious Sultan Soliman, after he had taken Buda, brought and no other thing, in testimonie of his Victorie; they were of the great Mathia Corvino, the most famous King of Hungarie. The said Image, when the named Ebrim Bassa was slaine, were by the furie of the people throwne to the ground.

At the end of this place towards the Sofia, are also to be seene certaine ruines of a great circle of a Theator which was there, where the people sate to see the Playes and Pastimes that there were shewed; now it is a place wherein the Lions and other Animals of the Great Turkes are kept, one thing resteth in my Judgement to be marvelled at, and the most notable in this place which is, that it is all hollow underneath, and holden up with Pillars of rich Marble with their foundation, and top garnishing all wrought in branches. They are said to passe the number of one thousand, and underneath it is light and fresh water, there are also Instruments or great wheeles that they use to spinne Silke with, and not only under this void place, but it is held for certayne that under all the Citie they may walke, as may be perceived by many other ruinated places; this was very faire to behold some yeeres past, when the present Sultan Morat for the space of three or foure moneths made there in Pastimes at the Circumcision of his first begotten Sonne Sultan Mahomet, it was a marvellous incredible thing, the Shewes and Playes they had at that time. [II.ix.1628.] *Admirable Vaults.*

In another large and spacious place farre from this towards the Port of Selimbria, called by the Turkes Aurat Bazar (which is as much to say, the Market place of women, for thither they come to sell their Workes and Wares) is to be seene a very high great Pillar, written upon round about on the out-side, made hollow within, which they commonly call of Pompey, perhaps, because it resembleth another that is of Pompey in Rome of the like Fashion; but I beleeve that neither Pompey nor other for him, ever caused this to be set up. Another high Pillar of red Marble bound about with Iron hoopes, is to

be seene neere to the Lodging of the Emperours Ambassadour, with certayne Greeke Letters, which time hath consumed and often fires many times burned it, in such sort that they cannot be understood or read.

There are to bee seene also in the Citie of Constantinople certayne very great places of the Ancients called *Naumachia.* Naumachia, which they filled with water, and shewed thereon the battailes of their Navie to delight the people, which at this time is full of Orchards. There is in the chiefest places for Traffique of the Citie, two Basistans, which are certayne Buildings foure square high, and made round at the top, in the forme of great Lodges covered, each of which have foure Gates, opening upon foure stretes, round about garnished, with shops stuffed with all rare and exquisite Merchandize, as of inestimable value, Precious Stones and Pearles, (Zebulini) Sables, and other rich Furres of all sorts, Silkes and Cloth of Gold, Bowes, Arrowes, Bucklers, and Swords: here likewise they sell many Christian Slaves of all Sects and Ages, in manner as they sell their Horses, looking them in the eyes, mouth and all other parts; this they doe every forenoone, except Friday, which the Turkes hold for their day of rest.

There is also to be noted the Sarachiana, which is a street of Sadlers, & of them that worke in Leather, a thing so worthy and rich that the more part of strangers, who come thither, marvell more at this place then at all the rest of the most worthy and rich that are to be seene in Constantinople. The Citie is also full of a number of very *Bathes.* faire Banias, as well publike as private, which in imitation of the Ancient Greekes and Romanes, are built and contrived with great industry, sumptiousnesse and expence almost incredible, besides those of the Great Turkes Seraglio, his women, and Bassaes, the most of the common sorts are beautified with Pillars, Bankes and Pavements of divers and rare coloured Marble: faire they are and very great with plentie of water.

Great mens Seraglioes. I let passe the divers Seraglioes, faire Houses of many Vice-royes, old and new, so great and compassed with

such high wals, that they rather appeare to bee Cities then Seraglioes, which without make no beautifull shew; but within are full of all Riches and Pleasure the World affords; for the Turkes are wont to say, that they build not to pleasure the sight of those that passe by the way, but for their owne commoditie: deriding the goodly shewes that our Palaces in Christendome make outwardly, and that within they are not agreeable to their minds.

Heare I would make an end, but I cannot forget the goodly Arches and Conducts of water, which Sultan Soliman of good memory brought with incredible expences so many miles by Land, and in so great quantitie; that over and above so many old Fountaynes, he increased many more with faire Marble so magnificall, and with such quantitie of water that is most notable; being a very necessary ornament to the Citie. There are so many that there is not in a manner a street which hath not one of his, and the greatest prayse in my opinion which he meriteth for so worthy a worke, is that setting apart the expences which he made in conducting this water, and in making the Fountaynes; all the places where he built, he caused to be bought with ready money of the Ownors without forcing any; and oftentimes changed the places appointed, because he would not have the people lament, who were unwilling to sell them, and tooke not one Aspar towards the charge. Also being broken, some of the Conduits after they were finished, Sultan Soliman said, that he thanked God they were decayed in his time, that he might repaire them without exacting on the people, or that there should have come another Prince that would not have regarded them. *Conducts.*

The Citie of Constantinople in time past had eleven Gates, every one for some purpose called Aurea, Pagea, Roma, Carthaseo, Regia, Caligaria, Xilina, Haringa, Phara, Theodosia, and Syliaca. But the continuall fires, the many Earth-quakes, and particularly that which hapned in the time of Sultan Bajazet Father of Selim the moneth of September, Anno 1509. which lasted eighteene dayes [II. ix. 1629.]

together (letting passe the other Buildings in which above 13000. persons perished) it overthrew the famous ancient wall; the said Sultan Bajazet gathered together more then 60000. men to rebuild it, making new Gates which are at this day five and twentie. They were one lesse, but the Sultana, Mother of this Emperour made a faire publike Bania, few yeeres since, and for the more magnificence opened a new Gate; these following are the names at this present, beginning at the East Gate of the Citie hard by the great Seraglio.

Five and twentie Gates.

The first, Giehud Capasi. The Jewes Gate, for thereabout they dwell.

The second, Baluc Bazar. The Fish Gate, for there they sell their Fish.

The third, Yemis Eschelessii. The Fruit Gate, for to that Scale comes their Fruit.

The fourth, Odun Capi. The Wood Gate, there they weigh and sell their Wood.

The fift, Yegni Capi. New Gate.

The sixt, Uṇ Capan. The Corne Gate, there they sell their Corne.

The seventh, Giubali Capi. The Moone Gate.

The eighth, Aya Capi. The Holy Gate.

The ninth, Yegni Capi. New Gate: which the Empresse caused to be made.

The tenth, Petri Capi. Saint Peeters Gate.

The eleventh, Tener Capi. The Lanthorne Gate, where Mahomet the Second entred, when he tooke Constantinople.

The twelfth, Balat Capi. The Palace Gate, for it was the chiefe Gate in time of the Greekish Emperours.

The thirteenth, Ayvansari Capi. Jobs Gate, for there they say, hee lyeth buried: it is a little Church, to which the Great Turke goeth often in Devotion.

The fourteenth, Egri Capi. The Eye Gate.

The fifteenth, Ænderne Capi. The Gate of Andranople.

The sixteenth, Top Capesi. The Artillerie Gate.

The seventeenth, Celebri Capi. The Gate of Selembria.

The eighteenth, Yegni Capi. New Gate.

The nineteenth, Yedi Cula. The Gate of the seven Towres: for so many there are together, neere thereunto, built of the Ottoman Princes, where it is said, they have in time past put their Treasure.

The twentieth, Narli Capi. Gate of the Pomegranates.

The one and twentieth Semati Capi. Saint Matthewes Gate.

The two and twentieth, Yegni Capi. New Gate.

The three and twentieth, Cum Capi, Gate of the Sands.

The foure and twentieth, Chiatladi Capi. The cracked Gate.

The five and twentieth, Ahircapi. The Gate of the Stables, where the Grand Signiors Horses are kept.

This is all which at this time commeth to my purpose to say (A. V. S. Illstre) having spoken only of the bodie of the Citie Constantinople, with the most brevitie and veritie that I could possible; not touching the matters of the Ayvansaria, (where the Turkes say, is buried patient Job) and where are many Sepulchres of much importance, *Sepulchres.* of the chiefest Bassaes and other great men, holden of them for holy ground, neither touch I the Citie Pera (a Colonie in time past of the Genueses) Tophana, or Scutari; for it would bee needfull of them to make a long Discourse, leaving the same untill some other occasion that you please to command me, and if herein be any errour; let the small time I had to write it excuse me, and supply the same with the good will I have to serve you. And seeing this Discourse accepted, I will present you also with a Summarie of the Lives and Deeds of the Ottoman Princes; which I am gathering together with the greatest brevitie and veritie that I can possible. At Constantinople presented me, written by a Jew Doctor, an ancient dweller in that Citie, which when I had read, I presently out of Italian translated it, the seventeenth and eighteenth dayes of August, 1594.

§. V.

The Pilgrimage of John Sanderson from Constantinople, to the Holy Land, and so to Tripoly in Syria, begunne the fourteenth day of May, 1601. ended the fourteenth of August.

THe fourteenth day of May, 1601. we set saile in the good ship called the Mermaid from Constantinople, so to Galipoly, Troy, Sio, Rhodes, and the first day of June arrived at Zur, which is Tyrus: passed by Sarfanta, in time past Sarepta, anchored and went ashoare at Sidon, now called Saiet, where the third day of the same we [II.ix.1630.] visited the Sepulchre of Zebulon. Sophani the Prophet, and Basaleel which built the Arke, buried halfe a dayes journey from Sidon.

The ninth, I departed in company of Jewes, and arrived in Damasco, the twelfth, passing by Samcania, Baruck, Hermiston, Libiton, foure Mountaynes so called. The nineteenth, I went to a Towne within three miles of *Jobar Asladi.* Damasco, now called Jobar Asladi, where Elias did anoint Azael, Jehu, and Elisha; the Jewes hold that like as in Mount Horeb, so heere Elias hid himselfe in a Rocke from Jesabel, where also they say the Ravens fed him. Here is built a Synagogue of the Jewes, in which is *Jewes Bookes.* solemnely reserved their chiefest ancient written Books, and thither they go to worship with great devotion. The sumptuousest matter to be noted is the Church which hath twelve Gates of Brasse, excellent Corinthian Metall, (the middle one of each three being bigger and higher then the two on each side) curiously wrought, (it is now called Bedremon.) Here it was that the Idoll Rimmon was worshipped, it is just square, three doores on each side. Any man may passe by the doores (being they are open to foure publike places) but not any enter other then are of the Mahumetan Religion, many Pillars there are but two especially noted above the rest in respect of some past matter. Hither it was that Naaman the Assyrian desired

the Prophet Elisha, after hee had beene healed of his Leprosie, to license him to bring from Samaria, which at this day is called Shomrom (the said Prophets Country) two Mules laden of Holy Land to build an Altar unto God; which the Prophet denied him not, and there are also foure Rivers called Barada, Towra, Yesed, Canavat, two of which are Abana and Pharpar: which Naaman said (murmuring) were fairer then all the Rivers of Israel, when the Prophet bad him goe wash himselfe in Jordan, to heale his disease.

Silke Girdles, Shashes, Bodkins, &c. fit to sell in Sio and Natolia.

I remayned ten dayes in Damasco, by reason that my rich Companion Jew, bespake much Merchandize to be readie at his returne, left there tenne or twelve thousand Duckets of Gold; which for surer conveyance he had carried quilted in his owne and Servants under-garments: all he left in a friends hands, except two or three thousand which he spent of Almes, and disbursed for Bookes in the Holy Land; that money he reserved still in their quilted Coats, fearing theeves which abound in these Countries.

From Damascus to Sasa, the two and twentieth, so to Conetra, neere Mount Hermon, whose Eastermost part confineth the Countries of Reuben and Gad, then to Naube the Countrey, where was borne the Virgin Ebrew, whom Naaman had taken Captive, shee counselled that her Master should goe and be cured of the Prophet in Shomrom. Here likewise I saw the Lake I could not be certified the Name, it is in the Country of the Gergesites where the Legion of Devils entred into the Swine. Then to the Bridge upon Jordan, on the right hand is the little Sea Cadis, on the left Genazeret, a little on this side that Bridge, as the Jewes to mee reported, the Angell wrestled with Jacob, had passed over his Wives, Children, Family, and Cattel, fearefully he meeting his Brother Esau, who received him kindly; then wee came to a Mountayne which they called Mount Canaan, and on the backe side of that Mountayne towards the right hand, came to the high Countrey of Galilee, passed by some Townes, and so to a Citie called Safet, the foure and twentieth of June: here

This Bridge as I doe remember, is strong built of stone, some Bricke, & hath seven or eleven Arches as I remember.

the Jewes look for their Messias to appeare upon a most high Mountaine adjoyning, which as I remember they called Mount Caram. Heere on this Mount Canan, Mahaleel a Jew Priest that had beene about in gathering (he told me he had got but five hundred Chequins in Gold, and had them about him) for the Jewes of the Holy Land did bid mee marke the current of the River Jordan, which seemed to stand and slowly beare towards Tiberias and Sodome, but withall a forceable current, did runne in the middest backe againe towards the Bridge, and so to fall into Cades, toward Jor and Dan, from whence the whole River of Jordan doth take his increase.

In this Citie of Safet are all the most learned and devout Jewes: and here are sixe Colledges or Schooles of Learning, this they call the House of God, and many aged goe purposely to dye there: this is Bethel where Jacob slept and dreamed in the way he went to serve his Uncle Laban, afterward returned, dwelt there and built an Altar to the Lord, the Citie of old was called Lus. Built it is on the top of a high Mountayne; and compassed about with many Mountaynes, which are both high and steepe, but the highest is that adjoyning, where I say (they affirme) the Messias wil come; on the top of the Mountain where this Citie is, is the exceedingest old Castle that I have seene or heard off, except a part of that at Hebron, and alike the ruines of Tiberias, where I was at my returne from Jerusalem. At the foot of the said Citie Safet, is interred the Prophet Osea, Sonne of Beeri, first of the twelve Prophets (so say the Jewes) over his Sepulchre is built a Cube not very old, and the Jewes now doe bury their dead at that place.

Then we passed by a little Village, where dwelt and is buried the Prophet Abakuke, so said the Jewes, and that the Towne was called Yeacoke; thence wee came to a Village called Sefferhittim, where they say is buried Jethro the Father in Law of Moses: then wee came to Ajontosar at the foot of Mount Tabor, on the top of which Mount our Saviour Jesus Christ transfigured himselfe

At Sefferhittim we reposed the heate of that day.

talking with Elias and Moses; with him was Peter, James and John: leaning on the right hand, the place where was the Warres with Sisera and Debora; and on the left, the River Chison: Sisera fled to Sefferhittim, where Jael killed him, and from thence by a Village called Zarni, the [II.ix.1631.] place is called Isarel, so wee passed the Valley of Jesserell; here Jehu fought the battell with Ahabs sonne. So we came to Jenin, of old time Ingenin, interpreted, is Paradise so pleasant, that is the place and situation that well may be called Paradise; it may be assuredly compared to the Citie of Palme trees spoken of in Scripture, so pleasant and prospective, it is with also Woods of very many Palme trees replenished.

But the Valley wherein Damascus is built, is much more fairer to the eye, pleasanter and larger.

The twentie sixe, we passed by Dotana, in Scripture called Dotan, or Dothan, the place where Josephs brethren cast him into the pit. From thence wee passed the Mountaines of Gilboa, where Saul and his sonnes were slaine: on the right hand a farre off wee saw the Sea Palestine, thence we passed a place now called Sabastia, in Scripture Shomron, that is, Samaria, a Citie of Ahab, a pleasant situation on the top of the Mountaine, but not very high. From thence to Sichem the twentie eight of the same, which is [z] situate betweene two Mountaines, Mount Gerezin, that is the Mount of Blessing, and Mount Ebal, that is, the Mount of Cursing; even betweene these two Mountaines, a little before wee came to the Citie, is a great Conduit of very good water, twentie paces before, which is a piece of ground marked out by two short Pillers of plaine white Marble: There was some notable thing done in Moses or Josias time, else I suppose there stood the stone whereon the seventie heads of Gedeons sonnes, Abimelecks brothers were piled.

Samaria.

[z] *At Sichem wee lodged both at our going, and at our returne from Jerusalem.*

Betweene the said Mountaines at the Easter-most of them was interred Josephs bones, where the Jewes prayed as alike at all the Sepulchers they went to visit, and about five miles off, neere to a Village called Awarta, are buryed upon a Hill on the Mount,[a] amongst the Mountaines of Ephraim, the two sonnes of Aaron, Eleazar and Ithamar,

[a] *Here all the Jewes of our company prayed very devoutly.*

and Phineas, the sonne of Eliazar: and hard by upon another Hill are the [b] seventie antients buried all in one plot, one Cave, one Sepulcher, these ancients of Israel are spoken of in Scripture. Also some two miles further neere the tops of one of the highest said Mountains of Ephraim, is the Sepulcher of Josua, kept by the Moores as the others are, this we did very wel discerne. The Jewes at all pay pole pence, some more, some lesse to the Moores, before they be permitted to say their Ceremonies.

[b] *As the Jew to me reported.*

The thirtieth of June, wee came to Biera,[c] in Scripture called Beroth, in the Countrie of Benjamin; this Citie is five miles short of Jerusalem, Rama is to bee discerned three or foure miles, on the right hand going to Jerusalem. This day we arrived in Jerusalem; upon high ground we had travelled when we drew neere the Citie, though most of the way were rockie and stony, yet now wee might evidently see a signe of a long broad high way all cragged, with cornered diffused stones that no beast could travell over, so that along hard by the said way through the fields all travellers passe, yet that also very stony and cragged, but they are not so big as those on the foresaid high way. Then being within a mile we had sight of Jerusalem, which to our view was most excellently situated on Hills, and compassed with other huge Hils round about, some neere, some many miles off. The adornement of waters it wanteth, for there are not any beautifull neere it: Jordan onely we might see a great way off, which Jordan is North-east of Jerusalem about nine or ten miles. The neerest part Eastward Jordan passeth the Lake of Sodome and Gomorra, and so commeth along towards Jerusalem, which is some fifteene or sixteene miles off; so we entred at the gate opening to Damasco, which I take to be South, and to the Westward.

[c] *Here we rested two or three houres. Old great stony ruines of a Citie. No Inhabitants there, and many other ruined places wee travelled over, where had beene Townes, but now were cragged stones, and here and there some plots of ground where they sowed Corne: bread very plentie and cheape in the Citie of Jerusalem, and all places that we came at in the holy Land; and also at Damascus and all Sirria over.*

The second of July,[d] we went to Rama, to the Prophet Samuel his house, where the Jewes say he was buried; upon the top of the said house is the place where the children of Israel had their haire cut off, at which time they made vowes, gave great sums to the Sanctorum: at this

[d] *John Sanderson in companie of the Jewes his fellow travellers.*

day there are of the Jewes that vow & performe, carrying their children to have their haire cut there for devotion; on the right hand is a Well which is called Samuels Well, other matters here I observed not. Many and sundry ruinated both great and small Townes, I passed in the Holy Land, both outward and backe againe, which to my desire I could not be informed the names of: as may bee imagined by these nominated in the tedious [e] journey I made.

In Jerusalem is a little part of the wall of Salomons Temple (so say the Jewes) under the said piece of wall is the place where the high Priest went to wash himselfe, within is a stone of twentie sixe braces long, and twelve broad; in that Temple the Greekes say the Holy Ghost came to the Apostles: in these times no Christian nor Jew is suffered to enter that Church on paine of death; a broad going up also there is of Marble steps, and on the tops of the stayres two white Marble pillars, not very big; upon these steps none dare come except Turkes and Moores of the best account, this is there held by Christians of the place to bee Salomons Porch. The mount on which the Temple is built, is called in Greeke Thusia tou Abram, where Abraham would have sacrificed his sonne: this is Mount Moria; where to this day I say is curiously kept part of Salomons Temple, the Turkes having bestowed very great cost in re-building and leading it all over. It is formed, one part a round Cube, close to which cube goeth, as it were ascending a long bridge of building leaded, comparable to the Easter-most part of Pauls, but

[e] *Tedious journey I made, yea a very chargeable and dangerous journey; for had not Rabby Abraham, Coen, the principalls, and the other Jewes also favoured and much regarded me: I had beene singled out by some villanous Moores of our owne company, who grudged at me, and at last one of them that we had hired our Mules of, did punch at me with a staffe, reviling me with Brehanzier Gouer, saying that I had beene the cause that Maronits, the Christians of Mount Libanus had broke the head of a Janizarie, who by the way fell into our company having beene at Mecca. Of this Janizarie over night they had asked a little gun-powder, which he deeming, they met him on the Hill in the morning and did sore wound him: the Turkes did marke that those Christians had been kinde to me, therefore by that one old collericke fellow I did with patience pocket some abuse, though no great hurt. Abuse for the present, but at Tripoly the Jewes so handled this businesse, putting the Moore in a great feare that I would complaine to the Bassa; so that in their presence the Moore prayed mee of pardon, and withall did bow downe and kist my hand, seeming sorry he had so abused me; nay very sure I am that he did repent, so I forgave him, and hee afterward did bring me a present of fruit and flowers.*

[II.ix.1632.] seemeth somewhat flatter and broad, with the leads more cheverend and of a deeper worke, and at the end a proportionate forme seeming higher then the rest of the leaded worke.

Jerusalem hath only foure gates, at one of which is the Tower of David, where he fell enamoured with Bersheba, as those fondlings say. Without the said gate, a stones cast from the corner of the wall on the top of Mount Sion are buried David, Salomon, and most of the Kings of Juda; here neither Jewes nor Christians are suffered to enter, neither permitted to come neere the walls in sight of Turkes and Moores; such as peradventure doe, are forced to pay summes of money to their uttermost abilitie. On the out-side of the aforesaid piece of the Cities wall appeareth a part, as the Jewes to mee reported, of the old wall of the studie of Salomon, upon one of the stones wherof is written in Hebrew letters carved בתי that is Bitti, which interpreted is to say, my house: here for two dayes I left the company of my great companion Jew, and had attendant on mee a Coloiero, a Greekish Priest, which the Patriarke commanded, to shew me all the notable places in and about Jerusalem and Bethelem. This holy Priest had continued one whole yeere in the Church where they say our Saviour was buried, and for that space never came out night nor day, so doing of his owne will onely in devotion; he chiefly attended me, with other Greeke Friers at my pleasure: likewise also a poore Jew of Jerusalem whom I hired to bee still with mee, partly to interprete, for the Frier Greekes speake but meane Italian, and my selfe understood but little Greeke.

First, the Coloiero went and shewed mee the gate where our Saviour entred when they cryed Hosanna, efsemati, after which wee viewed Caiphas Palace, Pilats Palace (the ruines remaining as now they say) and alike the Marble pillar of divers colours at which Christ was whipped; it standeth distant from the house: over the way wee passe through somewhat high, a place neere to that where was a water called pronatichi, colinithra, a marvellous great dry

ditch which came to the prison or deepe durty dungeon, wherein the Jewes Princes in Zedechias time caused Jeremie the Prophet to be put. He found favour of the Kings chiefe Eunuch a Blacke-moore, who drew him out, hee standing halfe way in the mud, as by the Scripture appeareth: these Greekes hold that hee was throwne amongst Lions, who licked him in stead of devouring, and that at last the Jewes caused him to be sawed in sunder.

Then went wee to the Virgin Maries Sepulchre, a space without the walls of the Citie, in a little Chappel going down many steps, the stayres very broad; on the right hand, as it were, halfe the steps down lieth buried her father and her mother, the Virgin below in a roome a part, wherin were only seven Lampes burning; her stone is of streaked Marble of divers colours, her Tombe not so high as a mans waste from the ground. My Greeke Priest shewed great devotion at this Sepulchre (so did hee at the place where our Saviour sweat water and bloud, and at the ascension place on top of Mount Olivet.) A Well of good water is also at the foot of the stayres: then to the place where Saint Steven was stoned; (the Greekes say our Saviour had made him an Arch-deacon) so to Jesami where Christ was in a bloudy sweat (here I prayed) and likewise I saw the place where the Apostles slept; then to the place where hee taught his disciples the Pater noster, the Greekes call it Pater emos: and where he stood when hee wept over Jerusalem, and the place where hee was betrayed by that reprobate servant Judas.

These Lamps did hang, burning over the Virgins tombe.

Then walking further on the side of this Mount Olivet, wee saw the Garden where Mary met our Saviour after his resurrection. From this part of the Mountaine is seene a farre off the Lake of Sodome, through the which runneth the River Jordan. Then to Orostoelo, the place of Christs ascension, which is on the very top of this Mount Olivet, a stone yet remaining wherein is the print of a foot: all those Christians hold assuredly, that it is the signe of our Saviours foot, most formall and proportion-

ably it is to bee perceived, but worne much by the touching and kissing of Christians: here I prayed and hope my Saviour beheld mee. The like square stone white Marble, wherein is the print of the other foot, was stolne from hence and carried to Rome; so say these Greekes.

Then to Bethfage, the Village where the Colt was losed; so along over against it wee came to Bethania, the Greekes call it Vithania. In this Towne they also affirme, that our Saviour eate the Passeover with his disciples; here was Lazarus raised, who had beene dead foure dayes, in whose Sepulchre I was, wherein I writ my name on the [f] wall, and not in any other place all my pilgrimage. This Lazarus, as the Greekes hold, was afterward Bishop of Larnaca, in Cyprus thirtie three yeeres, where at a Church so named, they say, hee lyeth buried; truth it is of such a faire Church so called in such a Towne of Cyprus, where foure yeeres past I was; but of the bones of Lazarus to be there it is uncertaine to mee. Also the Greekes affirme, that Saint Ellen, the mother of Constantine the Great, is likewise buryed in the said Iland of Cyprus, on a mountaine, which at this day is called after her name: shee was erector of all these Churches, alike repairer and observer of all these holy places in the holy Land.

[f] *Having read the name of JefferieKerby, upon the wall written by himselfe in thatSepulcher, for he had been a thither traveller in company of Edward Abbot, M. Bidulfe a preacher, and one Jesytient a Jeweller.*

Then returned we backe againe to the water of Siloam, where our Saviour commanded a blind man to wash his eyes, after hee had with earth and spittle touched them, this is at the foot of Mount Sion. Upon the side of Mount Olivet is buried Hulda the Prophetesse, there in the middest of Mount Olivet was the Altar where they burnt the Red Cow: In a Cave on the right hand are the Sepulchers of Haggi, and Malachi, Zacharia is buryed below. Neere to the Sepulchre of Zacharia is the tombe of Absolom, made of seven stones, and a sharpe pinacle on the top: at which Monument the Moores of the Countrie when they passe by at this day, throw stones, with reviling speeches at him for rebelling against his father. Betweene the places of Zacharia and Absalom, is a plot where in old time they put the uncleane apart to purge

[II.ix.1633.]

themselves; this was the Poole of Bethesda, into which the Angell descended at certaine times and troubled the waters. The Scripture speaketh of five Porches; but I noted not when I was there, neither to me by my Greekes was mentioned, as I remember, any such matter. And there is the Valley of Josaphat, betweene Mount Morea and Mount Olivet, where the Jewes say the world must bee judged; most huge stone of incredible bignesse is here to be seene, out of some of which are carved whole houses, two or three I did see, one of which had divers parted roomes all hewed out of one stone: these in respect of the painfull workemanship I thought notable; as alike a mile off from Jerusalem is a place of buriall, out of a rocke of one Marble stone hewed, with foure doores to foure sundry roomes, and foure coffins of the said stone, but the bodies turned to dust, and the bones not any remaining, except very small pieces. This place or rocke is called Celbasabua; this may well bee the Cave wherein the five Kings hid themselves. Then went I to Esaia the Prophet his Sepulcher, where I beheld the fig-tree, under which the Greekes say that the sonnes of Jeremie slept sixtie three yeeres: their names were Uaruh and Abdimeleck; this may be thought a fallacy in respect of the fig-tree which cannot be of that age; but they say, it is and hath bin ever since replanted of the branches in that selfe place.

Then went I to the Sepulcher of good old Simeon, from thence to a place (neere unto the Church and Sepulcher where the Christians affirme the bodie of our Saviour was layd) a place, I say, called Anastasia, where Mary met our Saviour after his resurrection, saying, If thou bee the Gardener, tell mee where thou hast layd him. Over against the Church doore, in a place where Jesus our Redeemer and Saviour shed his most precious bloud, paying the ransome of our sinnes was cruelly crucified, I say where the Crosse stood, is at this day a prison [g] in the Church, whose distance is twentie or twentie five paces, are divers Altars of divers sorts of Christians; but first I noted in the Church doore two great holes, at which

[g] *At this day a prison, in this prison M. Henry Timberly, alias Captaine Timberly was, as by this digressing paper appeareth, which he himselfe recordeth in a printed booke; but thus much I had copied from his owne hand. More M. Timberly relateth that from Grand Cairo to Jerusalem all the way by land he performed thither, and backe againe to Cairo in fewer then fiftie dayes.*

is daily given in the victualls to all the sorts of religious persons which keepe continually in the said Church; for the Turkes never open the doore, except for some Pilgrime, who first payeth to the Cadie, which is the chiefe Justice, the Great Turkes due, upon every one under the Popes banner, which they call Franks, nine [h] Chequins in gold, and Greekes under the Patriarke foure and a halfe, with other Christians alike, some lesse. Six officers of the Turks at least comes to open the doore, which house being opened, all Christians that are of that sort who hath payed, may enter the Church with that one, if it be registred that they formerly had payed; but Turkes and Moores may at all times goe in when the doores are opened for any sort of Christian, but must presently come out againe; the Christian for whom the gate was opened, may at his pleasure lye all night, or two or three nights in the Church if he will, and the Turkes Officers returne to open and let them out.

Divers little Bell-strings there are at the inside of their doores, which rung every sort of Friers to come downe into the Church to receive their victuall, or take out pitchers of water to poore folkes, or other actions that may happen. Some eight or nine paces in, is the Sepulcher upon which they have made a formall round worke of twelve white Marble Pillers, two and two together, and leaded with a round Cube on the top; open over is the Church, with a kind of round building, open I say over the said inward proportionate matter, that alike is leaded on the outside very substantially: within the Church I say about that part where the Tombe is, are twelve other coloured great Marble Pillers; those Pillers upon it formerly spoken of, stand about a Brace from the ground, and a

[h] *I had paied these nine Chequins, and had by the Turkes the Church doore opened for me, was within, & entring the Sepulcher, the Roman Friers and others fell in an uproare, saying that I was a Jew; the Turkes bad me goe in in despight of them, but the brabble was so terrible that I returned to the Cadie, with the Friers: the Padre Gardiano sent his Drudgeman and accused me to be a Jew, because I came in company of Jewes: divers Turkes followed to heare the matter, one old Turke came & earnestly exhorted me to become a Musselman in presence of the Cady, I gave him the hearing, and told him that I was a Christian, and no Jew; then he said in the hearing of all the Jewes, Turkes, and Christians, let him bee searcht: but the Cadie, before whom we were (being a very discreet man) did reprove that Turke, & also the Drugman and Friers my accusers, and so did dismisse me; but (as I was afterwards told) it cost my adversaries above* 200. *Chequins, I spent not past some twentie in that businesse.*

woodden foot-pace up equall with it some five paces distant. At the end towards the Altars, are on each corner one white little Marble stone squared smooth, but not made like Pillers, and are some two foot high; in the middest of the white Marble Pillers over the Tombe is three holes made of stone, out of which once a yeere the Popish Friers make artificiall fire to appeare, perswading the Christians that it hath beene ever since the bodie of Christ was there layd.

Right afore up in the Church is a great white Canopie, under which are divers pictures and lamps, but in the middest hangs a most stately white Crosse of silver curiously made; the Altars are more up in the Church above that Canopy: many Idolatrous Christians have their Altars every sort apart, to say an Altar for the Romanists, for the Greekes, for the Cufties of Cairo, Georgians about the Blacke Sea, Armenians of Persia, Abbasies of Ethiopia, Nestorians of Bagdat, Jacobites of Aleppo, Merdi, and Babylon, Maronites of Mount Libanus, Shemsi in Siria and Cilicia a kind of Family of Love. In the Sepulcher these sorts of Christians have their Lamps continually burning, to the number (as say the Greeke Friers) of sixtie sixe, and alike have their superstitious Crosses apart; I went not downe into the Sepulchre, by reason I had a great controversie with the Popish Friers, but might have done in their despight, had I not beene entreated by the Greeke Patriarke and others to avoyd an uproare at that time; yet made I those foolish Idolaters spend much money, and at last they sent to intreate mee: but then I would not, having to my content seene enough when the doores were opened for mee, and alike out of the Patriarkes house which joyneth to the Church, in whose possession the [II.ix.1634.] whole steeple and halfe the Tarras is (halfe I say of one side the Church) where are three great grates of Iron open, serving to give light into the Church, and where they let downe daily baskets of victuals for the Greeke Friers there abiding; those grates are above a mans length, and five or sixe foot broad, at which I did see as much as if I had

stood in the Church, and drew with my pen the forme of the inside, and alike the outside. More lower in a roome, at a window out of the Patriarkes house, I stood and drew the forme of that which is erected right over the Sepulchre, as I have described it.

From Jerusalem halfe way to Bethelem, is a Greeke Chappell (built by Brittish Hellen, the mother of Constantine; who found, they say, the Crosse of Christ; and erected all the Monuments in the Holy Land) in place where Elias his house stood; over against which there is a stone in the high way that sheweth an old Monument print of a man leaning sleeping, with his arme under his head. The Greekes affirme it most certainely to be the print of Elias bodie, when the Angel bad him eate and make himselfe strong to goe fortie dayes journey to Mount Oreb, where for a time hee remained fed of Ravens, and after at Gods command arose and went to Damasco to anoint Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha. No remembrance at this place of the Juniper tree the Scripture speakes of, but a Fig tree there is between Jerusalem and Bethelem, which the Friers shewed mee, saying that the Virgin rested her selfe against it, when shee fled into Egypt with the child Jesus, and her husband Joseph. They cut thereof little pieces for relikes, and alike in devotion they at this day make many formall carved Crosses wherein are relikes, and Beads,[k] they make Pater nosters as they call them of the Olive trees which grow upon Mount Olivet. Likewise there they told mee (an unlikely thing it was) that the withered Figge tree which Christ accursed, is yet standing upon Mount Olivet.

From the Figge tree before spoken of, one halfe mile, is Rachels Tombe[l] in the middest of the high way, in sight whereof on a great Banke side, is finely situate a pretty Towne on the right hand as we went to Bethelem, and two miles off is Bethelem, being on a Hill side situate very

[k] *Of these Crosses & Pater-noster Beades, Rosaries, I did bring from thence, and at my returne presented my brother and some others, having onely reserved for my selfe one Crosse, two paire of Beads, and two Girdles, which are the length of the Sepulcher. These Crosses, Beades, and Girdles are brought to us by poore Christians to sel, they saying that they are holy things, for that they had been put into the Sepulcher: I, as the custome was, and as other Christians did, did buy of them & brought from thence.*

[l] *When I was there, Anno* 1601. *over the grave of Rachel, there was a Cube raised upon foure Pillers made of stone and morter, and open it was on all sides.*

pleasantly: the high way and land chaulkie the space of halfe a mile every way round about it. A Church the mother of Constantine hath built over the place where our Saviour was borne, and first worshipped of the Shepheards, and then of the Wise-men, before Joseph and Mary fled with him into Egypt, where also I have beene some seventeene yeeres since, as in discourse of my former travells is recorded. The Romanist Friers have a Chappel going downe under this Church, where they have continually Masse, and ceremoniously keepe the very place of his birth. The Church hath fortie or fiftie very faire Marble Pillers all of one forme and bignesse (I counted them [m] not) it hath beene a very sumptuous Church, Greeke pictured Saints yet remayning in the upper end of it, which is in forme round, with large steps to goe up to the Altar, and on both sides underneath halfe round steps to goe downe to the Popes Friers persinqute, who have the custodie of the very place of birth, and where the Manger stood. By a gray-headed Greeke Priest and Frier Gretian my attendant, I was brought up a payre of stayres, going up at the upper end of this great Church aloft to a little Chappell, where are many pictures according to the Greekes manner, but especially a large Saint George; before whom they had a Lampe burning, expecting of mee great devotion, they unto it making many crosses, and told me he was Saint George. I answered, that I had never seene a bigger: they fixed earnest lookes upon me at that answere, seeing I regarded it not, and the old man told the other in Greeke he thought I was no Christian, because I made no crosse nor reverence neither, as hee said, to our Ladies, Christs, Saint George, or to other Saints pictures; his fellow, a foolish Frier, told him that those of my countrey were Christians of the worlds end: I presently turned them both out of their talke, by hasting to bee gone thence.

But they led me up to the top of the Church which is leaded, & many Christians had there ingraven [n] their names, so did not I, then they offered mee kindly to stay and dine with them, but I refused. The old Priest required of me

[m] *And yet it comes in my mind that I did tell them, and I thinke they were in number fortie of verie smooth whitish Marble, the upper end of this Church, the halfe round mounting steps I meane, are much like those at the Church of Rochester.*

[n] *Amongst which names I did see Huet Stapers, who (as some said) had travelled from Grand Cairo thither in Friers weeds, and (as I have heard) was made a Knight of the Sepulcher, by the Padre Guardiano and the other Romish, &c. Those, whosoever English or others, who are so knighted, are made to take a mad kind of oath.*

almes towards their Lamps, which I did, giving to them foure Chequins, and came downe the same way I went up, through the Chappell full of painted (most sorts and sizes) Saints. In which Chappell also is a Well where ordinarily the Christians draw water, and it is, they say, the best in Bethelem: they draw of it in that place, being neere the top of the Church: but that within the Church (it stands at the very entrance within) I take to be the Well that David desired to drinke of from the hands of his valiant men: The Papists hold neither of both, but say it is another neere Bethelem.

So we returned to Jerusalem the same afternoone, and in Jerusalem my holy Coloyro led mee to a Monastery of Greeke Nuns, where I bestowed some mony in trifles of needle-worke wrought by them, and there the Nuns required my benevolence, I gave them seven Chequins; then presently not farre from that, he had me to another Monastery of Nuns, where I saw their Chappell full of very fine pictures, and they told me that a man comes daily to doe their service; there I did as at the other, and more I bestowed in buying, for there they graced me with the sight of a very faire young Virgin Nun, that so much beautie and youth I could doe no lesse then praise, and pittie her estate to my Coloyro, who was readie the next day to attend mee thither againe, if so had beene my pleasure to have bought more new workes of the old Nuns, &c.

With Gold and thankes I rewarded his passed paines, [II.ix.1635.] leaving him at that time: and to my Pilgrime mates the Jewes I returned; and prosecuting my purpose desired, I againe further traced the Holy Land, where two miles from Bethelem are to bee seene two Vallies, then Rivers, now Drie; which the Jewes say Salomon digged to water the Woods. A little way off on the left hand is buryed Gad, one of the twelve Patriarchs, and halfe a mile on this side Hebron is the Valley Escol, where the twelve Spies sent by Moses were, they returned with good newes. At this day there are Grapes * in that Valley growing,

*Eshcol Grapes still great bunches.

one bunch of them weigh eight or nine Okes, as those of the Countrey affirmed, which may be of our weight twentie or one and twentie pound... I saw none such, though some there were very great sprung out, but not neare ripe. This was the fifth of July, 1601. At the end of this Valley Escoll is Hebron the Citie, the Valley is a long mile before you come to it, all planted with Vines and many Trees. In this Citie is the Sepulcher of Abraham, the Jewes hold that there also are buryed Adam and Eve, Sara, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Lea. Into this Tombe not any are suffred to enter, but at a square hole through a thicke wall: they may discerne a little light of a Lampe. The Jewes doe their Ceremonies of Prayer, there without. The Moores and Turkes are permitted to have a little more sight, which is at the top where they let downe the Oyle for the Lampe, the Lampe is a very great one continually burning. An exceeding old Castle (but of late time somewhat repaired) joyneth to it on the one side: a Moschea that is a Church of Moores on the other, and it seemeth to bee within part of the Moschea. At the right side of Hebron on the Mount, is the Sepulcher of Jesse, the Father of David, and in the Citie also is the Tombe of Abner. On the North side of Hebron is the Playne of Mamre, where hee received the Angels into his Tent.

This we went not to but might perceive it a pretie way off; and riding backe to Jerusalem also wee saw the Lake of Sodom, and all the Countrey thereabouts: but thither wee went not. From thence the length of the River Jordan, most pleasant to behold in the way wee travelled through the Countrey, yet was I not that I know of, at that very place where John baptised our Saviour Christ: notwithstanding I washed my hands and head, and dranke of the River in divers places, as if you have and doe marke this Discourse, may bee perceived.

Upon thursday the eight of July, 1601. wee departed Jerusalem; came backe to Beera or Beroth, then to Sichem the ninth day; but our Horses, Camels, Mules

and Asses, being very hot and wearie, wee stayed and refreshed our selves and them at Jacobs * Well, which is about halfe or three quarters of a mile before yee come to Sichem. The Jewes are there also somewhat ceremonious, the water is excellent good & abundant, being hard by the high-way. There it was that our Saviour talked with the Woman of Samaria. In sight of this Well, two stones casts off, are Josephs bones buried, where I had beene with the Jewes at my last being in Sichem, as I went to Jerusalem.

**Jacobs Well is just square, about foure yards every way, built of some squared stones and not very deepe, but excellent cleere and coole, so flat at the top that we did sit upon it for our ease, recreation and refreshment, the space of one houre parlying.*

The eleventh, wee came to Jenin Paradise. The twelfth, to the ancient Citie * Tiberias, this is built close by the shoare side. From thence wee might see most excellent pleasantly, appearing above the tops of other high Mountaynes, the Citie Bethel upon his Mountayne, the highest Mountayne neare unto it, whereas I say they affirme, that the Messias will come; those for the pleasurablest Mountaynes which in my life time I have seene, and Libanus for the hugest; over top of which Libanus I have passed, (the Playne of Baalgad at the bottome of Mount Libanus towords Damascus, is the spaciousest; but the Playne wherein Damascus is built, is the pleasantest that any eye can in earth behold.) The Sea Tiberias, is in my judgement at the most five or sixe miles * over in the broadest place. Heere it was that our Saviour and Peter fished, and went over when hee fed the five thousand. Wee onely remayned heere foure houres, in which time we cast crummes of Bread into that little Sea, and divers Fish like Carps (but like Carps in scales and of colour, but they were somewhat longer and thinner bellied) came in abundance to the shoare, some small, some great: thence wee passed for * feare of Arabian Theeves, which are in troupes about those Countries, pitching their Tents at divers times in

**Memorandum, that my honourable and most honest Jew, in a kind sort to doe mee pleasure, was content to goe out of the straight way sixe miles, to shew me the CitieTiberias, and Capernaum, where wee lodged that night.*

**And yet by reason of the very high Land on the other side, I may well imagine the breadth to bee three or foure leagues. *And yet in the foure houres that wee there reposed, we fell to the provant wee brought, and we got foure or five of those Fishes fresh out of that River Jordan, and did broyle them upon hot coales, that of wood wee had quickly made for that purpose, and I did eate my part of them so broyled.*

divers Playnes and fruitfull places; living a little Common-wealth amongst themselves, subject to no Law, begetting Children, and breeding up all sorts of Cattle for their use. They are of divers Trades, as Smiths, Shoomakers, Weavers and such like, and amongst them have excellent running Horses, wherewith they often ride a Theeving.

We came to Almenia, which hath beene a great Citie also, seven or eight miles off, close built by the Sea side, along through which runneth a Channell of Jordan; this undoubtedly is Capernaum, for that it is over the point of the Land, there wee lodged. So riding up the higher part of the Countrey, wee came to a reasonable great Towne, which may well bee Nazareth, from thence to Cana. Wee saw the River Arnon, so called as some sayd, being a River it seemed to us a Poole, apart from this Jordan; which Jordan, as I have sayd before, runneth through the Lake of Sodome, and alike through the Sea Tiberias, which is Genezaret, passeth a Bridge and falleth into another little Sea or rather great Poole called Cadis. Then progressed we through another excellent scituation where had beene some famous Citie, like to be Gilgall or Nazaret. For the Patriarch * of Jerusalem told me, that comming from Damascus ward, we must needs goe through Nazaret. So that I say, either this was Nazareth, or that formerly spoken of; but my Jewes, neither Turkes, could directly advise me which it was. [II.ix.1636.]

So by divers Townes wee came againe to Safet, which is Bethel, before spoken of, this was the thirteenth of July, heere the Jewes stayed to keepe a solemne Sabbath, were visited of all the Priests in generall who are cloathed in an outward habit of White, but made of Goates hayre, as are our Grogerains, and some of them in White Grogeraine. With great modestie and holy shew they came

Of this Patriarch I had to his power most loving and kinde entertaynment: out of his Librarie I had a very old new Testament Manuscript Greeke, for which I gave him sixe Chequins in Gold, and I gave it to my brother Doctor Sanderson, old and torne as it was, yet they the Translaters of Pauls Epistles at his house in Saint Laurence Parish, did make some use thereof in their Translation, D. Barlo, Bishop. D. Hutchinson. D. Spencer. D. Felton. D. Tighe. Master Rabbet. Master Fenton, &c.

one by one to salute, imbracing and conferring some small time, and so departing. These my companions stranger Jewes, bought many Bookes, some two or three Mules ladings, which were holy Bookes of the declaration of their Law. To Christians they will not sell of some of them for any money, I imagine they thinke it a sinne so to doe. Here they gave almes, much money, and likewise sod meate, great Caldrons full for the Poore, to every one a peece at a time, with a loafe of Bread and Pottage, with also at other times money; this they did three times in the sixe dayes wee there remayned. I thinke they spent, I say the chiefest Jew called Abraham Coen, hee I say, gave away heere at least two thousand Dollers, and one thousand at Jerusalem, others in his company according to their abilitie reasonable summes. This all to the poorer sort with their owne hands; but to the greater Doctors and Schooles, they allow yeerely stipend, most or all Jewes of abilitie wheresoever they remayne, although they goe not to the Holy Land, yet such as have beene there and safely returned, give great voluntary Almes. For once in their life time, the Jewes say, they are bound by the Law of Moses to goe thither, if they can or bee able, and the Bones of many dead [a] Jewes are carryed to the Holy Land and there buryed. Wee were fraughted with Wools from Constantinople to Sidon, in which Sackes as most certaynly was told to mee, were many Jewes bones put into little Chests, but unknowne to any of the ship. The Jewes our Merchants told mee of them at my returne from Jerusalem to Saphet; but earnestly intreated mee not to tell it, for feare of preventing them another time.

[a] *Jewes bones carryed to the Holy Land.*

The nineteenth, wee came to [b] Conetra, the twentieth to Sasa, and the one and twentieth wee arrived at Damasco; entring in at the Gate called Toma, which leadeth to Jobar. From Damascus the eleventh of August, going out of the Gate called Amara. Without the sayd Gate are two great Mountaynes, one of them wee mounted, it is called Dohonet, where on the top there

[b] *We travelling betweene Sasa and Conetra, I was told by some, that about this very place it was where Saint Paul was strooken off of his Horse, but I could not tell how to believe them, yet sure I am, that wee did twice passe over that very way.*

is under a Cube not leaded, a great huge Foote of stone set up, in signe (as the Turkes say) that Mahomet was there, and viewed the Valley wherein the Citie of Damascus is built, calling it Paradise, most assuredly thence to see the same all along the Ily plaine Valley, being rarely mixed with many Trees, most glistering silver sided shaking leaves, eye cannot behold a more pleasanter sight, the Citie being long and close as it were to the side of the right hand Mountayne. As wee came towards the same from Sidon, seemed at our view so mingled amongst the branches all alongst the Valley, that out of doubt branched Damaske tooke the name thereof, if not patternd by it. The other Mountayne is called Dora, so wee came to Seraglio a Village.

Pleasantnesse of Damascus.

Branched Damaske.

The one and twentieth, we passed the Mountaynes now called Haghbet and Romani, in Scripture called Halacke, where a farre off wee saw the end of Hermon. Close under the side of this Mountayne Halacke, open to the very midst of the Playne which is betweene it and the Mountayne Libanon, is a very great and most ancient Citie, called now Balbarka, in which at this day standeth a row of very great Pillers, set up as is said in Salomons time. This Citie in Scripture is called Baalgad, old, ruined and uninhabited it is as I remember. An old Piller also there is in the middest of the Plaine built of squared Stones, yet doubtlesse of much later time then the other Pillers that wee beheld from the Citie. This surely is the Valley of Gad. The flat Playne from hill to hill, may bee in bredth some ten, eleven or twelve miles; the length double: it seemes the pleasantest levell (as it were a * Sea of Land) that I have ever seene, it farre passeth the Playne of Antioch.

**Sea of Land, the Hils a farre off, rising above this Playne to our appearance as if we should descrie land, we sayling as it were upon the Sea, the Valley is so very plain and spacious, most pleasant to behold.*

The thirteenth, wee came to a Village called Ainat, at the foote (or rather some five miles ascended) of Mount Libanus, which said Mountaines the tediousest and I thinke the highest travelled in the world: being the hottest time of the yeere wee passed the very highest * top, the foureteenth day of August, 1601. yet some Snow

**There is a more common way and lower road-way, but that makes more miles before we come to Tripoly.*

was there remayning, and so extreame cold that my hands were benumd and seemed white all over, like unto a kinde of Frost, but being descended three or foure miles, were againe revived as formerly.

At after-noone, wee came to a Village some seven or eight miles from Tripoli, called Aigdel, there wee reposed halfe an houre, and so passed some old Townes, among the which is Acon, a very strong Fort and Castle full of great Ordnance, heere the Emier of Tripoli hath his abode. And then wee had sight of one plot of ground in those Mountaines, wherein are growing divers Cedar [c] Trees: these are of indifferent bignesse but not very huge, the bodie streight, and branches spreading of very excellent shew, the broadest row of them lowest, and so rowes of branches going up narrower & narrower, untill at the top they do seeme in a manner sharpe, the fruit growing upright, upon the very branches (very finely) the leaves in forme of Rosemary, but rather slenderer and sharper, yet doe they grow in pretie little bunches pert upright together with the Fruit, but the fruit beareth up above the leaves, with a very small wrie stalke, as it were set into the side of the branch. That same night very late wee came to Tripoly safely, the Lord bee ever praised.

Being at Tripoly, in Anno 1586. *I went divers times upon pleasure up those Libanus Mountayns and gathered of those Cedar branches before I fell sicke.*

[II.ix.1637.] Memorandum, that, I noted that in all my Pilgrimage, the graver and better sort of Jewes, in whose companie I travelled, would never reason with mee of Christ, for offending or being displeasant unto me, for without scoffing they never talke of him or his followers. Yet one day I had from the mouthes of the meaner sort (aged men who professed knowledge in their Jewish Religion) an Argument wherein is consideration, and in my opinion a kinde of acknowledgement and confession.

Jewish blasphemies, which yet argue that they beleeve hee wrought Miracles, &c.

They said that there was a Stone in the Lords House at Jerusalem, in the middest of the world, called Evenasediya, upon which there was written the Name of God, and that whosoever could get in thither, and returne with it written, might have what he required and doe what he would. Which they said Jesus, Joseph the Carpenters

Sonne by extraordinary meanes got unto, and wrote it, and cutting his owne thigh, so hid it, and escaped out of the Temple and sayd, Yea afdoni anni. But was presently answered, Mamzer bemitadah. Which interpreted as the Jewes told mee, is saith Christ, Let the people serve mee. The Oracle answered, After death not in life. Then say they, at first hee began to flie, and make of Earth Birds, with many more such like workes, as these Jewes to mee confessed, in an opprobrious and very scornfull manner; adding further, that they marvelled how wee Christians could bee so led, by one Peter, and Paul, John, Marie, &c. Further adding, that it was not possible for the best Learned amongst all Christians, to expound the meaning of the Letter A. and that their Doctors could, onely upon that first letter write whole Volumes, to be studied in untill the end of the world. And they knew they said, that Jerusalem should bee built againe, and their Messias come to make them Princes, as they have beene in times past: but then to Governe all the world, and that the other dispersed Tribes who at this day they say, doe live in Ethiopia but cannot come out thence, by reason of a Sea of Sand, which parts Egypt and Ethiopia, the said Sea flowing and is continually troubled, except every seventh day, (which is their Sabbath) so that they cannot passe it, untill the time appointed by Adonai (God Almightie.) Many other opinions they have, as that God sends their soules if they have not at first forgivenesse, twice more into other new Bodies in the world, to amend and become better, and then either receiveth or rejecteth them according to their deserts; and that in what part soever of the world they dye and are buried, their Bodies must all rise to Judgement in the Holy Land, out of the Valley of Jehosophat, which causeth that the greater and richer sort of them, have their Bones convayed to some part thereof by their kindred or friends. By which meanes, they are freed of a labour to scrape thither through the ground, which with their nayles they (say they) hold they must, who are not there buried or

Jewish boasting and vaine hopes.

Jewish dreams: themselves are a sandie Sea.

Transmigration of Soules.

convayed thither by others. Other talke I had from them, offering as little taste of truth, as this last reasonlesse likelihood. So I them left to become wiser and better, if Goodnesse will, who in all bee ever glorified; and wee Christians, by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ sanctified and saved, our sinnes being drowned in his Blood, by the spirit of true Beliefe in his powerfull Predestination. Glory, glory, glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

THus have I given thee the Voyages of Master John Sanderson. Touching the difficulties of entrance into Jerusalem, I thought good to adde this which followeth; the rather that my Countreymen may be advised, before they adventure this Jerosolymitan Pilgrimage; Superstition on the one side and Tyrannie on the other endangering the best Pilgrimage, which is the peaceable way of a good Conscience to that Jerusalem which is above. For if a man doth not give content to the Friers, which a good Conscience cannot doe (except some of their Patrons and Benefactors letters, or other extraordinary provision helpe) you see these superstitious Friers to prove malicious lyers, as here they slandred Master Sanderson to bee a Jew, and Master Timberlie to bee a Spie; that I mention not foure other Englishmen not long before, seene to enter their Monasterie but never seene to come foorth, as the Patriarch of Jerusalem confidently affirmed to Master Sanderson. Hence it is that Master Timberlie affirmeth, that none enter the Citie but protected by them, which others having otherwise entred by extraordinary course disavow, and yet may that speech (understood of ordinarie entrance) bee true. For Master Timberlies passage wee will adde it to the end: for Master Sanderson, thus hee writeth.

Now Master Purchas, take a memorandum of mee, that my first dayes entertaynment into Jerusalem was somewhat crosse, in that I crossed two Friers which came to bid mee welcome. I said that I had not to use of their kindnesse, because I was recommended to the Greeke

Patriark, so in some colour they left mee, but a Turke presently after came in the Name of the Bassa, and tooke my Sword from my side, which had cost mee thirtie Dollers in Damasco, alleadging that no Christian ought to enter the Citie Gates, with his Sword girt about him, but that I might have borne it in my hand. And yet their Custome is, to priviledge the Jewes in that case. Thus I lost my Sword and after was ledde to the Caia of the Bassa, who related to mee the errour I had committed, and further demanded of me a Present for his Master, and another for himselfe: then I shewed him the Great Turkes Letter, which imported a command to use mee respectively wheresoever I came in his Dominions: he read the Letter with great regard, and said that he had not, neither would he offer me any abuse, nor any in Hierusalem should doe me wrong, and that he would passe over my errour, concerning the presumption to enter the Citie Gate with my Sword by my side, if in courtesie [II.ix.1638.] I would bestow a Vesture of Velvet upon the Bassa his Master, and a Garment of Satten upon himselfe: which I denied to doe, hee then presently commited me to the Subbassie againe and grisly Turke, and his rascally terrible Attendants to bee laid in Prison: but the Jewes in whose company I had travelled fell downe at his feet,and entreated for me, often kissing his hand & Garment, praying him to pardon my bold behaviour and words of displeasure with much whispering; they agreed for mee that I should give him twelve Chickquines in Gold; wherewith, together also the losse of my Sword, I escaped at that time. But two dayes after the Friers set upon mee againe, and feed the Turkes lustily and largely, thinking to doe me some displeasure, but effected not their purpose, for I still defied them and their Padre Guardian, which in a manner broke their very galls, only they did put mee to some trouble and charge. And I in their despight kept company with the Patriarke of the Greekes and his Coloyros, (I meane Priests and Friers) and I went not at all to the Romish Clergie, nor visited their

Padre Guardian (though the poore Greeke Patriarke did very much, and often intreate mee to it) at which they were so exceedingly distempered, that that my scorne of them was written of to Tripoly, they certifying an old Frier thereof, all past on my part in Hierusalem, which Tripoly Frier at my comming ducked very kindly, and came to our House to bid mee welcome from the Holy Land: yet he with a Fowling-peece shot made at me two sundry times, out of an Italians House where he kept, I being trayned abroad by a Jew, a Broker an old acquaintance of mine, whose name was Daniell Gallana, but as God would have it, missed both the times: the first time I suspected nothing, although the Bullet fell within my length, and flapt against a Tree about the Root; the Jew taking occasion to goe somewhat before me; we hearing the report, I told him how neere the bullet fell: hee said that it was Signior Francisco, shooting at some Bird from the Tarras, or out of the Window, and I then imagined no other. Some few dayes after walking abroad againe the second time, about the very same place, another bullet whirlde very neere before me, when on a sudden the Jew lingered behind me; then I mistrusted, and walked no more that way, nor at all againe with that Jew, And praysed God in my heart for that escape, as for many other former Deliverances, from Murthering, Poysoning, Shipwrack, &c. with intolerable agrievances and terrible temptations, in the course of my Pilgrimage.

I Have in my hands three originall Certificates or Letters of commendations written in behalfe of the said Master John Sanderson, two in Moderne Greeke, the third in Talmudicall Ebrew. The first from the Patriarke of Constantinople, to the Patriarke of Jerusalem, comending him to his care; the second, a Testimoniall of the Patriarke of Jerusalem, to this sense.

Sophronius by the mercy of God, Patriarke of the holy Citie Jerusalem. Master John Sanderson, Englishman, hath come to the holy Citie of Jerusalem, hath there

done his Devotion, hath visited the Sepulchre, Bethlehem, and Gethsemani, Mount Olivet, the Ascention, Bethania, the Sepulchre of Lazarus, Jordan, Hebron, and the rest of the holy places where Jesus Christ walked: and this present Writing is made to testifie the truth. Amen. Dated the Yeere of the World 7111. The eleventh of July. Sophronius by the mercie of God Patriarke of Jerusalem.

This was written, sayth our Author, by the Patriarke his owne hand. Hee was a grave man with a grey beard, had eight or ten Attendants: at the first meeting in his Monasterie, offered his hand to kisse after their fashion; Master Sanderson using his owne, kissing his hand, and touching therewith the Patriarkes, wherewith he seemed well pleased. The occasion of his Jewish societie he thus delivereth.

When it was determined, that Master Best the Captaine and Master of the Mermaid, at our arrivall at Sidon, with three other and my selfe should have gone for Joppa, and so to Jerusalem, but the Master, by danger of Rockes, and rising of Winde, thought not good to leave the ship, and the other three passingers would not; so that I was faine (holding my determination) to post alone without fellow Christian, in company of Honourable Jewes; in which journey by the Principall, named Abraham Coen, who went to accompany his Wifes Father to Saphet, which is at Bethel; and there to end his dayes, after two thousand Dollors at least distributed in charity to those Colledges of Jewes; We went to Jerusalem, and in our returne wee tooke Tiberias and Capernaum in our way, which was somewhat out of the way, direct to Damascus. But this my companion Jew Merchant, and a dweller in Sio and Smirna, was so respective kind and courteous, that never in any Christians company of what degree soever I ever did receive better content: for morall carriage towards all, understanding and honestie; this Jew was without company, I kept his company three moneths together by reason that from Sidon wee went to Damascus,

to disburthen him and some of his, of at least ten thousand Chequins, which he left there to be employed in commodities till our returne thither againe: So over Libanus to Tripoly wee went, and there the Gentile Jew with his Damasco commodities and Attendants, departed by Sea to Sio, not without moist eyes betweene Jew and Christian, when wee parted company. A most devout, zealous, and soft hearted man he was; I cannot speake too much good of him in regard of his great humanitie and extraordinary charitie, his measure being more in those performances, then is to be found in many of us Christians.

The Jewish Testimonie written in Hebrew, and subscribed by divers Jewes, I have here added.

[II.ix.1639.] *I have this Certificate in Rabbinicall Hebrew, with the Jewish Subscriptions, and the Italian translation thereof.*

THese are to declare the Journey of the Worshipfull Master John Sanderson English Gentleman, who came hither unto Jerusalem the holy Citie (may it shortly bee built) with the Caravan and company of honourable Jewes, upon Tuesday the tenth of the Moone Tamas, Anno 5361. of the Creation of the World; and went with them unto many holy places, and hath brought with him also Letters of favour from the Patriarke of Constantinople, for the Patriarke of this place; and he hath sent together with him of his men; and they have shewed him all the places of their Devotion, and they brought him to Bethelem. And to declare the truth I have written and under-written this with my owne hand, for to give knowledge thereof unto all the people of his Citie, & the Gentlemen of his places: and all the places which he went to, he hath kept a true note of under his owne hand. I that write this in Jerusalem the holy Citie (may it be shortly built) The seventeenth of the nominated Moone and Yeere. I Gedelia Cordoero (he was the Hacham * or Priest) Abraham Coen, the sonne of Isack Coen, an Inhabitant in Sio (this * was Rabbi Abraham, the chiefe Jew of the company) Salomon Marabi, an Inhabitant of Tirria. Jacob the sonne of David, a dweller in

**Subscriptions.*

**This and the following descriptions of their persons, is added by M. Sanderson.*

Smirna, Abram Alvo, a dweller in Constantinople; this ancient Jew was their Cooke all the journey. Mose Rasimo, a dweller in Damasco, who of devotion went with us to the Holy Land, and in whose House in Damasco, wee did remayne and lodge both at our going and comming, and thence we went to Tripoly over the highest top of Libanus, where was some Snow remayning, though it were in the heate of Summer, namely, the fourteenth day of August, 1601. from the bottome to the top, they accounted it to be at the least eight miles up: and about ten miles downe to the Towne of Tripoly. Salomon di Urbino, a dweller in Constantinople. Isack; he was the sonne of the above named Jacob, he was of yeeres one or two and twentie, and yet his Father had much feare of him; in travelling those Sodomiticall places, because as he said, the Boy was beardlesse. The old Jew Father in Law to Rabbi Abraham, we left to die at Bethel; which they do call Saphet Casa di Dios. At our first entrance thither, the Jewish women cried from the tops of their Houses; Sei ben venito à la casa di Dios Rabbi Abraham.

Having mentioned two Easterne Patriarkes Letters, I thought fit to adde this also, though of another subject.

METletus, by the mercie of God, Pope and Patriarke of Alexandria: Most Illustrious Ambassador of the Renowned Queene of England, my beloved sonne, these dayes are so perverse by the iniquitie of our times, that if our Lord prevent not, there is no hope at all of any good. The Archbishop of Efasus, hath attempted to get also the Archbishopricke of Smirna, from the Bishop that holds it, hee being absent, to me it appeares unjust, neither is it just, and it is also prohibited by the Universall Councels, that one be consecrated in two Chaires, though hee should be worthy; not such a one as he is. The matter is also to be considered of, in presence of the other both Actor and accused; it appeares that these Musselmen Turkes doe the contrary, they came to mee that I should under write a matter that is not judged of; a thing also which they cannot judge of: I denied once,

twice, and divers times; even now a gallant fellow came to me with the same writing, and said that your Lordships Neighbour Signior Mahomet Aga, by one of his Capogies sent also a command that I should under-write. I have abstayned purposing to come this Evening for to have likewise the opinion of your most Illustrious Lordship; for I am resolved to depart hence, rather then to have to doe with men void of all conscience. Let your Lordships write unto me, and if you find the distaste of this miserable time of ours; bewaile you also that wee have beene borne in such an Age, worse then the World of Iron stormie.

Our Lord blesse you and save you, this sixe and twentieth of May, 1593. From the Cell of the Patriarke of Alexandria.

Aged 45. *M. Sandersons report of P. Melete.*

This holy Patriarke Padre Melete, was a very comely blacke long bearded man. He never did eate any sort of flesh in all his life time. He often frequented, and was very inward with our Ambassadour Master Edward Barton; I have heard him reason often, and seene him pray one time, in the Ambassadors chamber together with us: he spake in Greeke, which Master Barton did little understand; my selfe nothing at all except Theos, &c. When he hath eaten with the Ambassador, our Table was ever furnished with the best fish, and not the weakest Wine; yet ever he had a young Priest for his Taster of all the Wine he dranke; and all the while that the cup was at the Patriarkes mouth, the sixe other Coloyros that waited on him at Meales, did ever pray in a soft kind of voice. This man was very meeke in the shew of his behaviour towards all sorts and manner of men, which amongst his Greekes made him to be much respected and beloved. Yet did he aspire and got by Master Bartons meanes and his money, to be Patriarke of Constantinople, which soone he was weary of. The Turkes Ministers did so much and extraordinarily exact upon him, so that before his death hee resigned it; and went from Constantinople, and did decease at his old

Patriarkado Alexandria, and there lyeth buried. Of all these Moderne Greekes, I have not heard of a better man; most certainly he was a true Christian Professor, although the times permitted not that he might declare it, except in private, to some of Learning and understanding. Master Edward Barton the Ambassador, as Master Henry Lillo did tell mee, who did see it, said, that few dayes before his decease, the Patriarke and he did weepe upon one anothers neckes, he kissed the dying man, who had seriously recommended a Kinsman, and other his Servants unto him, pretending (that of the monies which by his promises he was behind with him) his desire was that he would be good unto his said Servants, and so they parted.

I have here added also a Letter from Master Biddulphe, or Biddle; dated, Aleppo, October the two and twentieth Anno Dom. 1601. I could have added other notes with Master Sandersons Charts and Delineations of the Citie and Temple of Hierusalem; but I dare not be too tedious, for which cause I also omit divers Letters written in those parts to and from him. [II.ix.1640.]

IN right heartie manner I commend mee unto you (good friend Master Sanderson) with heartie thankes for all your former kindnesse towards mee, and lately towards my poore Brother who hath written to me of your kindnesse towards him. I pray you impute it not unto mee for ungratefulnesse, or forgetfulnesse that I have not saluted you with my Letters all this time. The last newes I heard of you was, that you were gone from Tripoly to Cyprus, and from thence to Zante, otherwise you had heard from me sooner, and so much the rather because we have both commenced Hogies in Hierusalem, which Degree no Universitie in the World can give besides. But if your Hogiship hath beene as charitable to you, as mine hath beene to mee, you will take as little delight to remember it as I doe, for mine cost mee two hundred and seventie Dollers. And at my returne to

Aleppo, I heard of the losse of the Rebecca, wherein I had a bale of Nutmegs, besides a Carpet, and other Tokens which I sent to my friends.

I have beene sundry times sorrie that ever I came out of England, or that I had not gone with you to Constantinople. For I have had here no profit besides my bare wages, and scarce that. But great discontentment sundry wayes, especially of late by that (.) Wherefore as you have beene my friend ever since our first acquaintance undeservedly, so I pray you continue. And I, although I bee no other wayes able to pleasure you, yet I will not be unmindfull of you in my Prayers, that God would grant you continuall health, long life and much happinesse in this life, and everlasting felicitie in the life to come.

Yours in the Lord wholy to command,

WILLIAM BIDDLE.

I pray commend me to Master Timberley, John Brochurst, William Pate, &c.

AFter so often mention of Master Timberley, I have here given you some Extracts of his Journall, (the whole the Reader may see printed) Before the Impression I writ out of a Manuscript many yeers agoe. The whole Journall, of which thus much I have here presented in memorie of him and Master Burrell.

Chap. XVII.

A Report of the Voyage of Master Henrie Timberley* from Cairo in Egypt, to Jerusalem in fiftie dayes 1601.

*Or Timberlake.

Departed from Grand Cairo, the ninth of March 1600. which day I came to the place where the Virgin Mary stayed with our Saviour when shee fledde into Egypt. From thence with my fellow Traveller Master Burrell in our Pilgrimes Weed, came that night to a Towne named Canko, where wee lodged that night in a yard upon the bare ground, wanting no Fleas nor Lice. The next day we came into the Land of Goshen, and here we found company of the Turkes Jewes, and Christians, about seven hundred and fiftie, which were all bound over the Deserts of Arabia for Damasco. Among which were some two and twentie Greekes and Armenians, bound for Hierusalem, of which company I was right glad. Here at this Towne wee stayed two dayes and one night, called in their Language Philbits, at which Towne I went into the Houses where I saw the secret of hatching Chickens [m] by heate artificiall in greater abundance then I had before seene at Cairo.

M. Burrell.

[m] *If Thunder or troubled Aire happen, all die. They all have a claw too much or too little. The Hatcher hath the tenth for his Fornace & paines.*

The thirteenth of March, we departed from Philbits, and travelled all night in company of the Caravan of Damasco, And the fourteenth, at nine of the clocke we pitched our Tents at Bohaire, in the Land of Goshen. From thence that night, and pitched at ( ) on the East of Goshen, on the edge of the Deserts. Here we stayed two dayes for feare of the wild Arabians, departed the seventeenth: and that night passed over a great Bridge, under the which the salt water standeth. This water commeth out of the Sea from the parts of Damiata, and was cut out of that place by mens hand some one hundred and fiftie miles into the Land by

Ptolomeus King of Egypt, intending to bring the Mediterranean and Red Seas together: but foreseeing hereby the drowning of all the Countrey, hee left and built this Bridge which is the parting of Egypt and Arabia. We were no sooner past this place, but we were set upon by the Arabians. Notwithstanding we were above 1000. wee had a Camell laden with Callicoes taken away, and foure [II.ix.1641.] men sore hurt, and one of the foure mortally. Thus they ranne away with their prey, and wee could not remedie it because it was in the night. So the eighteenth in the morning we pitched at a Well of brackish waters. In this uprore in the night past my fellow Master Burrell escaped very hardly. Here wee reposed our selves till three of the clocke in the afternoone called Lazera. For the Arabians and Egyptians divide the day but into foure parts. And then we departed, and the next morning pitched at a Castle, in the Deserts called Cattay. This is one of the three Castles which the Turkes keepe in the Deserts to defend the Travellers from the Arabians, and therefore here we pay a certayne taxe, that is to say, sixtie pieces of silver, and two pence the piece for the head of man or boy, and seventie sixe for a laden Camell, and fourteene for a Mule. Hence we departed and pitched at another brackish Well, thence at another. The twentieth of March at the second Castle called Arris, here our taxe was twentie pieces of silver by the head, a Camell thirtie. From hence with many Souldiers to conduct us to the third Castle: and so making a long Journey of foure and twentie houres, we arrived at a Castle called Raphael, here we payd tenne pieces of Silver, and a beast twentie. In the one and twentieth we pitched our Tents at Gaza in Palestina, a goodly fruitfull Countrey, beeing now cleere of the Deserts. Here did I see the place, as they say, where Samson pulled downe the two Pillars. Here we paid two and twentie for the beast, and tenne for the head. The two and twentieth we pitched at a place called of the Arabians, Canvy, of the Christians Bersheba. Here we

paid two for the head, and foure for the beast. The three and twentieth we pitched upon a Greene under the wals of Ramoth Gilead. Hence the next morning, I with the other Christians departed toward Hierusalem, the Caravan to Damasco, yet we pitcht short that night at a place in Arabia, called Cude chelaneb, being fifteene miles from Hebron, from Hierusalem five little miles. Hence wee departed in the morning being our Lady day, and at nine of the clocke I saw Hierusalem, kneeling said the Lords Prayer, singing we went to the West Gate, and then stayed. For it is not lawfull for any Christian to enter not admitted. Then Master Burrell requested mee to say that I was a Greeke, only to avoid going to Masse: but I not having the Greeke Tongue, refused absolutely so to doe; affirming to him, even at the Gates, that I would neither deny my Countrey nor Religion, so that when they asked what we were, Master Burrell answered in the Greeke Tongue that hee was a Greeke, and I an Englishman, so hee was admitted to the Greeke Patriarch, and I was taken and cast into Prison, after that I had stayed an houre at the Gate, for the Turkes did all denie that they had heard either of my Queene or Countrey, or that shee paid them any tribute. Then the Pater Guardian, who is their defender of all the Christians Pilgrimes, and the principall actor of my imprisonment, because I would not offer my selfe under his protection, but said I would rather bee protected under the Turke then under him, made the Turke so much my foe, that they supposed I was a spie, and so would not let mee out of the dungeon. Now for my deliverance you shall understand, that being at Ramoth Gilead I went to a Fountaine to wash my foule linnen, in which time one came and called me by my name, and tooke my linnen from mee to helpe me. Whereat I marvelling: What Captaine, quoth hee, in the Frank tongue, I hope you have not forgotten me. It is not yet fortie dayes since you landed mee at Alexandria among the passengers, which you brought from Argier in your Ship called the

Trojan. Here is also another that you brought. I asked if he dwelt there, hee answered no, but that hee and his fellow were going in the Caravan to Damasko, which they call Sham: and from thence to Bagdet, which wee call Babylon, and so to Mecha to make a Hadge, for so they are called when they have beene at Mecha. He dwelt in Fez in Barbary. After better view I somewhat remembred him to have beene of those three hundred and sixtie I brought to those parts. This brought me to the other, which both agreed that the other should goe in the Caravan, and this with me to Jerusalem.

This Moore accompanying me, when he saw that I was in prison, wept, and bid me be of good comfort, and away he went to the Bassa of the Citie, and to the Saniack, and tooke his oath that I was a Mariner in a Ship that had brought two hundred and fiftie, or three hundred Moores into Egypt, from Argeir and Tunis which came to go for Mecha. The Moore, because he was a Musselman so prevailed, that hee came that night to the prison with sixe Turkes, and called mee to the doore, and there told me, that if I would go to the house of the Pater Guardian, and rest in his protection, I should onely hold a Waxe candle, to which I consented, and so paying the charges of the prison departed, and went to the Pater Guardians Monastery. He bad mee very welcome, and said, hee marvelled that I should so much erre from Christianitie, as to put my selfe rather under the Turkes protection, then under his. I told him I did it because I would not goe to Masse; here hath beene, saith hee, many English, but Catholikes, and told the Turke at the gate they were French-men or Britons; for the Turke understandeth not the word English-men. About twilight came Master Burrell, although hee professed himselfe a Greeke, for all Christians must here have the Popish protection. We being thus together in the Court of the Monastery, there came to us some ten or twelve fat Friers, with each a Waxe candle burning, and two to spare for mee and M. Burrel. Then another Frier brought a

bason of hot water, with Roses and other flowers therein, and so there was a carpet spread, and chayres set with cushions in them. Then the Pater Guardian set us downe, and gave each of us a candle in our hands. Then came [II.ix.1642.] a Frier and pulled off our hose and set the water on the carpet, and when hee began to wash our feet, twelve Friers began to sing, and so continued till our feet were washed: then they altogether brought us singing to a Chappell in the said Monastery: where one preached how meritorious a thing it was to come into the Holy Land. Hence they brought us into a chamber to supper, which we for feare of poyson doubted to eat. Thence to bed.

His observations here are omitted, having before so largely out of others given you the sight of these holies.

The sixe and twentieth, we rose early, and having saluted the Pater Guardian, hee appointed us seven Friers and a Trudgeman, and forth wee went to see the holy places within the Citie, except the Sepulchre, and at every place where wee came we kneeled downe and said the Lords Prayer, &c.

To conclude, it was prophesied that Jerusalem should bee an heape of stones: so is it come to passe that I could see no ground neere to the Citie by fifteene or sixteene miles, the Plaine of Jericho excepted, but it is all a heape of stones, in such abundance as may bee wondred at how the Inhabitants can live: for proofe, we being within five miles of the Citie lodged in the field. I sent my Moore to a place not farre hence to buy some bread, who returned with this answere, That he and his did never eat bread in all their lives. A man may goe twentie miles before hee finde a place to feed a horse or a cow. But the countries about Palestina, Galilee, and Syria are all goodly plentifull countries, and Jerusalem it selfe is the most barren that I saw in all my travells, the desarts excepted. I cannot compare any place in England to it, except the barrenest place in Cornewal, where is nothing but rocks & stones, and daily by the report of the Inhabitants, the stones grow more and more: that Jerusalem, and fifteene miles round about is but a heape of stones, and I am of opinion that it is quite forsaken of God; for the more

sort of Turkes there inhabiting use all filthinesse, that the Christians are forced to marry their children very young, yea even at tenne yeeres of age; boyes they keepe openly, and shew them at their doores which hath the fairest. Thus having my Patent sealed with the great seale of the Guardian, and a Letter Patent that did shew I had washt in the water of Jordan: the thirty one of March I departed from Jerusalem in my Moores company, the same night I came to Ram. April 1. to Askalon, so to Gaza, where I hired two wilde Arabians, with two Dromedaries to carry me to Cayro; wee rode two upon a beast: by the breaking away of one of our Dromedaries at our lighting, being left alone we were seazed by foure other Arabians, who would have made prey of us, had not the other their fellow theeves returned. I had nothing to lose but my clothes, but promised to pay them twentie foure pieces of gold. The fourth, at night we came to these theeves Tents, where we had Camels milke. The next night to Salhia, where being overshaken I hyred horse. The Dromedarie is like a Camel, but that his head is lesse, his legs longer, and a very small necke, the difference being as betweene a Grey-hound and a Mastiffe. In this foure dayes travell I never saw them eat nor drinke, from which they say they will abstaine ten dayes, but not so long from meat. Yet I thinke a good horse will runne faster but not continue with this beast. Their pace harder then a trot. I paid them, gave my Moore sixe pieces of gold, and sent him to Mecha with the Caravan; so I came to Bolack, to Roshetta, thence with a Janizarie to the walls of Alexandria, in the eleventh of April, 1601. I came aboord my Ship, having ended my Pilgrimage in fiftie dayes.

Dromedaries.

Chap. XVIII.

Two Letters of M. John Nubery, relating his third * and last Voyage into the Easterne parts of the World: with three other Letters from M. Eldred, &c. concerning the same affaires; found amongst the papers of M. William Hareborne, Her Majesties Embassadour to the Grand Signior at Constantinople: communicated to mee by M. John Sanderson.

*See sup. c. 3.

RIght Worshipfull, my heartie commendations premised, &c. My last I sent you was of the thirtieth day of May last past from Aleppo, and the next day after came from thence. And the ninteenth day of the last moneth arrived at Feloge, the which is one dayes journey from hence; notwithstanding some of our company came not thither untill the last day of the last month, which was for want of camels to carry our goods, & since the goods came hither, as yet have found but small sales; but towardes Winter I hope it will be better, notwithstanding if I had mony to put away with the Carsie, we might have very good Spices, for with mony there is here great good to be done, and without mony there is no great profit made. To morrow I meane to goe, with Gods helpe, from hence to Balsara, and so to Ormus, but my going to Ormus is more of necessitie, then for any good will I have to the place: for I want a man to goe with me that hath the Indian tongue, the which is the onely cause of my going thither for to take one there: I was minded to have gone from Balsara by Sea, to a place called Abowsher, and from thence by Land into the Indies; but the want of one to speake for mee forceth me to leave that way. In Aleppo I hired two Nastraynes, and one of them hath the Indian tongue, and hath beene twice there, but hee and

[II.ix.1643.] *Two Nostranes deceitfull.*

the other are so lewdly given, that it is not for mee to trust to either of them: one of them I leave here with Raphe Aleyne and William Skinner, and the other at Balsara with John Eldred and William Shales, and forced so to doe for that here is no other to be had; although I am in great doubt they will be a thousand Crownes hinderance to the Voyage, for that in divers matters of small valew they have manifestly deceived us, but wee put no more trust in them saving to speake for us. I was enforced to take them in Aleppo but two or three dayes before my comming from thence, or to have had none at all. Here followeth the prices of Spices, as they are worth here at this present; Cloves and Maces the Batman, five duckets Synnamon, sixe duckets and none to be had, Nutmegs fortie five Madynes, Ginger the Batman, one ducket Pepper seventie five Madaynes, and Silke which is much better then that which commeth out of Persia, Duckets eleven and a halfe the Batman. And so God preserve you. In Babylon this fifteenth day of July, 1583.

Your Worships at command,

JOHN NEWBERY.

RIght Worshipfull, my heartie commendations premised, &c. My last I sent you was from Bagdet of the sixteenth day of the last moneth, and the two & twentieth day of the same came from thence, but by reason that our Barke was great and the water very low, halfe a dayes journey from thence came a ground, and in a long time could not get her off againe. Whereupon doubting that further below in the River we might be put to more trouble, I returned to the City, and hired a smaller Boat, and the twentie seven day embarked our goods in the same Boat, and the sixth day of this present arrived here: since which time I have hired a Barke to goe to Ormus, and within a day or two I mind with Gods helpe to depart from hence. About the beginning of this

moneth arrived here foure Venetians from Ormus, whereof three are for the account of Michaell Stroopenny, and the other for himselfe. Their Conducts are twentie Bales of Turbith Cloves, and Synnamon and Long-pepper, and Muske, Pearles, and Feathers, which Feathers come from a Citie called Syndye, about one hundred and sixtie leagues from Ormus, and are very much esteemed in Italy. The Bashaw here hath taken away of their Feathers 84000. the which they say are worth a thousand duckets, and he would have given them for the same 501. duckets. So they say that they will certifie of it to Constantinople, and hope to have some remedie from thence. And if it were not sometimes for this kind of dealings by the Bashaw towards the Frankes, here were in these Countries verie much good to be done: for the exchange from Ormus to Aleppo is sixtie per cento, and commonly they make their voyage in five or sixe moneths, and if it were but onely for the profit of the exchange it shall bee good to have one remaining here, and one at Ormus, and another at Bagdett. And to avoid all troubles that may happen either here or at Bagdett, you shall doe well to procure a commandement from the Grand Signior, both to the Bashaw of Bagdett, and the Bashaw of this place, that and if any of our folkes should die in this Countrie (the which God forbid) that the Bashaw, neither any other Officer shall meddle with the goods, but that it may be kept in a Magosine within some Cave or Cravancera, untill such time as the owners shall send for it, except there bee more in company to take charge of the same: for here hath chanced Venetians to dye; and although hee were one that had nothing, and hee bee in company with those that have great store of goods, the Bashaw will take the goods, and say that the goods did belong unto him that is dead, and by this meanes they shall be in great trouble, and leese halfe their goods, if they can escape so. And if any of our company should die here, as God defend, the rest should bee in great trouble about it; as also that it may be in your commande-

Syndy on Indus.

ment, that it shall not be lawfull for the Bashaw, or any other for to take away from us any of our goods, except hee will pay for the same to our content, for many times there are fine things brought out of the Indies, and the Bashawes man sitteth alwayes in the Custome-house, especially at the comming of the Frankes, and if there bee any thing that liketh him hee taketh it, and payeth for that which is worth a hundred pound, ten pound, and so the Bashaw hath dealt with many. But if you send this commandement, that it may bee registred both heere and at Bagdett, it will for ever hereafter prevent those troubles that now wee are in danger of, and this is a thing very needfull to be sent with those that shall next come hither. There is as yet no Spaniards come into the Indies, and by report of one that is here, who came from Ormus, there was a Spaniard sent out of Spaine to Goa to have had some authoritie there, and the Vice Roy caused him to bee put to death, and will suffer none for to come thither. As yet they alter not the keeping of their Christmasse, as the Spaniards and others have done, but continue in keeping of their old reckoning of the Feasts and Moneths, neither will they alter untill commandement come from the Pope to the contrary. And so I commit your Worship to God. From Balsara this fifteenth day of August, 1583.

At this time Portugall was not settled, &c.

Yours ever to command,

JOHN NEWBERY.

[II.ix.1644.] A Letter of Master John Eldred, to G. S. Written in Bagdet the foureteenth day of July, 1583.

These Letters I had of Master Sanderson and were found amongst Master William Harborne (Ambassadour from

RIght Worshipfull, my humble and heartie Commendations remembred, wishing your health, and desiring to heare of your prosperitie, the which God increase and long continue, &c. My last to you was in Aleppo the nine and twentieth of May, wherein I certified our arrivall in the Tigre, and the determining of this Voyage, how there was appointed to take at Aleppo for the summe of

two thousand pounds sterling, in Carsies, Cloathes, Tinne, and other Commodities, and with the same Master Newberie, Raph Fitch, Raph Allen, William Skinner, William Shales, and my selfe, to goe with the same goods to this place, there to leave two and part of the goods. At Balsara there leave two and part of the goods, and Master Newberie and Raph Fitch, to take for three or foure hundred pounds sterling at Balsara of these goods, and to goe for the Indies.

her Majestie to the Grand Signior) his papers endorsed with the said Ambassadour his owne hand. Master Eldred yet liveth, a grave, rich and principall Citizen. Some of these heere mentioned I have knowen and discoursed with of these parts.

Since which time, it may please you to understand wee all in company have come to this place, and heere arrived the nine and twentieth day of the last, having past the hands of many bribing Dogges, wee arrived heere all in safetie thankes bee to God, and whereas wee had thought to have sold in this place, great store of our Commodities, wee cannot sell, nor have not sold this sixteene dayes for thirtie Duckets nor no likelihood of sales there untill the Winter, this Towne is so full of Carsies and Tinne, most bought at Aleppo of William Baret, which were the Tinne and Cloath that came in the Emanuel. Tinne is heere as good cheape as it is in Aleppo, and Cloath also, God send it to mend, or otherwise this Voyage of ours will make no profit, but in hope wee rest the same will mend.

Wee have at this present imbaled and laden aboard a Barke for Balsara, one hundred and twentie peeces of Carsies halfe, some Tinne, three Scarlets, eight & twentie Rotellos of this place, of Tinne and Amber, with divers small Haberdash wares, which is for the summe of seven hundred sixtie foure pounds sterling, and heere wee leave the rest, which is about one thousand pounds, and with the same in this place we leave William Skinner, and Raph Allen, and all the rest of us goe forward, and at Balsara, William Shales and my selfe, doe determine to stay to make sales and imployment as the Market will give us leave: and Master Newberie, and Raph Fitch, with the Jeweller and Painter, are determined to proceed for the Indies, and out of this wee carrie to Balsara, hee will take out his foure hundred pounds in Commodities

for the Indies. Thus the Lord blesse our doings, and send us a merrie meeting in our Countrey Norfolke; and that I may bee your Servant, &c.

In Balsara the sixth of November, 1583.

RIght Honourable, our humble duties considered, &c. Our last unto your Lordship was from Babylon of the nineteenth of July, wherein wee signified our safe arrivall there, and evill sales which wee found, that in twentie dayes staying there, we sold not for thirtie Duckets. Insomuch as by direction of Master Newberie, wee tooke of our Commodities for seven hundred pounds sterling, and came to this place Balsara, out of which, Master Newberie tooke for the value of foure hundred pounds, and departed for Ormus, where hee arrived the fourth of September, and the ninth of the same, was committed to Prison with all his Company, accused for Spies from Don Antonie, and that his Painter was to draw the plats of Castles and Fortresses, in the behalfe of Don Antonie. Whereupon the Captayne of Ormus hath determined to send them with the remayner of their goods which is unspent, Prisoners to Goa, there to bee at the will and pleasure of the Vizrea, what shall become of them God knoweth. Hee hath written to our worshipfull Masters, to procure the King of Spaine his Letters to the Vizrea of Goa for his deliverie, which Letters wee have sent by messe expresse to Aleppo. This his false accusation was by meanes of Venetians Letters written from Aleppo, and directed to Michaell Stropennie in Ormus, who as Master Newberie writeth, hath beene the onely cause of his trouble. Concerning our estate, wee have not sold neither can sell of all our Commodities for two hundred Duckets. Our Carsies heere are not worne, neither come there any Merchants to make imployments heere, being this place onely as a thorowfare for Merchants which come from Ormus to discharge their goods and pay Custome, and so to passe for Babylon. Before wee came hither, Master Newberie told us, wee should

finde to make Bazar for any kinde of Spices, which wee have found cleane contrarie, for neither are there Merchants resident heere, or Commodities to bee found to make Bazar for two hundred Duckets, they which come from Ormus mindeth never to make Bazar here, but departeth presently after his Custome payd, for Babylon. Wee have offered to give our Commodities at price very reasonable, with as much money to have taken up the same by Exchange for Aleppo, but no man would deale with us. Whereupon wee imbarked our goods to have gone for Persia, but before our Ships departure there arrived heere two Venetians with divers sorts of Spices, who had taken up ten thousand Duckets, by exchange to bee payed heere in Balsara, this money their credits will not serve to take up for Babylon. Insomuch as beeing in some distresse for money, they offered to barter with us halfe money halfe commoditie, whereupon wee have disbarked our goods, and hope within these few dayes to make Bazar with them. Thus humbly taking our leaves, we cease to trouble your Lordship any further.

Your Lordships most readie at Commandment,

JOHN ELDRED. WILLIAM SHALES.

In Balsara the two and twentieth of January, 1583. [II.ix.1645.]

RIght Honourable, our duties humbly considered unto your Lordship, &c. Our last was of the tenth of November sent by the Cadie of this place, wherein wee signified unto your Lordship the alteration of our mindes for going into Persia, and how wee were returned with our goods backe againe to this place. Wee also wrote you the hope which wee had to make Bazar with a Frenchman, which was at that time newly come from Ormus, the which is now come to passe and finished, although with some trouble. Wee delivered all our goods, which amounted unto 2000. Duckets, and gave him more in money two thousand eight hundred and thirtie Duckets,

which wee tooke up by exchange for Bagdet at fifteene per Cento, and to pay more two per fiftie per Moneth, during the time of our staying heere, which God knoweth how long it will bee, the way betweene this place and Bagdet is full of Theeves, and no Merchants dare venture to depart till the wayes be cleare. There have gone no Barkes from hence this foure moneths and more. We have imbaled all our goods for Camels being of them as followeth, foure somes of large Cynamon, foureteen somes and an halfe of middle Cynamon, three somes and an halfe of Nutmegs, one some & an halfe of Ginger, one some and a third part of Cloves, foure somes & a halfe Fusses of Cloves, 197. Turbands fine, and one Chest of guilded Pusillanes; all these goods have beene in readinesse this moneth wishing every day our departure, which God grant may be shortly, for here wee spend, and our money eateth, and that which is worse, wee feare wee shall loose our passage from Bagdet to Aleppo, except wee depart very shortly. We received no Letters from Master Newberie since the first newes of his trouble: but we heare by others that hee and his Companie are sent Prisoners to Goa, and the remayner of his goods is left in the hands of the Kings Factor. Thus not having others to trouble your Lordship with at this present, wee rest, humbly taking our leave, and commending you and all your Lordships affaires, to Gods mightie protection.

Your Lordships most readie at commandment till death,

JOHN ELDRED.
WILLIAM SHALES.

Master Hakluit hath delivered Master Fitches Indian Peregrination, with notes also of Master Eldred and Master Barret, to whom I referre the more desirous Reader. Linschoten also hath mentioned the troubles at Goa (whereof he was eye-witnesse) of Master Fitch and Master Newberie. I have added hereto three Commands from the Great Turke, in behalfe of the English.

To the Cadilesquire of Egypt.

KNow that the Ambassadour for the Queenes most excellent Majestie, resident in our most famous Port, by Supplication certified, how that our Vice-roy Ebrahim Bassa, then Beglerbie of Egypt, did give the Custome of Cassia to a certaine Jew called Abraham Ripollo, with expresse and straight commandement, that whosoever brought Cassia to Cairo, should sell it to him and none other, and what Merchant soever would buy Cassia, should buy it of him and of no other. Whereupon certaine of the English Merchants, buying of the foresayd Jew three and thirtie Kintals, to the value of foure hundred and fiftie duckets of Gold, and having before justice payd to the said Jew the whole summe, and received Hogetta from the Cady, the Beglerbie that now is Synan Bassa, casting the said Jew in Prison, and seazing on all his goods in the behalfe of the Grand Signior, did also take from the English Merchants all the Cassia they had bought of the Jew, and for which they had fully payed, not restoring to them one Asper, and thereby did them great harme and injurie. Wherefore wee charge thee, that this our Commandment comming to thee, thou doe examine this matter according to Justice; that if the English Merchants have bought of the sayd Jew so much Cassia, and have payed to the sayd Jew the full price, and have received thereupon Hogetta from the Cadie, and if the Beglerbie have taken the sayd Cassia into his hands, that then you cause the sayd Cassia to be restored to the English Merchants, suffering nothing to bee done against Law and Justice.

To the Beglerbie of Cairo.

KNow that the Ambassadour for the Queenes most excellent Majestie of England, by Supplication certified in our most famous Court, that for default of their Consull in Egypt, the French Consull that there is Vento, alledging that they are under his Banner, doth

violently usurpe authoritie over them; and that heretofore having sent our Commandment to the contrarie, yet hee hath not abstayned, nor ceased from molesting and troubling the English Nation. Wherefore know, that to the Queene of England our Priviledge is granted, by which priviledge it is by no meanes permitted, that the [II.ix.1646.] French should bee Consull over them, or intermeddle with them. Wherefore wee Command, that against our Priviledge, the French Consull doe them no injurie, nor usurpe the Consulship over them. Wee have sent our Letters to the Cadilesker of Egypt, according to which, and contrarie to our Priviledge, wee command him also, that the French beare not the Consulship over the English Nation.

To the Cadilesquire of Egypt.

KNow that the Ambassadour for the Queenes most excellent Majestie of England, by Supplication certified us, that for default of their Consull in Egypt, the French Consull there resident called Vento, alledging that they bee under his banner, doth trouble and molest the English men, contrarie to our priviledge: our commandement was formerly given that hee should abstaine from molesting the English Nation but hee did not onely not leave off, but did more arrogantly persist to trouble and injurie them. And therefore the Ambassadour required our commandement, that according to their Priviledge, the French Consull might not intermeddle with their Nation, nor beare the office of Consull over them. Know thou therefore that our Priviledge is granted to the Queene of England, and wee command thee, that the French Consull resident in Egypt, doe not hereafter beare the office of Consull over them. Wee command thee againe, that our commandement comming to thee, according to our Priviledge given the Queene of England, and this our commandement, thou never permit the French, to exercise the office of Consull over the English Nation, nor suffer them by the French to bee molested or troubled.

To the Reader.

OUr Countrey-men, in love with the wealth of India, have brought us (I know not how) backe thorow Turkie to Bagdet and Balsara; neither can wee now returne without some review of India: especially of the parts and Ports there before least visited; and wherof later Intelligence hath come to our hands. Such are the Maldives Ilands, of which hitherto wee have taken small notice in our multiforme Peregrinations. Loe heere therefore wee present you them in a French-English Chart (that I may so speake) both for the translation from the French, and because our Author was Piloted by an Englishman, whose name I finde not; who seeking to escape with some others of his wracked Companie, was done to death by the Maldivans. This our Author learning the Language, with long and deare experience learned this which heere hee freely teacheth, and many many more Observations of these and other places in India; out of which I have gathered what I deemed fittest for our purpose.

From the tenth Chapter to the end of this Booke, all is of later Intelligence, and added by way of an Appendix.

Chap. XIX.

The Voyage of Francois Pyrard de Laval, to the East Indies (an English-man being Pilot) and especially his Observations of the Maldives, where being Ship-wracked hee lived five yeares. Translated out of French, and abbreviated.

AN Company of Merchants of Saint Malo, Laval and Vitre, in the yere 1601. set forth two ships to the Indies; one was of the burthen of foure hundred tunne called the Croissant, the other of two hundred, called the Corbin, sent under the command of the Lord of Bardeliere Burgesse of Saint Malo & Francis Grout, Lord of Closneuf, Constable of Saint Malo, his Lieutenant or Vice-

An. Dom. 1601.

admirall, Captayne of the Corbin. Wee set sayle from Saint Malo with a North-east winde to begin our Voyage the eighteenth of May, 1601. Being not above nine or ten leagues out in the Sea, our Missen mast broke and split in the middle: this was the beginning of our misfortunes. The third of June, we coasted the Iles of the *Canaries.* Canaries. The twelfth and thirteenth of the same month, wee came to the Ilands of Cape Verd. The nine and twentieth of June, wee found our selves in the height of 5. degrees, and saw the North-starre very low: and at the same time, wee perceived the South-starre. In the *Flying Fishes.* same place and height, we saw great quantities of flying Fishes, with wings like to Bats.

The foure and twentieth of August, wee passed the Equinoctiall line, where are very violent heates, and *The Tornados.* unconstant weather, in an instant a marvellous calme, and halfe an houre after very fearefull Thundrings and Lightnings, and impetuous windes. Often they see come afarre off great whirle-winds, which the Marriners call Dragons: If this passeth over their ship it bruiseth them and overwhelmeth them in the waves. When the *Superstition.* Marriners see one come they take new Swords and beate one against the other in a crosse upon the Prow, or [II.ix.1647.] toward the Coast from whence this storme comes, and hold that this hinders it from comming over their ship, and turneth it aside.

English Pylot. The nine and twentieth of August, our Pilot who was an English-man, from the tops saw land ten leagues off: *Anabon.* this was the Ile of Anabon, whither we came the day following, and were there a while courteously entertayned by the Portugals Lords of the Ilands, but after had *Trecherie of Portugals.* treacherously five of our men surprised by them, and one slaine. The sixteenth of October, we went out of the road of this Ile, and on the seventeenth of November, *Saint Helena.* came to the Iland of Saint Helena. The nine and twen- *The Abroilles, shelves toward Brasil.* tieth of the same moneth, wee doubled the Abroilles.

The seven and twentieth of December, wee passed the Cape of Good Hope. The nineteenth of Februarie,

1602. wee cast anchor in the Bay of Saint Augustine, in the Ile of Saint Laurence, where we abode to refresh our selves, untill the fifteenth of May. The three and twentieth of the same moneth, wee came to the Iles of Comorro, where all that had the Scorbuto or other diseases recovered their health, as well because of the good ayre, as of good water and fruits. *Saint Laurence.* *Isles of Comorro.*

The one and twentieth of June, wee passed the Equinoctiall toward the North Pole. The second of July in the night, wee were miserably ship-wrackt upon the Bankes of the Maldives, where we lay till the day following, when we imbarked our selves in our Gallion: having taken our Swords, Harquebushes, and halfe Pikes, to goe to Land: after great labour wee attayned one of the Iles called Pouladou, but the Inhabitants would not let us land, before they had disarmed us. *Shipwrack on the Maldivæ Islands.* *Pouladou.*

They ledde us all together into a House in the middest of the Ile, where they gave us Fruits, Cocos, and Limons. Then the Governour of the Ile came to us called Ibrahim, who seemed very aged, he could speake some words of Portuguise, by the meanes whereof he asked us many things: after his people rifled us, and tooke away all that wee brought, saying that it did belong unto the King. Having beene in this Lodging the space of a day, they tooke the Master of our Ship with two Marriners, and convayed them to the King fortie leagues distant in the Iland of Male. The King sent his Brother in law with many Souldiers to our ship-wrackt Vessell, to get what they could. *Male chiefe of the Maldives.*

The Kings Brother in law when hee went away, ledde me and two others into the Iland of Paindoüe, where at our first comming the Inhabitants gave us a little food, but when they saw that our companions had money (this money was about five hundred Crownes, which we tooke while wee were in the ship, and the first night we came on Land we buryed in the ground, which they after digged up wanting necessaries, but wee that were in the Ile of Paindoüe had none of it) they tryed by extremitie of *Paindoüe.*

Miserable famine. famine to make us to give them some also, for they beleeved we had some. By reason of this evill resolution of the Ilanders to give us nothing without money, wee were brought into great miserie. All that wee could doe, was to gather Periwinckles on the Sea shoare to eate, and sometimes to meet with a dead Fish. This extremitie endured a long time, till that the Inhabitants seeing wee had no money, began to have a little more commiseration on us; we offered our service to them, to doe what they would imploy us about.

I went often with them to the neighbouring Ilands to get Cocos, and sometimes on Fishing, and in recompence of my labour they gave me part of the Fish or Cocos.

He learnes the Language. While wee lived thus, I endeavoured my selfe to learne the Language, which my companions despised. The Commander of the Ile seeing mee so studious of their Language, began to esteeme and favour me. Then there came one called Assaul Ocaounas Calogue, a Grand Signior, to fetch the rest of the Lead of our ship and some Iron Ordnance, and to make search for the Money which the inhabitants of the Ilands had of our men. The Signior of the Ile of Paindoue and the Catibe, with those that affectioned me, presented me to this Signior that came from the King, and commended me to him: this commendation was the cause that the Signior began to favour me: and also because hee saw I could expresse my selfe in their Language, and daily studied to learne it, hee tooke me with him to carrie me to the King.

When wee arrived at Male, hee went presently to the King to render him an account of the Voyage, and among other things failed not to speake of mee to him. In the

He is presented to the King. evening I went into a Court, whither the King was come to see that which was brought from our Ship. I saluted him in the Language, and after the fashion of the Countrey, which pleased him, and gave him occasion to enquire much concerning those things which were brought from the Ship: hee commanded the Signior that brought me, to lodge and entertaine me. The day following, I was

busied with relating to the King, the manners and fashions of our people of Europe and of France. Hee made me see the Queenes, who imployed me divers dayes in giving answers to that which they asked me; being curious to understand the Habits, Manners, Marriages, and fashion of our French Dames.

I was about foure or five moneths in good health, and wanted nothing but the exercise of my Religion and my libertie, having all things else to my content. After this, I fell sicke of a hot burning Feaver. There passed not a day but the King and Queenes sent to know how I did, and every houre sent mee delicious viands to eate, and thus I continued a great while. But afterward the King sent me to the Ile of Bandos (a little Ile in sight of Male) *Bandos.* which hath a better ayre then Male, where an experienced [II.ix.1648.] man by the Kings appointment recovered mee. Afterward the King gave me a lodging neere him, and every day rise out of his owne house, and necessarie provisions for my sustenance, hee gave me also a servant and money, and other presents, so that I became somewhat wealthy after the manner of the Countrey. While I thus continued heere (despairing ever to returne into France) I was diligent to enquire of the people, their manners and customes, which heere I have written and particularised.

§. II.

Description of the Maldives, their thirteene Cantons, twelve thousand Iles, Sea-changes, strange Currents, Monsons, Maine-Inlets, blacke boyling Sea, Heate, Seasons, Civilitie, and haire Ceremoniousnesse.

THe Ilands of the Maldives, begin in eight degrees of the Equinoctial line, on the North-side and end in foure degrees on the South-side. They are of an extraordinarie length, about two hundred leagues, but not above thirtie or five & thirtie leagues in Latitude. They are distant from the firme land, that is to say, from *Scituation.* *Their distance.*

Cape Comorin, from Covan and Cochin, one hundred and fiftie leagues. The Portugals reckon that there are foure thousand and five hundred leagues by Sea, to goe thither from Spaine.

Division into 13. Atollons. They are divided into thirteene Provinces, which they call Atollons, which is a naturall partition according to the scituation of the places. Forasmuch as every Atollon is seperated from others, and contaynes in it selfe a great multitude of small Iles; It is admirable to behold, how that each of these Atollons are invironed round with a huge ledge of Rockes. The Atollons are all after a sort circular or ovall, having each of them thirtie leagues, some a little more, some a little lesse, and lye all one at the end of the other: from the North to Susans, they almost touch one another: there are betweene two channels of the Sea, the one large the other exceeding narrow. Being in the middest of an Atollon, you shall see about you a great ledge of Rockes which impale and defend the Iles, *Force of the Sea.* against the impetuousnesse of the Sea. But it is a very fearefull thing even to the most couragious to approach to this ledge, and see the waves come afarre off and breake furiously on every side. For I assure you, as a thing which I have seene a thousand times, that the surge or billow is greater then a House, and as white as Cotton: so that you shall view round about you as it were a very white Wall, especially when the Sea is loftie.

Now within each of these Cantons, is almost an infinite number of Ilands, both smal and great. The Inhabitants 12000. *Ilands.* told me, that there are about twelve thousand. But I conjecture that there appeare not so many, and that they say twelve thousand, to note an incredible number, and which they cannot count. It is true that there are an innumerable multitude of small ones, which are as it were Hillockes of sand, all unpeopled. And moreover, the King of the Maldives puts this number in his Titles, for hee is called Sultan Ibrahim dolos assa. raltera Atholon; *Kings Title.* that is to say, Ibrahim Sultan, King of thirteene Provinces and twelve thousand Iles.

Which notwithstanding, the currents and daily flowing of the Sea diminish that number, as the Inhabitants informed me, who said also that a proportion of the number of the people are consumed, and that there are not so many as were accustomed to be anciently. Also they reported that within one of the Atollons, all the little Iles and Sea which part them, was one continued ground, and that it was in former times but one only Ile, cut and divided after into many. And surely they which navigate neere the Maldives, discerne all within white, by reason of the sand which is of this colour, upon all the Flats and Rocks. The Sea thereabouts is very quiet and of a meane depth, insomuch that the deepest entrance is not twentie fathomes; and yet heere are very few entrances: for a man may almost see the bottome every where.

Sea makes daily alteration.

All the shallowes are stone, Rocke and sand, so that when the tide is out, it reacheth not to ones waste, and for the most part to the mid-legge; so that it were very easie to goe without a Boate throughout all the Iles of the same Atollon, if it were not for two causes. The one great fishes called Paimones, which devoure men and breake their legges and armes, when they encounter them; the other is that the depths of the Sea are generally very keene and sharpe Rockes which hurt them wonderfully that goe into it. And moreover, they meete with many branches of a certaine thing which I know not whether to terme Tree or Rocke, it is not much unlike white Corall, which is also branched and piercing, but altogether polished; on the contrary, this is rugged, all hollow and pierced with little holes and passages, yet abides hard and ponderous as a stone. They call it in their Language Aquiry, they keepe it to make their Honey and Sugar of Cocos, having bruised them with little stones, and putting them to boyle with the water of Cocos, this is that which fashions their Honey and their Sugar. It greatly hinders those which wash themselves in the Sea, it was very difficult to me to goe so from Ile to Ile without a Boate, but they which are accustomed goe often.

Danger by Sharkes and sharpe stones.

A kind of Currall.

[II.ix.1649.] Amongst these Ilands there are very many, and as I beleeve the greatest number, which are wholly unhabited, and which have neither Trees nor Herbs; others which have no greene thing, and are but a moveable sand: yet there are some which are for the most part overflowne at spring tides, and are discovered when the Sea is out, the residue are all covered with great Crabs (which they call Cacouve) and Cray-fishes.

Many of the Ilands are not inhabited.

Prodigious numbers of the Pinguy Fowles.

There are great store of Fowles called Pinguy, which heere lay and hatch, and here is such a prodigious multitude of them, that a man knowes not (I have often made triall) where to set his foot without touching their Egges, or young ones, or the old Birds, which flye not farre when they see men. The Ilanders eate them not, and yet they are very good meate, and as bigge as Pidgeons, their Feathers white and blacke. These Iles which I have said to bee unhabited, appeare afarre off white, as if they were covered with Snow, by reason of the great whitenesse of the Sand which is fine and subtle, as that of an Houre-glasse, and so hot and burning, that the Egges of those Birds are hatched with great facilitie.

Heat of sands.

Want of water.

They have great scarcitie of fresh water, some Ilands are well woodded and inhabited which have not any; except some few, whither the Inhabitants are constrayned to go and seeke it from the confining Iles; also they have inventions to receive raine water: and although they have water in the Iles, they are not like one another; being better in one respect then another. All their Pit-water is neither very sweet nor wholsome. They make their Pits in this manner, digging three or foure foot in the Earth, a little more or lesse, they find fresh-water in abundance, and (that which is very strange) not above foure feet from the Sea-shore, in places also which are often over-flowne. I have observed that their waters are very cold in the day, principally at noone, and in the night very hot.

Pits how made.

Hot at night and cold at noone.

But to returne to the thirteene Atollons, here are their names beginning at the North Point, which is in the head,

which the Portugals call for that cause Cabexadel las ilhas, and in the Maldives Tongue, Tilla dou matis, in the same signification, that is to say, the high Point, which is under eight degrees of the Line on the North-side, in the same height that Cochin is. Now the first Atollon is called Tilla dou matis. The second Milla doue madoue. The third, Padypolo. The fourth, Malos madou. The fift, Ariatollon. The sixt, Male Atollon, which is the principall where is the Iland of Malé, chiefe over the others. The seventh, Poulisdous. The eighth, Molucque. The ninth, Nillandous. The tenth, Collo madous. The eleventh, Adou matis. The twelfth, Souadou. The thirteenth, Addou and Poua Molucque, which are distinguished into two little ones, and separated, as the others, but are very small, and therefore are accounted as one. Notwithstanding, Addou, as the better, gives name to the other.

Names of the Atollons.

Every Atollon is separated from his Neighbour by a channell of the Sea, which passeth betweene them. But although they cannot passe with great ships without perishing, yet there are foure which are farre larger then the others, and may easily passe for great ships, notwithstanding, it is very dangerous, and perillous to goe here, and especially in the night: for it is certaine to bee shipwrackt (as we were) because they cease not to encounter certaine Shoalds and Rockes, which they ought to shunne. I have seene amongst the Maldives many Sea-cards, where these were exquisitely deciphered. These people also are marvellous cunning to avoide them, and to saile through passages very dangerous without perishing. I have seene them often passe in the middle of the Bankes, Sands, and Rockes, through little channels so narrow, that they had roome only for their Barke, and sometimes so evenly that they grated the Rockes on both sides; and neverthelesse they went securely in the middest of those perils, and with a high saile. Once being with some of the Ilanders in a little Boate, which was not above foure fathome long, the Sea was higher then I two Pikes length,

Foure principall channels.

The Natives dexteritie in sayling.

and so outragious and turbulent as could not be more. I thought every moment that the billow would have carried mee out of the Boat; where I had great labor to hold my selfe, and they were not a whit perplexed, nor did feare any thing. For they feare not the Sea, and are very skilfull to conduct Barkes and Boats, being made and accustomed to this from their youth, aswell the Gentlemen as poore people, and it should be a disgrace to them to be ignorant in it. For this cause it is impossible to summe up the number of Barkes and Boates which are throughout all the Iles, for as much as the poorest will have one, the rich many. They never saile by night, but take Land every evening, they saile not neither without sight of Land without a Compasse, except when they goe out of their Iles, and goe some long Voyage. They carrie therefore little provision, but buy daily whatsoever they need in divers Islands.

Numberlesse number of Barkes.

No sayling by night.

Shoalds.

The greatest part also of the Iles which are within the circuite of one Atollon, are surrounded with a shoald, and there are but one or two open places which are very strait and difficult to heed: wherefore it is necessary that they understand well the manner actively to guide their Barkes: otherwise if they be defective the least thing in the World, their Barke will bee overwhelmed, and their Merchandize perish. As for the men they can swimme well, which in those parts of the Sea preserves them daily, and to speake truly, they are as it were halfe fishes, they are so used to the Sea, whither they goe daily either swimming, or roading or waling. I have seene them many times within the ledge of Rockes where the Sea is calme, runne swimming after the fishes, which they have suddenly perceived bathing themselves, and have taken them in their course. And this is usuall. And yet they faile not often to lose their Barkes, notwithstanding all their dexteritie.

Good Swimmers.

[II.ix.1650.]

Strange Sea-currents.

The greatest discommoditie is the current Pyvarou, which run aswell to the East as the West, in the channels of the Iles, and in divers in-draughts of the Sea, six

moneths on one Coast, and six months on another; yet not certainly, but sometimes more, sometimes lesse. This is that which deceives them, and ordinarily casts them away. The winds are aswel fixed as the currents, from the East quarter or the West, but they vary sometimes, and are not so ruled, fetching their Compasse toward the North or the South, and the current goes perpetuall his accustomed course, till the season alter. It is a very remarkable thing, that whereas the Atollons are continued one at the end of the other, and separated by channels of the Sea which goe thorow them, they have open places and entrances opposite one to the other two on one side, and two on the other, by which meanes men may goe and come from Atollon to Atollon, and alway communicate together. Wherein may be observed an effect of the providence of God, which hath left nothing unperfect. For if there were but two open places in every Atollon, that is, one on one side, and another on the other; it were not possible to passe from Atollon to Atollon, nor from entrance to entrance, because of the boysterousnesse of the currents; which runne sixe moneths to the East, and sixe to the West, and permit not to crosse over, but force them downe. And when the two entrances are not adverse, but one on the East Coast, the other on the West, men may easily enter, but not returne, except the sixe monethes are ended, and the current changed. Now as these entries are disposed, men may notwithstanding the currents goe from one Atollon to another, in every season, and Traffique, and Merchandize freely together, as they doe; for as much as every Atollon is open with foure entrances which are in opposition to their two Neighbours.

The Monsons.

Inlets opposite.

The entrances of these Atollons are unlike, some competently broad, others very narrow, the largest is not more then two hundred paces or thereabouts; some are but thirtie, nay lesse. On both the sides of each of these passages are two Iles, on each side one; you would say that it were to guard the comming in, which surely were

Forme of the Entrances and their danger.

easie to doe, if they would, with Ordnance hinder the ships to enter, because the largest hath not above two hundred paces. Now concerning the channels (which they call Candou) which divide the Atollons, foure are Navigable, where the great ships may goe to passe through the Maldives, many strangers ships of all sorts passe often there, but not without perill, for there are a great number yeerely cast away. It is not that they affect this passage (for all on the contrary shunne it, as much as may be) but they are situated in such sort in the middest of the Sea, and so long, that it is not easie to escape them, principally the currents carrie the ships thither against their wils, when the calmes or contrary winds take them, and that they cannot helpe themselves with their sailes, to make way against the currents. The first beginnes on the North-side, and is that where wee were shipwrackt at the entry of the shelfe of the Atollon of Malos madou. The second approacheth very neere Malé, called Caridou, in the middest whereof is the greatest of all the Iles, so hemmed in with Rocks as I have said. The third, is by Malé, stretching towards the South, and is called Addou. The fourth, is called Souadou, which is directly under the Equinoctiall Line: this is the greatest of all, having more then twentie leagues in widenesse.

The first.

The second, third, and fourth.

No Compasse but in long Voyages.

The Ilanders going by the Iles and Atollons, helpe not themselves with a Compasse, except in farre Voyages, but when they passe through the great channell they use it. All the other channels betweene the Atollons are very straite, and full of Rockes and Shoalds, they cannot goe but in small Barkes, and yet it is requisite to have great knowledge of the places to saile without danger. I found it strange sayling with the Ilanders in the channell, which separates Malé and Polisdou, and which beares the name of Polisdou, and is seven leagues broad or thereabouts, that the Sea appeares there blacke as Inke, notwithstanding beeing taken up in a Pot, it differs not from other water; I saw it daily boyle in bigge blacke billowes, as if it had beene water on the fire. In this entrance the

Sea blacke as Inke; the water not.

Sea runnes not as in other places, which is fearefull to behold: I thought I was in the nethermost depths perceiving not that the water mooved on one side or the other. I know not the reason, but I know well that the Natives are greatly afraid of it: they very often encounter such tortures.

Seeing these Iles are so neere the Equinoctiall on both sides, it may bee judged what is the qualitie of the Aire, which is very intemperate, and the heate excessive. Notwithstanding the day and night are alwayes equall, the nights are very coole, and bring abundance of dew. This coolenesse is a cause that the Countrey may bee more commodiously inhabited, and that the Herbs and Trees are fruitfull, notwithstanding the heate of the Sunne. The Winter beginnes in the moneth of Aprill, and continues six monethes and the Summer in the moneth of October, which endures sixe other moneths. The Winter is without Frost, but alwayes rainie. The Winds are violent from the West Coast; on the contrary the East is extreame hot, and never causeth raine.

Heat.

Dewes.

Winter.

Winds.

They affirme, that the Maldives have beene heretofore peopled by the Cingala, (so they call the Inhabitants of the Iland of Ceylan.) But I finde that the Maldives resemble not at all the Cingala, which are blacke, and very evill featured, and these are well shaped and proportioned, and little differ from us, except their colour, which is Olive. But it is out of doubt, that the place and the length of time have made them more gracefull then those which first inhabited the Iles. Adde also that there are seated a great number of strangers of all parts, which inhabit there, (besides the Indians) who from time to time have been shipwrackt as we were. Wherefore the people which inhabit Malé, and round about to the North point are found more orderly, honest and civill: and they which are on the South-side toward the low point, are more rude in their Language and Fashions, and not so well featured; and blacker, and also many women of the poorer sort are naked without any shame,

Whence peopled.

[II.ix.1651.]

Civilitie of the North parts.

South barbarous.

having only a little cloth to cover their Privities: And for as much as the North-coast is daily more haunted and frequented with strangers who ordinarily marrie there: Also that it is the passage of all the ships, which enrich the Countrey, and civilize it more and more, which is the cause that persons of ranke and qualitie seate themselves there more willingly, and not toward the South, whither the King sends in Exile those which he will punish with banishment. And yet the people which inhabit the South parts, are not inferiour in capacitie or Religion to the others, if it be not more for other things, but all their Gentry inhabit on the North Coast, where also they take their Souldiers.

Religion. The people are very Religious, greatly addicted to Manufactures of all kindes of Workes, wherein they excell, also in Letters and Sciences after their manner, principally in Astrologie, whereof they make great esteeme. They are a wise and circumspect Nation, very fradulent in their Merchandizing, and their living in the World. They are valiant and hardie, and well seene in *Women.* Armes, and live in great order and policie. The women are faire, but that they are of an Olive colour: and some are found as white as they be in Europe, yet they have all *Haire-ceremonies.* blacke haire: but they esteeme that beautie, and many make it to come so, wherefore they keep their Daughters heads shaven, till the age of eight or nine yeeres, not leaving them till then any haire but a little on their fore-heads, to distinguish them from Boyes, who have none at all, yet this comes not lower then their Eye-browes, and after that the children are borne, they shave them from eight dayes to eight dayes, which makes their haire very blacke, that would not be so else, for I have seene little children with halfe flaxen haire.

The beautie and ornament of the women is to have their haire very long, thicke, and blacke, which they accommodate and wash often, and purifie with water and *Bathing and Oyling.* Lye made of purpose: having well washed and clensed their heads and haire, they abide in the wind all dis-

hevelled, but within the compasse of their house, untill it bee throughly dry; after they rub and oyle their haire with odoriferous Oyle, which causeth that their heads are alwayes moyst and Oily. For they never wet their bodies men nor women, but after they oyle them, two or three times in the weeke for their haire, but for their bodie, oftener then there are dayes. As for their haire they are not obliged to wash it, but when they have accompanied together, and they are bound particularly every Friday, which is their Sabbath, and in all their great Feasts; the men on their Fridayes, the women on their severall Feasts only, but sleepe after it when they shall thinke good and according to their necessitie. The women also perfume their heads for a little reason which they have, and so washed, oyled, and perfumed they attire themselves, which is to bring all their haire from before backward, and draw it out as much as may be, that one haire may not move nor waver this way nor that way: after they tye them behind, or they make a great tuft bound on, for which greatnesse, they have a counterfeite Locke of mans haire, but as long as the womens, in fashion of a Horse taile; and to hold it, they garnish it at the great end after the manner of a ([1]) and all the rest of their haire is put in order: after the ([m]) of Gold or Silver is covered with Pearles and Jewels according to their abilities: and some weare two of these false haires, because it serveth to tye their haire behind, and make the tuft greater. They put also odoriferous flowers of the Countrey, which is not thereof defective.

[1] *De dez a coudre.*
[m] *Dez.*

It is not permitted the men, but onely the Souldiers and Officers of the King, and Gentlemen to weare their haire long, who doe so for the most part, and as long as the womens, yea take as much paines as they to wash, clense, and oyle and sweeten it with flowers: and there is no other diffrence, but that the men bind their haire on one of their sides, or right up, or upon the head, and not behinde as the women: also they never weare any false Periwigs: they are not compelled to weare their haire so,

but short or long, as they thinke good. I have seene the King and the Princes, and greatest part of the Grandes and Souldiers, who weare their haire short, and they which weare them long, for the most part, when they are weary, or when they grow no more, cut them off to give or sell to women, for they have no counterfeit haire, but mens, because they never shave the womens haire living or dead: the most part of these false haires come from the Continent, as from Cochin, Calicut and all the Coast of Malabar, where all the men weare their haire long, which after they cut and sell for women, as wel of the Countrey as Aliants. Their haire increaseth there a great deale faster then here, because, as I conjecture, they so often wash and oyle them, also by reason of the extraordinary heate, which causeth their haire to be thicker and harder, but never curled as with us. Commonly also the men are hairy over all the bodie, yea so thicke as more cannot be imagined; hereof they boast, as if it were the strength of nature; which yet they finde not alwayes true, and if a man bee not so hairy, they say, that hee rather resembles a woman then a man, and despise him for it: but the women are not so hairy, and have no haire but in ordinary places.

Increase of haire.

Hairie on their bodies.

[II.ix.1652.]

All Barbers and none.

There is no common Barbers, but every one hath skill to shave, as well men as women, and to use no razor for it, nor any combe; but they have sizers of cast copper, and looking-glasses also of copper, which they use instead of razors of steele, but not made as ours. They shave themselves after our fashion: for the King and Peeres, there are men which account themselves honoured to serve in this office, not for gaine, but for affection, being men of fashion; the King sends them presents at the yeeres end. Also throughout all the Ilands there is neither man nor woman, rich nor poore, great nor little, which after the age of fifteene yeeres hath not all their furniture and instruments so to order their head: and they are very curious to take them off when it never so little grieves or troubles them.

The maidens weare no coats till the age of eight or nine yeeres, but onely a cloth which reacheth from the girdle to the knee, which they weare from the time they begin to goe: but the boyes weare nothing till they are seven yeeres olde and are circumcised: they say that it is not necessary that their daughters should weare any other robe the time aforesaid, for that then their breasts begin to beare out & increase, and it is needfull to cover them, as a thing which they hold as great a shame to show, as here their privities; and then they let their haire increase without any more cutting, but adorne and trim it, being then in the time to finde some to marry with; for before that they hold them as children, and permit not men nor boyes to speake of love to them, for that they are not acknowledged nor arrayed as maidens. Now the men being very old and covered with haire, as I have said, and not clothing their bodies from the girdle upwards, they shave not the haire on the breast and stomacke, but in such a fashion as they cut the haire in one place, and leave it in another, to the end that it may appeare and bee like the fashion of a cased doublet.

Boyes and girles.

Shame to let the breasts be seene.

The men weare their beards in two fashions: one which is permitted to the Pandiares, Naibes, and Catibes, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, and those which have gone on pilgrimage to Mecca, and Medinatalnaby in Arabia, where is the Sepulchre of Mahomet, to weare their beard so long as they will, and not to shave it but under the throat, and their upper and lower lips, because they would not for any thing being eating or drinking touch a haire, being the greatest nastinesse and filthinesse in the world: wherefore they have no haire about their mouth; and I have often seene that for finding onely one haire in a platter of meat, they would not touch it, and remained rather without eating, giving it to the birds and other creatures, except any bodie would have it. The other sort of beards for the rest of the nation, and the commonest is to weare a little one after the Spanish custome, shaven about their mouth and under their throat, but

Beards of two sorts.

Neat superstition. Curiositie.

without mustaches, and in the cheekes they make like holes and fashions with the sizers, and they shave them very close, yet so that it may appeare. Their chin as we use now.

Very niggards. In the meane while they curiously keepe the shavings of their haire and nailes, without losing or letting fall any, and are carefull to interre it in their Church-yards with a little water: for they would not for any thing in the world goe upon it, or cast the lest part into the fire; because, they say, being part of the bodie it requires burying as wel as the bodie; and they inclose it neatly in a little cotton, and the most of them wil be shaven in the porches of their temples or Moschees. They are verie hardie and insensible in all this, and use no hot water in shaving them; their razors cut verie naughtily, and they doe nothing but poure a little cold water upon it; and whatsoever hurt they do, they complaine not, and say that it paines them not: All this comes of custome to them, for else they would be as sensible as we.

§. III.

Their Cocos and other fruits and food, their Trades and trading, Creatures profitable and hurtfull. Of Male the principall Iland. Their Houses, Candou, Languages, Apparell.

Their food Millet. THe Maldives are very fertill, fruit, and other commodities necessarie for the life of man. They have abundance of Millet, which they call Pura, also of another little graine called Bimby, which is like to Millet, but that it is blacke as Rape-seed. These graines sow themselves, and are reaped twice in a yeere. They make a kinde of meale, whereof they make pottage with milke and hony of Cocos, and also of Torteaux and Bignets, and many other sorts of food. There grow also rootes of many kindes, one called Itelpoul, which growes in abundance without sowing, and is round, and

two handfulls in greatnesse, little more or lesse. Now they bruise it by rubbing it on a rugged stone: after they lay it in a cloth in the Sunne to dry, this is like our Amidon or wheate-flower, which they keepe as long as they wil, whereof they make pottage, and Torteaux and Gullets, which is a verie delicate meat, but that it a little surchargeth the stomacke, it must bee eaten while it is [II.ix.1653.] new. They have plentie of another sort of root, called *Roots.* Alas, of a very good taste, which they sow and cultivate, one sort red, like red-parsnip, another white like navews, and are ordinarily bigger then a mans thigh. They boile and dresse them in divers fashions, and keepe them a great part of the yeere; also they order them with hony and sugar of Cocos, and it is a great part of the nourishment of these people. They call wheat Godame & rice Andove, which grows not there, but is brought in great quantitie from the firme land. They eat and prepare it in divers manners, boyling it only with water, and eat it with other viands in stead of bread. They boyle it also, after dry it and bray it, and of this bran, with egges, hony, milke, and butter of Cocos, they make Florentines, and verie good belly-timber.

Hearbes and trees grow plentifully in all the Iles; *Hearbs, trees, and fruits.* many that beare fruit, others that beare none, whereof notwithstanding they eate the leaves which are sweet and daintie. There are Citrons, Pomgranets, Orenges in abundance; Bannanes, which the Portugalls call figges of India, and the Maldives Quella, which is a great fruit, and multiplies exceedingly, delicious and of great nourishment; so that they nourish their infants with it in stead of broth. There is none more profitable then the Cocos or nut of India, which they call Roul, and the *Cocos.* fruit Cate: they abound more in the Maldives then in any place of the world: this onely tree serves for all necessaries of life, furnishing them in great quantitie with wine, hony, sugar, milke, and butter; and moreover the pith or kernell serves to eate, with all sorts of meate in stead of bread. Adde also the wood, barke, leaves, and

shells make the greatest parts of their moveables and utensills.

Trees common. There is such store of fire-wood, that they buy it not, for as much as the countrie is covered with all sorts of trees: it is lawfull to goe and cut those trees at any time when they have need, which serve for nothing but to burne. Also there are whole Ilands full, whither everie one send their servants and slaves daily to fetch for their use. It is admirable that each of the thirteene Atollons produce sundry fruits, although they are all under the same climate; yet every one hath not that which is necessarie. You would say, that God would that these people should visite one another, here is such diversitie: for what is plentifull in one place is rare in another. Although every thing growes particularly in each place, yet it is little, and not so good and naturall as that which comes from the Atollons and Iles proper to it, because it is brought from other places.

Crafts differing with the Ilands. The people also have followed in their habitations a like order, for the crafts-men are assembled in Iles apart, as the Weavers in one, the Gold-smiths in another, and so all the rest. In briefe, none of their mechanick Arts are mingled, but each hath his Ile, yet they communicate one with another in this sort: they have close boates, with a little deck, and goe from Ile to Ile travelling and retayling their merchandize, and sometimes are more then a yeere before they returne to their Ile and ordinarie residence. They carrie with them their male children, from foure or five yeere old, to learne and be accustomed to it. They lye alwayes in their Barkes, and drinke and eate there, and often worke also. When I was on the Maldives, there was found a Bird (which landed in an Iland) of prodigious shape and greatnesse. It was three foot high, the body exceeding great, more then a man could fathom: the feathers all white as a Swan, the feet broad like Fowles that swim, the necke halfe a fathom long, the beake halfe an ell; on the upper part at the end a kinde of crooked claw, underneth larger then above, whence

hung a very great and capable bagge of a yellow gilded colour resembling parchment. The King was much astonished whence this creature should come, and what was the nature of it: and enquiring of all men which came from other regions, at the last hee happened on certaine strangers, who told him that this creature was particular to China, and that it was bred no where else, and that the Chinois use them to take fish, for this creature swimmeth on the water as other river Birds, and very long. It takes fish with great dexteritie, and fills the great purse or bagge which hangs from the beake underneath, which is so great and capable, that it will hold many fishes each two feet long, which the King handling hard, wondred greatly how it was possible that this Bird should come so alone from China, being distant more then a thousand and two hundred leagues. The King made triall, causing them to tye and fasten his throat, onely giving it leave to breath, that it might not swallow the fish, but bring up the poke full. I have seene it often goe so on the Sea, and come with it full of fish. It goeth a long time on the Sea, and tarries there sometimes a day, which makes me beleeve that it is not impossible that it should come from China.

Hens wilde.

They have Hens in such plentie, that it is strange, and cost them nothing but the taking, for they are wild: in the Market they sell them but for one Sous apiece, and thirtie sixe Egges at the same price; this is the meate they use most next to fish.

Other Fowle.

They have store of Pidgeons, of Duckes, of Rayles, and of certayne Birds which altogether resemble Sparrow-hawkes, Muskets blacke and gray, which live not of prey, but of fruits and many other differing kinds, all wilde and none domesticke.

Crowes bold.

The Crowes greatly indanger the Inhabitants; for they are so bold, that they will come into the Houses; and take any thing, although men be present, of whom they are not awhit afraid.. At the first, I thought they had been tame and domesticall, they are in so great abundance that they cannot be numbered, because they kill them not. The

Great Bats. Muskitos, Rats, Mice, Pismires, &c. [II.ix.1654.] *Of these creatures see Linschot. C. 45. who relateth the like in Goa.*

Bats are as great as Ravens. They are greatly annoyed by the Muskitos or Gnats, which pricke very sorely. But that which troubles them most are the Rats, Dormice, and Pismires which are found every where, with other sorts of Creatures and Vermine which enter into their Houses, and eate and spoyle their Graine, Provision, Fruits, and tender Commodities, so that they are forced for to resist them, to build their Lodges and Granaries on piles in the Sea two and three hundred paces from the Land, whither they goe in Boates, and there lay up their graine and fruits to keepe them. The most part of the Magazines of the King are builded after this manner.

Sea-snakes.

In the Sea there is a kinde of Snakes which are very dangerous. There are great store of Cats, Foines, and Ferrets. There are no beasts for riding; there are few great beasts, wilde or tame. It is true that there are about foure or five hundred Cowes and Bulls: but they appertaine to the King onely who breeds them in the Ile of Male: whither they are brought from the firme land for curiositie to multiply to that number; They eate them not, but in foure or five months in the yeere, and at great feasts when the King causeth to kill one, and sometimes he giveth one to the strangers ships, whom hee will gratifie. There are also some Weathers which are the Kings. They have no Dogges, yea are greatly afraid of them. While that I was there, the Portugalls of Cochin sent two to the King for a raritie, who caused them incontinently to be drowned. If any touch a Dogge, he presently goes to bath, as to purifie himselfe.

Dogs dreadful and uncleane.

Fish.

The Sea is very full of fish, of all sorts great and small, principally because it is shallow and calme within the Atollons. It is their chiefe sustenance, either fresh with Rice or other meate, or fried with Oyle of Cocos, or sod in sea-water and dryed to keepe it. They send many ships daily laden to Achen in Sumatra and other places.

Sharkes.

There is one great kinde of fish which greatly vexeth them, for it devoures the men when they bath or go a fishing. I escaped very hardly from being devoured. A

man may see a great number of persons which have lost their armes or legges, or otherwise are lamed by this misfortune. The great abundance of all things causeth that victuall costs little, and that every thing is good cheape. Foure hundred Cocos may bee bought for one Larin, which is eight souses: five hundred Bannanes for one Larin: in like manner after the same price an hundred great fishes, or a dozen of good Hens, or three hundred pound of Roots, and so of other things: so that there is no * Country in India where strangers grow rich so soone, because trading is good, and victualls cheape.

Cheape victuall.

**Note.*

The principall Iland is called Male, which gives name to all others: for the word Dives signifieth a number of small Iles heaped together: it is very neere the middest of all other Iles, and is in circuit about a league and a halfe. It is fruitfuller then all the rest, and the Staple and Mart of them, and of strangers; the seat of the King and of the Court. By reason whereof it is best peopled, but unhealthfullest; there dye many, whom they interre each a part, so that all the Ile is full; the Sunne, which is very hot, draweth up noysome and pestilent vapours. The waters also are naught, the King therefore is compelled to send, for him and his house, to another Ile, where the water is better, and where they bury no bodie; so doe also the principall and men of abilitie in the Ile. Throughout all the Ilands they have no enclosed Townes, no not in the Ile of Male. But all the Ile is replenished here and there with houses and buildings, either of Lords and Gentlemen, or of the common people, and also of others. Notwithstanding the houses are distinguished by Streets and Wards, in a faire order, and all know their owne division. The houses and edifices of the common people are of Wood of the Cocos, which they cut from the trunke of the Tree, they cover them with leaves of the same Tree, sowed double one within another.

Male the principall Iland.

Unhealthfull.

No walled Townes.

Their houses.

The Signiors and rich men build with stone, which they draw forth of the Sea, from under the Shelfs and Rockes, where they find as much as they will, of good

Sea-stones how drawne thence.

length and greatnesse. It is smooth and good merchandise, verie white, somewhat hard to cut and fashion: but assoone as it raines on it, it loseth its naturall hardnesse and whitenesse, and becomes all blacke when it is beaten with the raine, or wet with fresh water: the manner of drawing them forth of the Sea is remarkable. There groweth in that Countrey a kind of Wood which they call Candou, which is as great as the Wall-nut tree here, like in the shaking leafe, and whitenesse, but wonderfull soft. It beares not any fruit, and is fit onely to burne: being dry they cut it into Plankes, which they use as we doe fire. This Wood is lighter then Corke. Having noted the stone within the water which they will have, they fasten it with a great Cable. This is ordinary, for as I said before, they are halfe fishes, very expert in swimming, their women swim as well or better then the men of these parts: so that they will goe on every occasion to the bottome of the Sea, fifteene or twenty fathoms deepe, and stay there a long time and marke the depths very often, to see where it is good laying their anchor. Sometimes also in stead of an anchor they choose some great rocke in the bottome of the Sea, and there fasten their Cable. Then after that they have selected the stone, which they will draw up, & that they have bound it to their Cable, they take a piece of the wood of Candou, & tie or thrust through (after they have bored it) their cable right opposite to the stone, and after aloft adde a certaine number of these pieces, as many as shall be necessary, so that which is marvellous light, and fleeting above the water, pulls up with it the stone and draweth it aloft, whatsoever weightie or ponderous a thing it bee, even to a thousand pounds. The Cannons and Anchors of our overwhelmed Ship were drawne up thus. I have seene that the Haven of the Ile of Male, being full of great Rocks, so that the Ships could not ride nor anchor in safetie, clensed and made navigable thus in lesse then five dayes.

Candou strange wood.

[II.ix.1655.] They use also to take five or sixe great pieces of this kind of wood, and binde them fast in a row, and above set

sawed Plankes of the same Tree after the fashion of a Hurdle, after elevate it with little boords round, before, and behinde, and on the sides, and in the middle to sit. This serves them to goe to Sea, and passe from Ile to Ile: they principally fish in such, every man hath one, for they need but one to guide and conduct them. Another propertie of this Tree is, that rubbing pieces one against another, fire comes forth, and this is their kindling of fire. For chaulke they use shells found on the Sea side, which joynes and conglutinats their buildings very well together. *Fire how kindled.*

They have two languages in use. The first, which is particular to the Maldives and is very ample. The second is the Arabick, which they greatly esteeme and learne as wee doe Latine. Also it serveth them daily for their holies. In the Atollon of Souadou, and toward the South of the Maldives they speake a language hard to understand, and very clounish and rude. *Languages.*

They apparell themselves thus. First the men tye about their privities a great swath-band of cloth, which comes round about them, for feare that going or comming, or in doing any worke, they might be discovered. After they put a little cloth of cotton died blew, or red, or some other colour, which goes no lower then their knees. Upon that they put a great piece of cloth of cotton or silk (if they are a little rich and wealthy) which reacheth to their ankles, and gird it with a faire square handkerchiefe imbroidered with gold and silke, which they fold in three corners, and spreading it upon their backes make it fast before; after for greater ornament they adde a little piece of silke of divers colours, transparent as cobweb laune, which is short and extends no further then the middle of their thighs: and after all that they incompasse themselves in a great girdle of silke, which is like to their turbant, and is well fringed; they let the ends hang before. Within this girdle, which serves them for a purse, they put their money, and their bettele on the left side; and on the right side they weare their knife, which they *Their apparell.* *Girdle.*

esteeme very honourable, and there is no bodie but weares
Knife. one, no not the King. These knives are very well made, all of excellent steele, for they have no invention to mingle yron with steele. They which have any meanes, weare the haft and sheath all of silver wrought and fashioned. In the end of the sheath on the top they have a buckle of silver, whereat hangs a little chaine also of silver, whereto are tyed their tooth-pickers and eare-pickers, and other little instruments. Others, which have not meanes to have them so costly, weare the sheath of wood wrought, the haft of a fishes bone, as of a Whale or
No land-bone worne. other Sea creature, for they will not weare bone of any Land creature. They are very curious of their knives, and thinke themselves not well clothed, except they have them at their girdle.

No Armes ordinarie. They are not suffered to carry other Armes, except the Souldiers and Officers of the King, and they onely while they are in service of the King in the Ile of Male, or elsewhere sent by him. They have commonly at their side a waved dagger, which they call a Cris; they come from Achen, Java, and China. And moreover when they goe in the street, they alwayes carry their sword naked in one hand, and their buckler in the other, or else a javelin. Their principall braverie, is to weare about their girdle
Silver chaines. many chaines of silver. There is not one man nor woman, boy nor girle, little or great, which will not have of them according to the proportion of their goods and substance. Thereon they put their Treasure, and ordinarily designe it to defray the expences of their Funerals. But none except the Grand Lords and Strangers weare them upon their clothes to be seene: the other weare them hid underneath: and yet they will have them to speake of them, and shew privately. The residue of
Nakednesse. their bodie from the Girdle upward is naked; I understand of the common people, for the Signiors of qualitie are not so. Yet in their Feast dayes they cover themselves with Jerkins and Cassocks of Cotton or Silke which they
Jerkins. fasten with Buttons of Gilt Copper. These Jerkins are

of all sorts of colours, but the edges are welted with white and blue. The sleeves come but to their elbow; they say, if they should descend to the wrist, as ours, they should not have the free mannaging of their armes. They put on also coloured linings, which are very strait, and reach from the ankles to the wast, which they fasten also on the bottome with gilded buttons.

The chiefe men array themselves ordinarily with Jerkins and Cassockes. A great number on Feast dayes use another kinde of gallantry: they bruise Sanders and Camphire on very slicke and smooth stones (which they bring from the firme Land) and sometimes other sorts of odoriferous wood; after they compound it with water distilled of flowres, and overspread their bodies with this paste, from the Girdle upwards, adding many formes with their finger, such as they imagine: it is somewhat like cut and pinked Doublets, and of an excellent savour. Sometimes they bind together faire flowres, and of the best sent. They dresse their Wives or Lemmons in this sort, and make upon their backes workes and shadowes, as they please. This is one kind of bravery which is much used, but they dare not present themselves so trimmed before the King, nor within the Palace. Upon their heads they weare red Turbants, or diversified into various colours, the richer sort of Silke, the poorer of fine Cotton. The Souldiers and Officers of the King attire themselves after one fashion, which is not permitted to others, putting often on their heads imbroydered Hand-kerchiefes, which others may not. All the people goe naked on their feet, and often on their legges, yet within their Houses they use a kind of Slippers or Sandals made of wood, but when any of their Superiours come to visit them, they pull off their Sandals, and remaine with bare feet.

Past-garment.

Skin-prints.

Souldiers and Officers attire.

Barefeet.

[II.ix.1656.]

The women have a great cloth of Cotton, or of coloured Silke which comes about them from their middle to their ankles, and serves them for a Coate. Upon that they put a Robe of Taffata, or very light Cotton, but very long: It descends to their feet, the borders are blue and

Womens habit.

white; it is very like the Smocks which women weare in these parts. It is a little open on the necke, and fastned with two little gilded Buttons, and so before in the Throate, without any more opening in the bosome: so that when they will give their children sucke, they are constrayned to pull up their Garments, yet without any indecencie, by reason of the cloth which they use in stead of a Coate. Their Armes are laden with great Bracelets of Silver, sometimes from the wrist to the elbow; the poorer sort weare them mixed with Brasse, others of fine and massie Silver, so that there are some found with three or foure pound of Silver on their Armes: and moreover they have Chaines of Silver on their Girdles under their clothes, which are not seene, but sometimes when their Garments are very lightsome. They have many Chaines of Gold about their neckes if they be women of ranke and fashion, or they knit together pieces of Gold Coine, which comes thither from Arabia, or elsewhere from the Continent. In their eares they weare very rich pendants according to their wealth, but they weare them not after the same fashion we doe heere. For the Mothers pierce the eares of their Daughters when they are young, not only in the lap or fat of the eare, but all along the gristle in many places, and put there threeds of Cotton to encrease and keepe the holes, that they may put when they are greater little gilded nailes, to the number of twentie foure in both eares. The head of the naile is commonly adorned with a precious Stone or Pearle, also in the lap of the eare they have an earing fashioned after their manner. When the women goe in the streets either in the night or day, (although they go seldome in the day) they weare a Veile upon their heads; but they put it downe going with the Queenes or great Ladies, or with their betters, but not at all before men, no, not before the King; but on the contrary they will hide themselves more when they imagine that men eye them.

Bracelets heavie.

Chaines.

Eare-tires.

It is observable, that none neither man nor woman, except the Prince or Grand Signior dare weare any Rings

set with Stones, nor Jewels, nor Bracelets, Carkanets, or Earings, nor Chaines of Gold without permission from the King, if they bee men, or from the Queenes, if they bee women. This permission they buy, except they conferre this benefit on them, as they doe often to the women.

Gold prohibited.

None, neither Queenes nor Princesses may weare Bracelets and Rings of Gold on their Armes and Legs: but for any other ornament it is permitted them to have Gold; but although the Rings of their Feet and Legges are of Silver, they may not weare what quantitie they will, if they be not of great Birth and Originall, nor put Rings on their fore-fingers, except the Queenes, the Princesses and great Ladies on the middle-fingers; all other women with permission on the two other fingers, the men only on their thumbe. So every one knowes his ranke and degree, and what ornaments he must have aswell for himselfe as his Wife, and there is no confusion in it, If the Wife of any one which hath not accustomed to goe brave before, beginne to goe more gay, or if a man weare Rings set with Jewels on his finger, although in so doing hee exceeds not that which is permitted him; yet they impose on him a greater Taxe for this: except the Officers of the King and of the Queenes, which pay no Taxes, nor the Inhabitants of the Ile of Malé, yet they are burthened with other charges, and pay many extraordinary expences.

Strangers priviledged.

The Strangers and their Wives have priviledge to attire themselves as they wil, to weare what ornaments and costlinesse they will, without permission, even as the great Princes, or the King himselfe. In briefe I observed, that the Strangers have more Priviledges and Immunities then the Naturals. Also the Pandiare, the Naybes and Catibes of the Ile of Malé, and other Ilands may dresse and array themselves as they please, without being bound to the Lawes for this thing as others.

Womens customes.

The women are curious to tricke and trimme themselves handsomely. They have a custome to make the nailes of their feet and hands red. This is the beautie of

the Countrey: they make it with the juice and moysture of a certayne Tree, and it endures as long as their nailes. Certainly they appeare very faire and beautifull, aswell because they attire themselves neatly, as because they are wel-favoured, of a good proportion, and very prettie.

[II.ix.1657.]

§. IIII.

Rites of Meate and Drinke, Bathing, Superstitious Observations: Diseases. Education of Children. Fishing, Fashions, Lusts.

Feasting. THey never eate together, but with men of their owne Ranke and Qualitie; counting it a dishonour to eate with their inferiour: Also they feast seldome, except at their Festivals and Solemnities. If they wil at other times entertaine their friends, they prepare a Service of many Dishes, and set it on a great round Table covered with Taffata, and send it into his House whom they will feast: which they hold a great *Feeding.* honour. Being in their owne house they love not the others should see them eate, and goe therefore to the furthest side of their house, letting downe all the clothes and Tapistrie which are before them, that so they may be unseene. Before they eate, they say their Prayers. They have no other Table then the floore of their Lodgings, which is covered with a little fine Mat, whereon they *Neatnesse.* sit crosse-legged. They use no Naperie, but for feare of wasting their Mats they use great leaves of the Bannanes whereon they set their Dishes, and others before them in stead of Trenchers: they are so neat in their feeding, that they shed nothing in the place where they eate, no not one drop of water, although they wash their *Dishes.* mouth before and after their repast. Their dishes are of Earth, figured after the maner of the Country, and come from Cambaya; as good as China Porcelane, and so common that all use them. But they have no Platter of Earth or Porcelane, which is not after the fashion of a Box round, varnished and nealed, and a cover of the same

matter. The poorer sort have covered Platters in stead of these Boxes, which cost little. The reason is because of the Ants, which in great numbers fill every place, so that it is very difficult to keepe any thing without a cover. *Pismires troublesome.*

They are also so nice in their Diet, that they will not taste of any meate wherein hath fallen a Flye or an Emit, or any little creature, or the least filthinesse, so that they will give it to the Birds when they come: for they have no minde to give it to the poore, to whom they never give any thing which they would not have, or which is not aswell dressed as for themselves. Wherefore when the poore come to their doores, they make them come in, and make them as good cheere as for themselves; saying, that they are the Servants of God aswell as themselves. The Grand Signiors and rich men have no other Vessels then other men, although they might have them of Gold and Silver, yet their Law forbids it. If a dish happen to be a little riven or crackt, they eate no more in it; saying, that it is polluted. They use no Spoones neither to eate Rice nor Honey, nor any liquid thing, but take them with their fingers, which they doe neatly and nimbly without losing any thing, for they account it the greatest incivilitie in the World to let any thing fall in eating. In the meane while also, none dare spit nor cough, but must rise and goe forth. In eating they never use the left hand, because therewith they wash their Privities. They willingly eate at the beginning of their feeding a Cocos halfe ripe, and drinke the water of it; saying, that it is healthfull, and looseth their belly. They eate all greedily and in haste, holding it mannerlinesse not to be long in eating: and in the meane while, though they be in company, they speake not a word. *Nicetie.* *Charitie.* *No Plate.* *Finger-spoons.* *Dexteritie.* *Quicke at meate.*

To drinke while they are eating, is reckond clownishnesse, but after they have eaten their fill, they drinke once. Their drinke is commonly of water, or of Wine of Cocos drawne forth the same day: they have also other sorts of drinkes for the King and Nobles, or at their great Solemnities. They drinke in Copper Cups well wrought, *Drinking rites.*

with covers on them. After their repast, and when they *Bettell.* have washed, they present a Platter of Bettell, in stead of sweet meates. For the most part they have no ordinarie houre of eating, but eate at all houres when they are *No man cooke.* hungry. Their Wives and Daughters prepare and dresse their meate, and not men. It is the greatest injurie that a man can doe to one, to call him Cisday, that is to say Cooke: and if any bee found to addict themselves to this, they are mocked and despised every where, in such sort that they esteeme them not for men but women: and they dare not accompany with any but women, nor doe any other exercise; also they make it no difficultie to leave them with them.

Butcher-rites. When they kill any creature for their food, they have many Mysteries. They cut the throat turning themselves toward Mahomets Sepulchre, and say their Prayers, and all speedily let it goe, or goe forth, not touching it till it be thoroughly dead. If any touch it before, they cast away the flesh, and eate it not. Also they cut it not every-where, but in a certaine place of the throat, otherwise they eat it not, and every one understands not this, but principally their Priests or Mondius know it: they *Superstition.* which enterprize it must bee ancient and not yong, and such as have had children. In all their actions they are very scrupulous and superstitious. After they have slept, whether in the night or day, they faile not presently after they are awake, to wash their eyes and face, and rub them with Oyle, and put also a certaine blacknesse upon their eye-lids and eye-browes: they dare not speake nor bid any good morrow till they have done thus; they are carefull to rub their Teeth, and to wash and clense them, [II.ix.1658.] saying furthermore, that the Red colour of Bettell and *Bettell and Arecka.* Arecka, which they chawe continually takes the better: so that they have all red Teeth, by reason of champing of Bettell, & they account this braverie. They carrie it also alwaies about in the pleats of their Girdle, and it should be a dishonor to be found without it; it is the custome when they encounter one another by the way interchange-

ably each to give the other some of his. They bathe often in the day, not only for pleasure and commoditie, but for Religion, or entrance into the Mosche: they wash their Extreems after they have made urine, or done their necessities, they wash their Privities with the left hand, or they wash all their bodie, which they call Junan, according to their Feasts with diversities of formes and ceremonies. So that when they wash in publike, as they doe, a man may know wherefore they bathe, as if they have accompanied with their Wives whether by night or by day, they plunge their head three times under the water. When they are to goe any Voyage, they desire not to meet or touch any body, and if any disastrous thing chance to them, they attribute it to him who toucht them. Above al when they goe on fishing, they must not salute any, nor bid them good morrow. From the going downe of the Sunne on Thursday in the Evening, till the day following about three or foure of the clocke, they will not permit any thing to be carried out of their Houses, although their deerest Love, or their Father would borrow any thing, they would not give it them, neither will they render that which shall be sent for, although it bee not theirs: yet they will receive any thing, and let it enter into their houses in the meane-while without any scruple. They wrangle not nor quarrell together, although there be enmitie betweene them; above all take heed of reproaching.

Bathing.

Superstitions.

In sailing, if they be surprized with contrarie winds, of calmes, or stormes, they make Vowes to him which commands the winds, whom they call not God, but King. There is no Ile where is not found a Siare, as they call it, which is a place dedicated to the winds, in a desolate corner of the Ile, where they which have escaped danger, make Offerings daily of little Boates and ships made purposely, full of Perfumes, Gummes, Flowres, and odoriferous Woods. They burne the Perfumes, and cast the little Boats into the Sea which goe floting till they be burned, for they put fire in them; to the end, they say,

Their Æolusrites.

that the King of the Winds may accept them. Also they set not willingly their ships and Gallies afloate, but they kill Hens and Cockes, and cast them in the Sea before the ship or Boat which they will use. They beleeve also that there is a King of the Sea, to whom in like sort they make Praiers and Ceremonies in their Navigation, and when they goe on fishing, fearing upon everie errour and offence, the Kings of the Winds and of the Sea. So that being on the Sea they dare not spit on the windie side, nor cast any thing overboord, for feare that they should be angrie with them: also they never looke behind them. All the Boates, Barkes, and ships are devoted to the powers of the Winds and of the Sea: and surely they respect them as if they were their Temple, keeping them neate, and never committing any filthy and dishonest thing in them. They have also the Kings of the other Elements (as they call them) and especially that of Warre, but all with great Ceremonies.

Superstitious neatnesse.

Characters. See the like in Jobsons Notes of Gambra.

They greatly esteeme certaine Characters, which they call Tavide, which they weare under their Garments, inclosed in little Boxes, which the Rich make of Gold or Silver. They weare them often on their armes, on their necke, or at their Girdle, or else at their foot, according to the subject of the Disease; for they weare them for all things as well offensive as defensive, that they should love or be loved, or hate, or to heale or cure any Maladie.

Magicians.

The Magicians and Sorcerers sell them these for monie, and tell them that it brings them good lucke, and heales their Diseases. They have few remedies for their Maladies, but have recourse to the Magicians and Sorcerers, who are their only Physicians. They beleeve also that all their evill is caused by the Devill to vexe them, who is the only cause of their Deaths and Diseases. Therefore they call upon him, and offer Flowres to him, and prepare Banquets of all sorts of Viands and Beverages, which they set in a certaine secret place, where they let them consume, if no poore people happen to take them away. For the same purpose they kill Cockes or Hennes, turning

Devil invoked.

them towards the Sepulchre of Mahomet, after leaving them there, praying the Devill to accept of them.

The Fever is common among them, but most dangerous to strangers. From ten yeeres to ten yeeres, here comes a Disease called Curivadiri, for which they abandon one another, as if it were the Plague. It is like the small Pockes, and kils many. The diseases of the Eyes are very common, I have seene a great number blind, and the most part have little Eyes. It happens also often that having beene long in the Sunne in the height of the day, after the Sunne is downe, they see not at all, whatsoever fire or light be put neere them, although it were a hundred Torches, yet without feeling any other evill. To heale it, they boyle the Liver of a Cocke, and write words and Charmes, and set it toward the point of the setting of the Sunne. My Companions and I were sometimes vexed with this Maladie: but having learned the Receit, wee tooke the Liver of a Cocke, rejecting their Charmes, to see if that would serve, and wee found that it healed us as well as them, without observing their Sorceries. They are much subject to the Itch, which they heale with Oyle of Cocos. Remedilesse Tetters terrifie them much: some have almost their whole bodies over-runne with them. These evils come by reason of the quantitie of Salt-fish which they eate, and also because they seldome salt their meates, but powre Sea-water to it.

Fevers.

Decenniall Disease.

Blindnesse.

Tetters.

[II.ix.1659.]

In the Winter, although the Raines are continuall, yet they goe bare-foot, they have under their feet and betweene their toes, a kind of hand-worme, which breeds in the filth, it maketh Wheales and Pushes full of water, which after they increase ingender Ulcers, which greatly hinders their going. They are also troubled all over the bodie with these Wormes. They have all commonly great Spleenes, and are subject to obstructions, and endure much evill. They have some Receits and Compositions of Herbes and Drugges for divers Maladies, and principally for wounds, which they heale very cunningly.

Bare-foot.

Feet wormes.

Splenetike.

They use no bindings nor linnen to their Soares, but

Rheumes. only Ointments. Cathaires and Fluxes sometimes trouble them, and aches in the bones. The Neapolitan disease is not very frequent: they heale it with China wood, without sweating or any other thing, they call it Farangui Baesrour, this Maladie came from Europe, whose Inhabitants they call Farangui or Frangui. They are never troubled with the Tooth-ache; it seemes their ordinary chawing of Bettell is the cause hereof. As soone as their Infants are borne, they wash them in cold water sixe times a day, and after they chafe them with Oyle, and continue this washing a great while: and moreover, when they make Urine, or doe Natures Office, they wash their Privities with water.

Europeans called Frankes.

No Toothache.

Hardinesse.

Nurserie of Infants. The Mothers nourish their owne Children, and dare not put them forth to nurse to others, no not the Queenes, saying ordinarily that the beasts bring up their young, but they have Servants to tend, carrie, and governe them. Besides the breast they make a kind of Pappe, of Rice or Honey, brayed and macerated, after boiled with Milke and Sugar of Cocos. The most part (especially the poorest) give them Bananes. They never swaddle their Children, but let them goe free, and yet I never saw any deformed. Now their Couch hangs in the Aire, within little Beds of coard, or little Chaires, where they shogge and rocke them. At the age of nine moneths they begin to goe.

Education. At nine yeeres old they bring them up in the studies and exercises of the Countrey. These studies are to learne to write and to reade, and to understand their Alcoran, and know what they are bound to doe. Their Letters are of divers sorts, the Arabicke with some Letters and Points which they have added to expresse their Language: another whereof the Character is peculiar to the Language of the Maldives, and moreover, a third which is the vulgar of Ceylan, and of the greatest part of the Indies. They write their Lessons on little Tables of wood, which are white, and when they can say their Lesson by heart, they blot it out, and white it againe. If the writing bee to abide and remaine perpetually, they write upon Parchment

Letters peculiar.

Learning to write.

which is made of the leafe of the Tree called Macore Queau, which is a fathome and an halfe in length, and a foot broad. To teach their Children to write, they have Boards made of wood purposely, very smooth and plaine, whereon they spread very fine and thinne Sand, after with a Bodkin they make the Letters, and make them imitate them, blotting out the Rule which they have written, and never use herein any Paper. *Leafe Parchment.*

They carrie as great respect and reverence to their Tutors as to their Fathers: so that they may not contract Marriage together, as being allied in Affinitie. There are some found among them who follow their studies, who are very skilfull in the Alcoran, and Ceremonies of their Law; they are principally the Modins, Catibes, or Naybes. These two Offices are compatible, for a Catibe may be a Naybe, and a Naybe a Catibe. *New Kindred of Teachers.*

The Mathematickes are there taught, and are greatly esteemed, especially Astrologie, which many studie; for they consult with the Astrologers about every thing: They will enterprize nothing without their advice. They will not only know their Nativities and time of their Births, but also if they build, whether with wood or stone, they must enquire of the Astrologer, what houre will bee best to beginne, that it may bee under a good Constellation: or if they employ a Boate, although they doe it diversly, taking a different day or houre for a ship of Warre, or of Merchandize, or a fishing Barke. If they undertake any Voyage, or any thing else, they enquire of the Astrologer what shall be the issue, and whether the day bee good or evill, if the Planet be favourable or unfortunate. Whatsoever sinister accident happens to them, they attribute the cause to the day, and take it patiently, saying, it is the will of God that hath brought it to passe. *Astrologie.* *Divinations.*

The Ilanders are much exercised in Armes, either to serve with a Sword and Buckler, or readily to bend the Bow, or use the Harquebuse, or mannage the Pike: they have Schooles, the Masters whereof are greatly honoured and respected, and ordinarily the Grand Signiors use this *Armes.*

exercise. They have no plaies but the Ball and Tennice, which they receive and cast forth with great agilitie, although it be not but with their feet.

Fishing. Their greatest exercise is fishing, which all in all places of the Maldives use indifferently, without having any (as in other places) certaine persons of this vocation, or certaine places proper to it, which are not publike. This exercise they account honest and honorable wherein also the Gentlemen exercise themselves as they doe heere in hunting. The King hath twelve persons appointed to guide and conduct his Boat when he goeth on fishing, and to prepare all things necessarie for it.

[II.ix.1660.] They have an admirable quantitie of great Fish, as Bonitos, Albachores, guilt-heads and others which are very like one another, and of the same taste, and have no more skales then the Mackrell. They take them in the deepe Sea, on this fashion, with a line of a fathom and a halfe of great round Cotton thred made fast to a great Cane. Their hooke, is not so much bowed as ours, but more stretched out, & is pointed in the end like a Pin, without having any other beard or tongue. They fasten not on their Bait, but the day before provide a quantitie of small Fish, as great as our little Bleaks, or Roches, which they find in great number on the Bankes and Sands, and keep them alive inclosed in little pursnets (made of the Thred of Cocos) with little Mashes, and let them hang in the Sea at the Sterne of their Barkes. When they come into the deepe Sea, they sow about their little Fishes, and let their Line hang downe. The great Fish seeing the little Fish, which is not frequent in the deepe Sea, runne together in great shoales, and by the same meanes they fastem them to their hookes, which they white and trim over; so that being a ravenous and foolish Fish, it takes the whited Hook, thinking it is a white little Fish. They doe nothing but lift their Line into their Boat, and the Fish falls off presently (being not strongly fastened) and then they put it into the Sea againe; thus they take a strange quantitie, so that in three or foure houres their Boates are in a

Strange formes of taking fish.

manner full; and that which is remarkable, they go alwayes with full sayle. The Fish which they take thus they generally cal in their language Cobolly Masse, that is to say, the Blacke Fish, for they are all blacke.

They have another sort of fishing on their bankes, when the Moone is in the change, and when it is at the full, three daies each time. This they doe on Rafts made of the Wood, called Camdou. They have great Lines of fiftie or sixtie fathome pitched over. In the end they hang hookes wheron they fasten the baite as we doe, and thus take great quantitie of fish, one kinde very delicious, which they call the King of the Sea. They have all sorts of Nets and Toiles made of Cotton twine, Weeles and other Instruments of fishing. Neere the Sea shoare, and where it is shallow, they passe their time, and take delight in fishing for small fish, like Pilchards with casting Nets. Twice in the Yeere at the Equinoctials, they make a generall fishing, a great number of persons assemble together in certaine indraughts of the Sea. The Sea at that time ariseth higher then all the times of the Yeere, and passeth the limits of other Tides, the Ebbe after the same proportion recoiles and retires, discovering the Rockes and Shoalds, which at other times appeare not. In these places while the Sea is going out, they observe some fit corner, and set about it great stones, one upon another to a great height, so that it resembles a round Wall or Raveling. This inclosure hath fortie paces in circuit or compasse: but the entrance is but two or three paces large. They gather together thirtie or fortie men, and every one carrieth fiftie or sixie fathome of great coard of Cocos, where from fathome to fathome they tie a piece of the Barke of dried Cocos, to make it float on the water, as we use Corke: after, they tye them together, and stretch them out in a round upon the flats. It is strange, that all the fish which is within the coard, finding themselves taken, although there bee no other Nets nor Instruments, but the Coard which swimmeth on the water, but the fish fearing the Line and shadow of the Line; so that they dare not passe

King of the Sea.

Generall fishing.

under to escape, but flye from the Line, thinking that it hath a Net underneath: The men goe all driving them to the inclosure of stone, drawing up the coard by little and little some in Boates, and some in the water (for upon these flats the Sea is shallow, and not above necke high for the most part lesse) so moderately drawing up the Line, the fish flye from it, and are locked up in the inclosure, so that in the end the Line being all drawne up, all the fishes enter in: and they speedily stop the entry with Faggots of boughes and leaves of Cocos, bound end to end, twentie or thirtie fathome, and compacted together about the greatnesse of a man, and so when the Sea is out, the fish remaine taken on the dry Land. They often take thus of all sorts ten and twelve thousand or more. This fishing they make but once in sixe monethes, upon every flat, and every time continues five daies, and they change daily their divisions, and returne not often into the same place to fish in this manner, except at another Equinoctiall.

The people are above measure superstitious, and addicted to their Religion; but yet extreamly given to women, wanton and riotous. There is nothing commoner then Adulteries, Incest and Sodomie, notwithstanding the rigour of their Lawes and Penalties: As for simple Fornication, there is nothing more ordinarie: they count it not a sinne, neither their Wives, nor Daughters which are not married, make it no great matter to yeeld themselves to their Friends, and after (which is very execrable) to evacuate their Fruit by making an abortion, or destroy their children which are not legitimate. The women are strangely impudent, and the men are not lesse vitious (but they cannot be more) and very effeminate. All their desire is to procure (if they can) some Receit, that they may better content their Wives, and be more strong to exercise their Fornications. I thinke they spend all their goods on this; hereof they continually speake, and are very dissolute in their words, and almost never stirre from their Wives, of whom they have pluralitie, to three, which is the cause that they cannot satisfie each of them: also the

Lecherie.

Aire of the Countrey is hot, and exhales part of their spirits and courage: and also their continually softening their flesh in the water, and that the most part eate Opium, or Aphion, as they call it, which tipples, intoxicates and [II.ix.1661.] duls them. The women (as I have said) carefully hide their brests: to speake of them, they account very lascivious and dishonest. To kisse, they make as great a matter as to lye together, although they be dissolute in their conversation, yet they containe themselves before their Parents, and respect their presence. But if a man happen to speake a word (such as I have said) to a woman before one or any of her Kindred, they will goe hide themselves, and be greatly offended against him; he must therefore make them excuses, and say that hee knew not that they were neere of kin; otherwise they will thinke that he did purposely, and therefore complaine to the Justice, that hee may manifest which said these lascivious words in their presence, that he holds them for good and honest people. A man dare not enter into the place where a woman bathes her selfe, or where she is retired (her Robe being off) although they never take off the cloth which environs them, and serves them for a Coat; but (as I have said) they esteeme the brests as shamefull parts.

Breasts not to be spoken of.

When a man and woman is together, and another person meet with him, hee must not demand of this man if she be his Wife, or Daughter, or Sister: for if it were his Daughter, and hee should aske if it were his Wife, he should offend as if he accused him of Incest; only he must demand if she be his Kinswoman, & he tels the degree of Parentage or Affinitie. As long as the woman have their tearmes, they bathe not, and wash only their hands and mouth, they change not their Garments, nor lie with their Husbands, nor eate nor converse with any bodie. When the women goe a visiting in the night, they must have a man to accompany them who goeth before, and when hee perceives that any body comes, hee saith three times Gas, that is, take heede: the men advertised

Visitation.

by this, quite the side of the way where the woman goes, making no semblance of seeing them, nor of knowing them, with great respect: and if they bee other women, they take each her side of the way, and salute not, except they bee very familiar. They never knocke at the Gate (for there is no Ring or Hammer) nor call to bee let into the house, for the great Gate of the Court is alwayes open till eleven of the clocke in the evening: wherefore they enter into the Court, which is neere the doore of the house, which is also open and spread onely with Tapestrie of Cotton cloth, or other stuffe, and as they approach to this Gate, they cough once, which they hearing within, go forth and see if any one would speake with them. Also the men going in the night through the street, cough often determinately, that they may advertise one the other, for feare of hurting, or wounding, for they carry their weapons naked; I understand the Souldiers and Officers of the King in the Ile of Male.

§. V.

Their Government described. The Judges, Officers, Gentry, Communaltie. The King his Palace, Guard, Nobilitie, Robes, Attire, Attendance, Exercises, Riches; slaine by the Bengalans.

The King. THe government of the estate of the Maldives is royall and very absolute and ancient; the King is feared and reverenced, and all depend of him. In each of the thirteene Cantons is one principall, whom they *Naybe.* call Naybe. These Naybes or principalls of the Provinces are Priests and Doctors of their Law, and have the oversight of all that concernes Religion, and instruction of the people therein, and exercise of Justice, and command the Priests which are under them. These Atollons are subdivided into many Ilands, in each of which, where there is *Catibe.* not above fortie and one men, is a Doctor called Catibe, superior in the Religion of that Ile, who hath under him the particular Priests of the Moschees, all which have care

to nourish and instruct the people in the Law; and live of a certaine portion of fruits which every one is bound to give them, and of certaine rents which the King gives them according to their degree. But particularly the Naybes, besides the exercise of Religion, and authoritie which they have, are instituted to execute and doe justice, each in his government. They are the onely Judges of the Country as well in matters civill as criminall, and if any one will have justice hee must goe finde out the Naybe, or attend his comming to the place. For the Naybes foure times in the yeere, go in circuit about the Ilands, each in his Jurisdiction, and make Visitations, as wel for the religion of the Priests, as for justice. This is their greatest revenue, for then their duties are paid them: moreover they receive store of Presents from many persons, whereof they are very greedie. In all the Maldives there are no Judges but the thirteene Naybes; for the Catibes of the Ilands, and the Priests of the Moschees are but for a shew.

Their maintenance.

The thirteene Naybes. Visitation and Circuit.

Over these Naybes there is a superior, which resides in the Ile of Male (and is ever neere his person) which is called Pandiare; who is not onely chiefe of the Religion throughout all the Realme, but also soveraigne Judge. So that after they have pleaded before the Naybe, if they will not stand to his sentence, whether in matters civill or criminall, they may appeale to the Pandiare: who discides all affaires that offer themselves, taking advise of some Naybes which are neere him, of the Catibes, grave men called Moucouris, that is Doctors and experienced men, which are not Officers: they give no judgement if they be not assisted with foure or five of these persons at the least. These Moucouries can say all the Alcoran by heart (and all the others read it onely) besides divers other Sciences which they know. They solemnely invite them to all their Feasts, Sermons, and Ceremonies; and are greatly honoured and respected by all. There are not above fifteene of them in all the Ilands. The Pandiare is called Cady in the Arabick language.

The Pandiare or chiefe Judge.

[II.ix.1662.]

Moucouries learned men.

Also after the judgement of the Pandiare, one may complaine to the King, who commands, and makes justice to be executed: and this is by six Signiors his principall Officers, who manage the most importune affaires of state. The Pandiare being assisted with two Catibes of the Ile of Malé, and by Naybe of the Attollon, besides some of those Doctors, goeth also to make his visitation through the Ile of Malé, as every Naybe in his Atollon; and hee is attended with his Officers which carry a long whip to correct delinquents. Hee makes all (without exception) that meet him, to say their creed, and some prayers in the Arabick tongue, and after demands the interpretation in the Maldive language; and if they are ignorant, he causeth them to be whipt and scourged in the open field by his Officers. The women dare not shew themselves when hee goeth through the street, and if hee encounter any unvailed, hee causeth her haire to be shaven.

The King.

Sixe Councellours of State.

Severe Catechising.

Treasurer.

Besides the Naybes, there is in every Atollon a man delegated and appointed by the King to receive and levie his rents and revenues. All the Iles have each their order by Division and Cantons, as that of Malé; there are five divisions which they call Avares, and each hath a principall called Mouscouly Avare: the ancient of the division, and nothing is done there for the King or the people, but they come to him. Justice (which they call in their language Sacouest) is exercised in the house of the Naybe, or else in the Ile of Malé in the house of the Pandiare, and sometimes in the Kings Palace when the matter is of weight or moment. When they will begin a suit, they goe to the Judge or Naybe, who sends one of the Sergeants (of whom there are a certaine number, called Devanits) to make the accused partie come; and if he bee in the same Iland, hee must have to make him come, a letter of the Naybe, by the meanes whereof he must notifie the place where he is, seeing that he is in the Jurisdiction of the Naybe. Or else if hee be of another Jurisdiction, the Naybe can doe nothing, but in this case he must have letters of the Pandiare, who can make him come from any part of the

Avares.

Sergeants.

Writs.

Realme into the Kings Iland, where he abideth. Now they give this letter to the Catibe, superior of the Ile, who in presence of them all gives it to the partie accused, expresly charging him to goe thither: hereof they dare not faile, for they which disobey this justice, cannot associate with any, nor goe to the Mosche, nor eate nor drinke with them, and they hold them not of their Law. If it bee so that any will not obey, or if hee be some Grande, the King sends his Souldiers to constraine him to come. But if hee will not plead before the Naybe, either because hee beares him ill will, or because that his partie hath too much favour against him, then the plaintiffe or the defendant who is accused, goeth to find out the King, who commands that hee doe Justice by Judges not suspected. This they execute in the Kings house, in the presence of all the chiefe of the Iland. The parties plead their owne causes themselves. If the cause bee of fact, each bring three witnesses, and if they have them not, the defendant is beleeved on his oath only, which they take in touching with the hand the book of their law, which the Judge presents; and then the plaintiffe if hee bee a little versed in affaires, markes scrupulously if the party touched the booke really, and the place where he did it. If the difference bee in matter of right, they are judged by the Law.

Excommunication.

No Advocates.

Cases de facto & de jure.

The Judges take nothing for their judgements, for nothing is due, except that the Devonits or Sergeants have the twelfth part of that which is due or adjudged. The Slaves cannot bee witnesses, nor plead, nor make triall in judgement; likewise in such a cause they receive three women for one man. The Slaves are such as make themselves so, or such as they bring from other places and sell; for shipwrackt strangers lose not the libertie which they had; if they were Slaves they remaine so. The Slaves which they call Allo, are of worst conditions. They can have but one wife although all others have three. Beating of a Slave is punished with halfe that which they inflict for beating a Free-man. Debtors are constrained, if they have nothing to pay, to yeeld themselves Servants and not

Slaves.

Debtors.

Slaves, and are not used as such, but as naturalls of the Countrie, and serve onely their Creditors or other persons which lend them mony to discharge them, these are called Pemousere, which is to say, servant by borrowing, and they continue thus till they are acquitted, yea their children are Slaves perpetually if they pay it not. Yet when they are ill intreated, they may discharge them, ingaging themselves in the same sort to another, that lends it them: for all their service they are nourished and maintained, and when they die their Masters takes all that they had, and if there be not enough to satisfie him, the children must serve till hee bee paid. There are many which seeke (to bee these Pemoussere) to great persons and men of authoritie, to have support and favour: for when they belong to no body, they are troubled by one or other.

Children. The wife cannot pursue in justice the death of her husband: but onely the children or the kindred. If the children be young, they stay till they be sixteene yeeres old, to know if they will revenge the death of their father. While they thus stay, the Judge commands him which is [II.ix.1663.] appeached of murther to bring up the children of the deceased, and teach them some Trade or Mysterie. When they are come to age, they demand Justice, or remit and pardon the Murtherer, without any after examination. In matters of injury committed on the person of any particular, the wronged must complaine; or otherwise the crime is abolished: except the King will make justice to be executed, without the other partie, but this is seldome.

Punishments. The ordinary punishments are banishment into the desart Ilands towards the South; cutting off a principall member; or the whip, which is the commonest punishment, but extraordinarily cruell. They are thongs of great thicke leather, a fathom in length, foure fingers in breadth, and two in thicknesse: hereof there are five or sixe tied together, in a stocke and handle of Wood. With this they chastice malefactors, and beat them so severely that

Terrible whips.

they die often. This is the ordinary punishment (for the most part) of the greatest crimes, as Sodomy, Incest, and Adultery. Besides this punishment, they cut off the womens hayre that are taken in adultery. False witnesses, and perjured persons are thus punished, and moreover condemned in a pecuniary mulct, which is disposed of to the poore. A rape is punished as adultery, and (for the most part) the ravisher is condemned to endow the woman or mayd. The stealing of any thing of valew, with the cutting off the hand. If they commit any thing against the Law, they must make a kinde of publike penance. They thinke they shall never come in Paradice if they pay not, and accomplish that which the Law hath appointed. For the execution and chastising of malefactors, they have no hangmen, but the Devanits or Sergeants doe it. For punishment with death, although their Law ordaines it for Homicide, yet the Judges never condemne them to it. All the while I was in the Maldives I saw none condemned to death by the ordinary Judges: they dare not doe it, except the King expresly commands it, which is seldome. They say commonly, that they must not put men to death so; and if they should execute all that merit death, it would bee a long time before the Ilands should bee inhabited. Yet the King sends his Souldiers, and condemnes and executes those as have deserved it. For although justice be in the power of the Doctors of the Law, yet the King is the onely arbitrator, and alone hath power of life and death. Among others the King useth one particular punishment on those which have offended him; hee maketh them lye on the ground upon their belly, and their armes and legges to bee held by foure men, and after to be beaten on their backe, with a staffe or kinde of cane, called Rotan, which comes from Bengala; this pulls off the skin, and the marke or brand endures perpetually.

Adultery.

Rape.

Theft.

Few executed.

They never put in writing their suits and differences, nor their accusations, nor depositions, nor judgements, for they are all very readie and compendious: neither in

No writings for evidence.

civill matters, except it be about grounds of inheritance, or Cocos trees which are immoveable, and that the Pandiare or Naybes give judgement. For in this case, they give their letters sealed with their seale of Inke, for I never saw them use any Waxe, and this serves for a testimony to their offspring, that hereafter, neither hee which hath obtained the cause, nor his heyres may be disquieted.

Degrees and sorts of men. Rites, & rights of Nobilitie.

There are foure sorts of persons: in the first is comprehended the King called Rasquan, and the Queene called Renequillague, with those which are of their race, and precedent King, Princes, called Calans, Princesses or Camenaz, and Grand Signiors. The second order is that of Dignities, Offices, and Degrees, which the King distributes, wherein likewise the rankes is very carefully observed. The third is the Gentrie. The fourth, the common People. I will begin at the third, which is the ranke which birth gives to every one separate from the common people. There are many Noble men dispersed heere and there among the Iles. They which are not Nobles dare not sit with them, nor in their presence, although it bee at the further end, and as farre as they see a greater then they comming behind, they must attend and let him goe before. If also they have any piece of cloath upon their shoulder, or any thing, they put it downe. The Noble women, although they marrie with men of inferiour condition and not Noble, loose not their ranke. Yea the Children which issue from them are Noble, by reason of the Mother. Also the women of low estate marrying to Noble men, are not ennobled by their Husbands, but retayne their first ranke. Besides the Nobles by birth, the King ennobles whom hee will. Then when this happens, the King besides his Letters wherewith hee priviledgeth him, sends one of his Officers appointed for this, who makes publication throughout all the Ile, or sounds a kinde of Bell which is of cast mettall, whereon hee strikes with a Hammer. After the King, are the Princes of the bloud, and they which are descended of

other Kings his predecessours, who although they be of divers Houses, yet are all much honoured and respected.

Kings Lieutenant and other Officers.

Next are the great Officers of the Kingdome: that is to say, the Quilague, which wee may call the Kings Lieutenant generall: because next to the King and in his absence, hee is most mightie in the Government of the State, so that nothing is done without his advise. Also if the King will have any thing observed or executed, hee is the first whom the King deputes, and to whom hee addresseth his commands. Next him, another called Parenas which is of great authoritie: An Endequery, whose Office is to bee alwayes neere the King, and to counsell him in all his occasions and affaires. Another hath charge of Sea matters, which wee may tearme Admirall, hee is called Velannas, hee lookes to the Ships which arrive, and their Merchandize; and hath care of entertaining Strangers and soliciting for them, hee useth to come to the ships which arrive, even the smallest Barkes, [II.ix.1664.] although they bee of the Countrey, and takes away the rudder, and causeth it to bee carried into the Kings house, for feare they should goe away without taking leave. He hath under him two Sergeants which looke to the Ships that arrive, and make him account, and obey his behests. There is a Generall over the Souldiers, called Dorimenaz, who hath also a Lieutenant, called Acouraz. Moreover there is a Chanceller, called Manpas, who sets to all letters the Kings seale, which is nothing else but his name in Arabick, ingraven in Silver, which hee dips in Inke and imprints on the paper. The Secretarie is called Carans, the Controller of the Exchequer Musbandery, and the Treasurer Ransbandery: with divers other lesser Officers. All these Grandes abovenamed are often called to give the King counsell when he pleaseth, with sixe ancient and experienced men, called Mouscoulis. Besides the rents and revenues of certaine Ilands given to these Officers, the King gives them Rice for their provision, as also to the Souldiers, with Tributes and Tolls of Barkes and Ships which come to trafficke in the Maldives. All the honour

in this Countrie is to eate of the Kings Rice, and be of the number of his Officers: without this a man is not esteemed noble, although he be.

Souldiers and Gentlemen. Next to the Officers the Souldiers are most esteemed and priviledged, and they make little account of a Gentleman if hee bee not inrolled in the Souldierie. The Souldierie consists of Souldiers of the Kings Guard which are six hundred, divided into sixe companies, commanded by the Mouscoulis. There are ten other great Companies gathered together, each whereof hath a Captayne of the Grand Signiors of the Realme. These guard not, but serve the King, when hee hath any affaires, not onely as Souldiers to march and fight, but to doe all that hee commands, as to lanch a Ship, to draw it on dry land, or to doe such great worke where there is neede of men to build his Palace, if it bee needfull, or to make any worke or edifice for him. They call them and gather them together with the sound of a certayne Bell. They divide them into parts, for there are five Companies which are more honourable, wherein they admit none but Gentlemen, and other five Companies meaner, of all sorts of persons.

None can bee entred into the Companies, before they have permission of the King, and moreover it costs him for his entrance sixtie Larins, twentie to the King for his permission, and fortie to distribute to the Companie whereof hee ought to bee. The Slaves therefore cannot bee inrolled, nor they which get their living and substance from the Coco Trees, nor any mechanicall and base people, and generally those which cannot write and reade, nor those which serve others. Moreover they buy for the most part all Offices of the King, and they are greatly sought after by rich men, because of Honour, Authoritie, and Power, which they have over others; but they may not sell, leave, nor resigne them.

One name. All the Ilanders have but one name, without any sirname or name of the familie, and use frequently these names, Mahomet, Haly, Hussum, Assan, Ibrahim, and

such others, but to know them, they distinguish them by their qualitie, which they adde in the end of their name as they that are of Noble race adde to their name Tacourou, and their Wives Bybis: Moreover they put also the Ile which is theirs. Those which are not Noble, but by their Office or qualitie, call themselves Callogues, and their Wives and Daughters, Camullogues. Not those onely which I have named use these, but others obtayning of the King vacant functions, to bee separated from the Plebeians. They buy this dearely of the King, because the Names and Titles are limited to a certayne number. The common people are called with their proper Callo, and adde also the trade and condition whereof they are, their Wives and Daughters Camulo. *Titles.* *Common people.*

The Palace of the King is built of Stone, composed of many handsome mansions and well built, yet without any ornament of Architecture, and of one storie. Round about it are Yardlands and Gardens, where are Fountaines and Cisternes of water, enclosed with walles and paved on the bottome with great smooth stones. These places are guarded continually by men appointed for it, because the King and Queenes wash themselves there, all others being straitly prohibited from washing there. In the inclosure of the Palace (called in their Language Gandoyre, which is very large) are many Lodgings and Courts, which have all in the midst a Well garnished with faire white stones. In one of these Courts, are two Magasins of the King: in one he puts his Ordnance, in the other all other sorts of Munition. *The Kings Palace.*

At the entrance of the Palace is a Corps de guard, where are many Pieces of Ordnance, and other kindes of Armes. The Portall is made like a square Tower, upon the top whereof on Feast dayes, players of Instruments play and sing. From thence they come to the first Hall, where the Souldiers wayte: a little further is another great Hall for the Signiors, Gentlemen, and persons of fashion. For none neither Signiors, nor Plebeian, man, woman, nor childe, dare goe further, except the domesticall Officers of *Guard.* *Two Halls.*

the King and Queenes, and their Slaves and Servitors. The pavement of these Hals are elevated three foot above the ground, and neatly boarded with wood well playned. It is thus raised up because of the Ants. Then the floore is after all covered with a little Matte, which they make in the Iles, interlaced in various colours, with Characters and other workes very finely contrived. The walls are hanged with Tapistrie of Silke; also upon the plat-fonds, it is covered with tapestrie of silke, from which hangs round about faire fringes as a Curtaine. The King made the great Ensigne and Banner of our ship which was blue, [II.ix.1665.] where the Armes of France were well made, to bee displayed in the Souldiers and Strangers hall.

In these Halls before the place where the King sits, there is another forme of Curtaines very rich, under which is a large place elevated two foot, covered with a great Tapestrie, hereon they sit crosse-legged, for they use no other seats. Upon these Mattes throughout all the hall, the Nobles which come to assemble together sit downe. In this sitting they observe exactly the order of their Dignities: for they which are of lower degree, stay at the lower end, if the King or his Grandes which are there in his absence, bid them not sit. For the Gentlemen of the Ile of Male, and ordinarie Courtiers, which are bound to come and salute the King everie day after noone, stay and sit in the second Hall, and may goe no further, wayting till the King come foorth, or that they see some domesticke Officer, by whom they send the King word that they are come to salute him. Sometimes the King sends them while they are thus sitting, platters full of Bettell and Fruits, which they hold a great honour. The Gentrie of the other Ilands come also and observe the same customes that they doe of the Ile of Male: but they come *Presents.* not without Presents, for none is permitted to salute the King, neither Noble-man nor Merchant, without one.

Chambers and Tapestrie. The Chambers and inner Lodgings are well adorned, hanged with Tapestrie of silke, inriched with flowers, boughes and branches of Gold, and of divers colours.

The people use tapestrie of Cotton, which is composed of many pieces of cloath of Cotton of all colours. Their Beds are hanged in the ayre by foure cords to a barre which is sustained with two pillers. They make the beds of the King and rich men in this sort, because they may rocke and shogge them more easily. They are accustomed when they are layd downe to make their folke touch and moove their bodie, and chafe them easily, strike them little blowes with both their hands together, saying that is good against the Spleene, and makes their griefe cease; also that it makes them sleepe soundly, and makes them forget the griefe of the member beaten and rubbed. *Beds.*

The ordinarie habillement of the King, is a white fine Robe of Cotton, or rather a Cassoque, descending to the girdle or a little lower, edged with white and blue, made fast before with massie buttons of Gold. With this he weares a piece of red imbroydered Taffetie, which reacheth from the girdle to the heele. This Taffetie is girded with a long large girdle of Silke fringed with Gold, and a great chayne of Gold before, whereat hangs a great Jewell as big as a hand, of exquisite stones which may bee seene. Hee weares also a knife after the manner of the Countrey, but more richly wrought. Upon his head hee hath a Bonnet of red Scarlet, which is much esteemed in this Countrey, and permitted to none but the King: this bonnet is laced with Gold, and on the top it hath a great button of massie Gold with a precious Stone; and although the Grandes and Souldiers weare their hayre long, yet hee hath his shaven every weeke. Hee useth to have his legges alwayes bare as others, and weares only on his feet Pantoffles of guilded Copper, brought out of Arabia and made like sandals. Of which sort none but the Queenes and Princesses his kinswomen may weare. When the King goeth foorth, hee hath a Sun-shadow or white Parosel, which is the principall Ensigne of Majestie, carryed over him. This is permitted to none but Strangers who may have what they will: alwayes there is one Page neere the King which carries a fanne, another the *Kings Robes.* *His bonnet and attire.* *Shaving.* *Bare legges.* *Ensignes of Majestie.*

Kings Sword and Buckler, another a boxe full of Bettell and Arecqua, which hee chawes every houre. A Doctor of the Law alwayes followes him, and never looseth sight of him, reading a Booke in his presence, and admonishing him of his Religion.

His Doctor.

Exercises.

His exercises and ordinarie pastimes are not to goe out and fish as his predecessors used to doe, but to remayne for the most immured in his Palace, to court his Queenes, see his Courtiers, and many Mechanickes and Artificers worke, as Painters, Goldsmiths, Imbroiderers, Cutlers, Joyners, Turners, Armorers, and others sorts which hee keepes in his Palace, and furnisheth them with matter to worke. Hee workes himselfe, and saith frequently that it is a sinne to bee idle. Hee hath a quicke and vive apprehension, and hath skill to worke in many Crafts and Mysteries, and is daily curious to learne: hee seekes out those which are excellent in any thing; if hee meet with any stranger that knowes that which he nor his Ilanders know not, he makes very much of him, that he may shew him his Art.

Workes.

Respect of Arts.

Guard and pompous going abroad.

Going out of his Palace, hee is accompanied with his Souldiers, whereof hee hath a hundred every day for his Guard. On Friday he goeth to the Mosche, in a faire order and kind of pompe, for the Souldiers goe in rankes, some before and some behinde, and so his ordinarie Officers: the Drums, Flutes, Trumpets, make good agreeable musicke. After service is done, hee returnes in the same order, the Souldiers going with the sound of Instruments playing among them and leaping before the King with their armes, and striking blowes with their Swords on one anothers Bucklers: shewing their agilitie, yet not all together, to avoyde confusion but two at a time onely, and so one after another without ceasing. The people of the Ile which are present goe home with him, and it should bee a shame to any one not to goe. Then the Pandiare, Naybes, Catibes and Moüdins, and principall Signiors, Gentlemen and Souldiers, which hee chooseth diversly, dine with him, and after dinner hee imployes himselfe in

doing Justice. Moreover, when the King goeth foorth hee is alwayes on foot (for in these Ilands is neither Horse nor any Beast to ride on) except hee bee carried in a Chayre on his Slaves shoulders: but this is seldome, because he is strong and lustie & had rather go on foot. When they speake to the King, or Queenes, and their Children and Princes of their bloud, or else if they speake of them to others, it is in other termes which they use not but for this, and dare not apply them to others. As if they say of a man hee sleepeth, if it bee of the King, they say, he slumbreth or takes his rest, which they never say but speaking of the King.

No Beast to ride on.

[II.ix.1666.]

Complement.

The Queenes are attired as other women formerly described, but in more costly manner. The Ladies, Wives and Daughters of the Grand Signiors of the Ile, are bound to come see them in the evening, to passe the time with them. They goe sometimes forth, but it is very rare: and then there are women and slaves which goe a great way before, to advertise the men that they retire and appeare not in the way, but onely the women, who assemble by their quarters and divisions, and come to meet them with Presents of Flowers and Fruits. There are foure principall women which carry over the Queenes head a white Curtine of Silke reaching to the ground, so that they cannot be seene. They goe often to bath in the Sea, as all other women: for it is the custome of the Country, and they hold it very healthfull; for this cause therefore they have prepared in the Sea a little inclosure, covered round with Cotton cloth, where the Queenes and great women bath: after they come out they have another little house also made purposely where they bath againe in Fresh-water. Within the chambers of the Queenes, Princesses, and great Ladies they never see day, nor have any other light but of Lamps, which burne continually. They retyre themselves into a part of the chamber, being enclosed with foure or five rowes of Tapistry, which they must lift up before they come where they are: but none neither man nor woman, domesticall nor others dare lift

Queenes, and their pompe.

Bathing in the salt and fresh-water.

Perpetuall night.

up the hindmost, although they are not laid, nor eating, in briefe although they be idle. They must first cough, and tell who they be, and then they call them or send them whither they thinke good. Neither women nor maids pull off the cloth which goes about their middle, but only their robe: the men doe so also, and dare not doe otherwise.

Revenues. The Kings revenewes consists in his Crownelands, which are many Ilands; and the duties which his subjects pay of the fruits which grow in the Countrie, that is to say, the fifth part of the graines which they sow, they give the King a portion of their Cocos and Limons, they compound also throughout all the yeere for a certaine quantitie of Hony or fruit. Besides these duties the King *All paid in kind.* imposeth an ordinary taxe on his subjects, according to their meanes, which consists in cords of Cocos, in shells called Boly, and dryed Fish. For they give him no mony for his Taxes and Rents, but onely when they buy Titles and Offices, and have permission to weare their braveries. Also hee chargeth the Inhabitants of the Iles to make and *Cotton clothes.* furnish him yeerely Cotton clothes, which serveth him for his Souldiers, to whom hee gives thrice a yeere Cloth, besides their pay. The revenew of the King consists also *Merchandise.* in merchandise: For all the Ships which arrive there, first goe to him, and declare what they have brought, after they agree to a certaine price for that which hee will have, which is very often the better part: after the people buy it at a dearer rate then the King; and then the King sends to distribute his merchandise throughout the Iles to the richest, at what price hee will; although they have no use of it, taking in exchange such merchandise, as hee hath need of, at a better price by halfe then it is worth. He sends often also Ships laden with merchandise of his Ile to other Countries. The King hath also besides these *Wrackes.* Royalties, whatsoever is found on the Sea shoare, and no man dare touch it to detaine it, but is bound to take it up and bring it him, whether it bee pieces of shipwrackt Ships, pieces of Wood, Coffers, or other things: or Amber

Greece, which they call Gomen, hereof is the greatest quantitie in the Indies, and none dare keepe it on paine of having his hand cut off.

Also there is a certaine Nut, which the Sea sometimes casts up, which is as great as a mans head: they call it Tauarcarre, and suppose that it commeth of certaine trees that are under the sea: the Portugals call them Cocos of the Maldives. It is a thing very medicinable & of great price. Also the fishing for Blacke Corrall appertaines to the King, who hath many men to make this fishing. The mony of the Kingdome is onely Silver, and of one kind. These are pieces of Silver which they call Larins, of the valew of eight Sols or thereabouts of our mony, long as a finger, but much folded. The King coynes them in his Iland, and imprints on them his name in Arabick letters. The other monyes are Exotick coynes, and there goe currant, but they take them not but at just value, and at equall weights, and onely the Gold or Silver, all other sorts of coyne which are not of the Countrie they reject. For in India, as there are many Realmes and Signiories, so great diversitie of mony, of stampe and character, not onely of Gold and Silver, but also of an other mettall called Calin, which is white like Tin, and very hard, pure, and beautifull, whereof they make great esteeme in the Indies; they have also Iron mony. But this kind of mony goeth onely in the Dominions of the Prince that coynes it. The Gold and Silver of whatsoever stampe and character it be, is currant through all Kingdomes according to the just valew, which is of different valew from ours, because Silver is deerer then here, and Gold baser. The King makes no lesser coynes then the Larin: so that to effect their merchandise, they cut the Silver and give in weight according to the valew of the merchandise: which is not without losse, for in cutting of a Larin they lose the twelfth part. They take no piece of Silver which they have not weighed, and put in the fire to try the goodnesse: every one hath weights in his house for this purpose. Also in stead of little and base mony they

Sea Nuts.

Coyne.

Buying.

use shells, whereof 12000. goe at the valew of a Larin. [II.ix.1667.] All their Gold and Silver come from forraine places, for they have no coine in these Iles. In all their publique *Bartering.* markets and particuler bargainings, they use to exchange very often one thing for another.

Merchants. The Maldives are very well frequented with Merchants of many Countries, as of the Malabares, of Barcelor, Onor, Bacalor, Cananor, Calecut, Tananor, Cochin, Coulam, Cael: of the Guzerattes, of Cambaia, Surate, and Chaule of the Arabs, Persians, of those of Bengale, Saint Thomæ and Masulipatan, Ceylan and Sumatra; which *Merchandise.* bring Merchandise whereof the Ilanders have need and esteeme, and in recompence carrie away those things *Coco commodities.* wherewith the Ilands abound. First of the Cocos tree, they make many kindes of things, which the strangers seeke after, as Cordage, wherewith they trim all the Ships of the Indies: they lade yeerely more then one hundred ships of the fruit of the Cocos, which they carry into the Coasts of Arabia, Malabar, and throughout all India, also Oyle and Honey of the same Tree: and weaving the Leaves of this tree serve them to make Sayles.

Shell money. There is another sort of riches in the Ilands: These are little shells wherein there is a little creature, as great as the end of the little finger, all white, very smooth and glistering, which they fish for but twice a moneth, three dayes before, and three dayes after the new Moone, and likewise the Full, and finde them at no other season. The women gather them upon the sands and flats of the Sea, being in the water to the girdle. They transport great quantities of them to other Countries, insomuch that I have seene yeerely thirtie or fortie ships laden without any other commoditie. They goe all into Bengala: for there onely they buy them at great prices, and in great quantitie. They of Bengala make such esteeme of them, that they use them as common money, although they have Gold and Silver, and enough of other mettals: and that which is more marvellous, the Kings and Nobles build places to lay them up in, and account them part of their

Treasure. They give twentie * measures of Rice for one fardell of Shels. For all these Bolys are put up by fardels of twelve thousand together in little baskets made of the Cocos leafe, garnished within with cloath made of the same Tree, for feare the shells should fall out. They much esteeme in India Tortois shells, which they call Cambe. This sort of Tortois is found no where but there, and in the Philippinas: it is faire, very smooth, all blacke, with very naturall figures. They sell them best in Cambaia where they make (besides bracelets for women) faire Coffers and Cabbinets inlayed with silver. They make heere very fine mattes of Reed of divers colours, and inrich them with ornaments and ciphers very neatly. They have also faire cloaths of Cotton and Silke.

Coquettes.

Tortoys shells.

In counter-change of these the Merchants bring them Rice, white Cotton clothes, and cloath of Silke: Oyle which is made of an odoriferous Graine, wherewith they use to rub their bodies when they have bathed, Arecqua, Iron and Steele, Spices, Porcelane, and whatsoever they have need of: and yet every thing is very cheape by reason of the abundance, and ordinarie arrivall of Ships. They bring also Gold and Silver, which never goeth foorth againe: for they give it not for any thing to Strangers, but put it among the Treasure and Jewels of their Wives.

Exotike wares.

§. VI.

A larger discourse of their Religion, manifold Ceremonies, and absurd opinions. The Authors departure and returne.

THeir Religion is Mahometan, their Temples or Moschees are builded square of hewen stone. They have three doores, and at the entrie of each doore on the outside, there is a large Well whereinto they descend by degrees, the bottomes and sides are garnished with polished stone, in these they use to bathe themselves.

Moschees.

The Temple is elevated nine or ten greeces; the floore of it is covered with Mattes and Tapistrie: they are very

curious to keepe them neate and handsome; they dare not spit in them, nor blow their nose, but if they bring no handkerchiffe with them, if they have any necessitie, they must goe foorth. The roofe is of wood, of excellent Carpenters worke, the wall waynscotted, whereon hang Tables of wood or stone, engraven with letters and writings in Arabicke. There are separations of certaine places appointed to certaine persons, yet not to one particuler person, but for those which are of one order, estate, age, or qualitie, and none dare place himselfe in a place not appointed for his condition. Within the Temples are Lamps light continually. Every Mosche hath a Moudin or Priest. Each day in the weeke, they goe at the breake of day to the Mosche, and there make a prayer according to their beliefe, that is to say, that the world is flat and not round, and that there is a wall of Copper about it, which hinders the world from being overwhelmed with the waters which invirone it, and that the Devill the enemy of Mankinde, seekes every night to pierce thorow and undermine this wall; and by day breake hee wants very little to have made a hole thorow; for this cause all the men from fifteene yeeres old, goe at the point of day to their Moschees, to make prayers, saying that without their prayers all the world would perish.

Order.

Lights and darkenesse.

Their beliefe of the world, the Devill and their Prayers.

[II.ix.1668.] They goe foure other times in a day to the Mosche: at mid-day, three houres after, at Sun-set, and ten a clocke in the evening, and tarie each time halfe an houre. The Women never enter into their Temples, but abide in their houses, and there make Prayers. Yet if they goe not to their Temples the ordinarie dayes of the weeke, they make their Prayers and Ceremonies in their houses or else-where: and although they constraine none to doe thus; yet if they know of any that neglects it, they will neither eate nor communicate with them. Before they enter into the Temple, they wash their feete, hands, eares, mouth, and eyes, making also certaine Ceremonies, and pronouncing prayers, which are divers according to the houres, feasts, occasions, for which they wash. If they

Five times a day praying.

Women-recusants.

Washing rites.

Diversified devotions.

make urine, or doe their necessities, or touch their privities, they wash and say their prayers destined for that: If they have accompanied with a woman, they must bath and say their Prayers of another sort; if with their owne wife, of another sort. They wash and bath in publike and say their prayers so loude, that by the diversitie of prayers according to the occasions, a man may know what they have done in secret, and when they have lyen with their wives, or else with others.

Circumcision. They are all Circumcised, the males at seven yeere old. Before an Infant is Circumcised, they say hee is an Innocent, and cannot sinne. *Females.* For their Daughters, they make no feasts nor ceremonies, but for their Circumcision draw two or three drops of blood from their nature, then when they come to the age of ten yeeres old. *Feasts.* All the yeere long they celebrate many Feasts. First everie weeke they solemnize Friday. On Thursday in the evening, some make prayers for their health, others for the deceased: and therefore they prepare to eate and drinke, and send to their Priests or Moudins neere the place where their dead are interred, to pray to God for them: or else they invite them to their houses, and there entertaine them. On Friday morning one goeth through the Ile carrying in his hand a kind of cast Bell, much *Bells.* resembling the cover of a Limbeck, with a hammer of wood, wherewith hee beates it: and at the end of everie street hee stayes, and admonisheth the people, that is their feast Oucourou or Friday. Hee is assisted with three persons which have straight Trumpets, wherewith they *Trumpets.* often sound. The people being thus warned cease from their worke, and bathe and wash themselves, saying their Prayers. And each of them cloathes himselfe in his best attire, and all from the age of fifteene yeeres are bound to bee there. In the meane while on the portall of the Kings Palace, are players of divers Instruments. Then the Kings *Holiday iute and service.* foure Moudins all together ascend an Edifice or stone, high erected, joyning to the Mosche, putting their hands to their eares, crying thrice with all their might with a most

fearefull voice all together in the Arabicke language, Alas, alas Aquebar, that is to say, Great God: and then they adde something of Mahomet.

Their Office or rites of service. Then they goe to the Kings Palace; and the King, if hee will bee found, as hee is seldome defective, sends a Carpet of silke to spread in the place where he will sit: if hee doth not, it is a certaine signe hee will not bee found. When all the companie is assembled (and the King is come and hath made his prayers) the Catibe ascends a raised place of wood sixe or seven steppes high. There hee holds a naked Sword in his hand, with the point downward, which hee often flourisheth this way and that way, and recites his prayers. All this time the people pray without ceasing, putting themselves in divers postures, sitting, standing upright, kneeling, their face grovelling to the earth, their hands lifted up and cast downe, then crossed, turning their head and eyes hither and thither: it were very difficult to represent all the gestures and apish tricks which they doe in this time: then they put off their weapons, and their knives, and dare have nothing about them but their cloathes, and they also must bee very neate. The Catibe changeth his prayers every Friday to the end of the yeere, and then begins againe. Hee saith all by heart, and in the meane time one of the Moudins holds the Booke, and if it chanceth that hee faileth in one word, sillable, or letter, the Moudine reprehends him with a loud voyce and without dissembling: for they say, if hee should faile in one point, the Feast should bee nullified, and worth nothing.

Divers gestures and postures.

Service by heart.

New Moone rites. On the dayes of their New Moone all the yeere long, they make the like Feast, and rejoyce when they see the new Moone: then they make cleane their Houses, Courts, and all their streets and the wayes to the Mosches, and all the gates of their houses as well without as within, and they set on both sides Cocos shells cut in the middle, like woodden dishes, and fill them with white sand, and burning coales upon it, scarce ceasing all the night to burne Aromaticke gummes, and odoriferous woods and perfumes: likewise within in their Houses, at the corners of their

Beds and else-where, they besmeare and fashion all their doores and housholdstuffe at their feasts, with Sanders, and other sweet smelling odours beaten and tempered together; but above all, they solemnise foure New Moones in the yeere more then the others. *Sweet smells.*

In the moneth of December or thereabouts at the New Moone, they observe a feast called in Arabicke Ramedan: this begins at the new Moone, and ends at the new Moone following. This night the men and the women each by themselves visite one another, and feast, and rejoyce together with banquets, dances and merriments, so that it is neere day before they retire. The day before, they bathe and make particuler ceremonies, cleanse and wash their teeth, and leave their Bettell, and thence forward fast till night although the day be long, with such superstition, that they will not only not taste any thing, but also not wash their mouth, nor put their fingers in it, nor yet swallow their spittle. This causeth them often to spit, and diseaseth them much, especially at their Mesquit, where it is not lawfull for them to spit, but ever and anone they must goe forth for that purpose. The men may wash themselves * but not plunge their heads in water, lest some drop should enter their mouthes or eares: but the women dare not, lest the water should enter at their lower parts. Halfe an houre before Sunne-set, all which are fifteene yeeres old and upwards goe to the Temple, that they may in that halfe houres space cleanse their mouthes and picke their teeth very exactly; to which purpose the Moudins furnish themselves all the Lent with Pick-tooths, and other instruments of neatnesse, made of the Coco wood. This done, the Moudin makes his crie three times, and enters the Temple; all the People are behinde him; thus they make their Prayers there, and the women in their houses; which ended, they make good cheere with their friends, and feast each other by course, having made proyision long before to that end; the poorest sparing before hand that they may have to feast during the Ramedan. The King makes severall entertainments,

Foure principall New Moones. Ramedan.

Severe fasting.

[II.ix.1669.]

**S. Augustin in divers places mentions the Christians of those parts of Africa in his time, not washing till the Fast were ended.*

Feast-fasts.

one day feasting his Nobles, another his Souldiers, a third the Pandeare, Moudins and Religious persons; and all the people of the Ile in their differing rankes. The Nobles observe the like custome for their friends and equals; for they religiously observe this, not to eate with men of differing ranke and qualitie. Men and Boyes feast thus, the Women goe not, but send Presents and Viands one to another, and bathe themselves in the evening, at which time, men may not bee admitted to bathe. In the day-time the men neither marrie nor touch their women: and during the Ramedan they are more carefull to avoide sinne then at other times. And if any by occasion breakes any of the Fasting-dayes, hee fasteth as many after; which often happeneth by reason of their superstition, supposing their Fast defective, if they happe to bleed in any part. They will not in this moneth worke, be they never so poore, nor travell or send out of their Ile.

Ridiculous Fast-breaches and making amends.

Daily Sermons.

The Pandiare (whom the Arabs call the Cadi) every day preacheth at the Kings Palace, or at the Temple, or at his House, beginning at three after noone, and holding on two houres; and all the Inhabitants of the Ile of Malé assemble thither: this commonly in the vulgar Language, and sometimes in Arabike, which hee after interpreteth. They employ themselves the rest of the time in exercise of Armes and divers playes, as at the Ball, in severall companies, with their feet: the women and daughters also have their visitations and petie sports. The youths also and maidens court and make love to each other more in that moneth then at other times; send each other Songs, Sonnets, and Verses written in Coco leaves (which are as white as Paper) inscribed or graven with Bodkins; and send Garlands of the fairest and sweetest flowers to their Sweet-hearts. All devise pastimes to entertaine that moneth. The women and maidens for their flowers sake must fast eight dayes more then the men, after the Ramedan is ended.

Love-moneth.

Three dayes before it ends, the Coly warneth all from

the top of the Steeple to send their names to the Pandiare of Malé, as in other Ilands to the Naybe, to pay their offerings (halfe a Larin for each person) or else man and boy, woman and maide have lost the merite of their fasting, saying it is their Tribute to God and Mahomet. They which have it not may borrow, for the King and the richer sort will pay for all that aske; but if any will not indure the shame that another should pay for him, his name is recorded neverthelesse, and he makes it his debt, to pay after the feast. Parents pay for their children till they be married and dwell from them, as also for their slaves. This money is after divided into three parts: and foure Receivers are appointed, one on behalfe of the King, another for the Church-men, the third for New Converts, the fourth for the Poore: there are eight Registers which record the offerings. It is after shared one part to the Priests, as the Pandiare, Naybes, Catibes, Moudins, Devanits, and others of their Church: The second to the Converts, the third to the Poore. On the last day of the Fast is celebrated a great Feast called Ydu. The day is no more certaine then the beginning of the Ramedan, which is when they first see the New Moone, as in all their Moon-feasts, not at the change but at the appearance, which is therefore sooner or later in one Iland then another, as it hath had cleerer weather or sooner sight. Their May Ydu, a three dayes solemnitie; and their Poycacan at the Full Moone about Aprill or May; and their Dida, or All-Soules feast in June, when they visit the Sepulchres and there set viands; and their Candis Cacan in August; and Maulude or Night-feast in October (the night that Mahomet died) with the severall ceremonies thereof, as also of their Marriages and Funerals, I dare not present you for feare of tediousnesse.

Halfe a Larin, a generall personal offering, as halfe a shekel amongst the Israelites.

No New moon feast certaine. They ascend high places purposely being ambitious every man of her first sight.

Wee will therefore returne with our Authour, and free you also from the Maldives. Tenne dayes before his libertie he had a dreame that hee was free and in Christendome, whereat hee much rejoyced, and awaking made a Vow to make a Voyage to S. James of Galicia, to give God

Bengalan Fleet. In February. 1607.

thankes. Two nights after the King was told of an Armada of sixteene Gallies or Galliots comming thither. The King commanded to rigge his seven Gallies with other Ships, Barkes and Boates. This was attempted with all industrie, but could not be effected before the Enemies Fleet came in sight. Thereupon he charged that all his [II.ix.1670.] best goods should be embarqued, so to save himselfe and his women in the Southerne Iles. He forsooke his Palace, and fled with his three Queenes, each of them carried in armes by Gentlemen, as Nurses carrie their Infants; covered with Vailes and Taffataes of divers colours. The streets were full of cries of women and infants. He was forced to leave great part of his goods and all his Armes and Ordnance behind for want of time; and with much lamentation set sayle for the South, to the Atollons of Souadou. But the winde fayled, and the Enemie sent eight Gallies after him, in fight with whom the King was slaine, and his wives and goods taken. The other eight entred on land, and the Authour yeelded to them, and being found not to be a Portugall, was spared. They stayd ten dayes to lade their Gallies with the goods which they found, and with five or sixe score peeces of Ordnance great and small (a principall cause of their Voyage) and then departed, leaving the Queenes and all the people in libertie, except the brother of the Chiefe Queene and the Kings brother in law. His arrivall in Malicut a small Ile, and the Iles Divandurou thirty leagues thence, and at last at Chatigan in Bengala, I omit. At his departure from Bengala, the Mogol had denounced warre to the chiefe King of Bengala, who prepared to entertaine him with above a million of men and ten thousand Elephants. The Kings of Aracan and Chaul, and other great Lords, Mahumetans and Gentiles were his Tributaries, and were bound to finde him a certaine number of men and horses. The successe is related by others, and other things many of many other Indian Regions are related by the Authour, whom wee are willing now to dismisse, having entertained him only for a Maldivan Guide and Pilot.

Bengalans hate the Portugals.

Mogols conquest of Bengala. See in Capt. Hawkins and S. Thomas Roe.

The particulars of his returne he relateth at large: first his passage from Bengala to Movtingué, governed by a petie Prince, a Nairo, subject to the Samory of Calecut. It is seated betwixt Cananor and Calecut, and is a Port of the Malabar Pirats. He was here much amazed to see so many in Armes, borne by all from ten or twelve yeeres. There are ten other neere Ports within ten small leagues of each other, Chombais, Badara, &c. But Moutingué is the best. Thence he went to Calicut and waiting eight moneths for a Holland ship in vaine, he was perswaded by Jesuites to goe to Cochin, where he was imprisoned for a Spie. At Goa also hee was prisoner with those which remained of the seventeene Englishmen taken at the Barre of Surrat. The Jesuits had brought one Master Richard and foure other Englishmen from the Mogols Court; some Hollanders also were there: and they all were prisoners together. But the Jesuites undertooke for them, and procured their libertie; namely Thomas Stevens an Englishman, Rector of Margon Colledge in Salsete, and Nicolas Trigaut a Wallon, and Steven Crosse a Frenchman of Roan, with Gaspar Aleman a Spaniard. The said Thomas Stevens procured the libertie of the Englishmen also, foure of which became Catholike-Romanists, and two of them died there. Don Loys Lorencio d'Establa arrived at Goa with the title of Vice-roy, to the peoples great griefe, which more desired Don André Furtado. Ten moneths after his comming, foure great Caracks arrived, contayning each about two thousand tunnes. Five had departed from Lisbon, but they knew not what was becomne of the fift, separated by tempest at the Cape. In each were embarqued a thousand persons, Souldiers, Mariners, Jesuites, and other Church-men, with Merchants and Gentlemen. But when they arrived at Goa, there were not above three hundred in each, by reason of sicknesse and miseries endured eight moneths at Sea, without sight of Land. These brought an Edict from the King, forbidding English, French, or Dutch commerce, and if there were any such there, to packe them away upon perill

Movtingué.

See sup. in Hawkins and Fitches Voyages. pagg. 207. 420.

Thomas Stevens an EnglishJesuite which had long continued there.

Kings Edict (in effect) to roote out the Portugals from the Indies, enjoyning and not enabling to warre with others.

of their lives. On the sixe and twentieth of December, 1609. He returned for Lisbon. March the fifteenth, 1610, they arrived at the Ile of Diego Rodrigue, in 20. Southerne degrees, about forty leagues East from Saint Laurence. After a cruell storme there five dayes together, they attained the Cape, Saint Helena, Brasill, the Acores, the Berlings, and having payed his vow to Saint James in Galicia, he arrived at Rochell, the sixteenth of Februarie, 1611.

The end of the ninth Booke.

END OF VOLUME IX.

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